

**The Inevitability of Globalized Higher Education:
Governing Discourses, Governing Practices, and Governing Selves**

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Abstract

This manuscript-based dissertation examines international education and international student mobility through the Foucauldian frameworks of knowledge production, governmentality, and subjectivity at three levels of analysis: at the macro-level of global policymaking, at the meso-level of national policy influencers, and at the micro-level of international student subjectivity. Framed around Foucault's argument that we need a historical awareness of our present circumstances, this study develops a genealogy of discourse, policies, and practices governing international higher education. At the macro-level, the minimalist politics of neoliberalism and the discourse of globalization operate as technologies of power that shape global higher education politics. At the meso-level, internationalization operates as a governing discursive practice among higher education institutions (HEIs) and higher education professional associations (HEPAs). At the micro-level, student subjectivity, desire, and decision-making have contributed to the rapid rise in the mobility of international students. This dissertation contributes to the field of comparative and international higher education literature in three ways: First, it satisfies "strong demand for interdisciplinary research" by focusing on both governmentality studies and discursive analysis, offering an updated qualitative analysis of knowledge production in the higher education sphere at the international level. Second, it addresses the lack of research in the ways in which HEPAs govern higher education policies by analyzing regimes of practices in U.S. higher education, particularly in the field of internationalization studies. Third, it responds to calls for more ethical and qualitative approaches in internationalization studies by considering the Foucauldian aspects of ethics as an analytical approach to student subjectivity. At the macro-level, it draws from Foucault's analysis of knowledge and government to construct a genealogy of intergovernmental organization (IO) education policies over the last 30 years, which have structured the discourse and practice of tertiary education around the globe to reflect

a neoliberal governmentality. At the meso-level, it draws from governmentality studies to link Foucauldian concepts of power-knowledge with governing practices to construct a genealogy of how HEPAs have taken up, articulated, and transformed internationalization discourse within U.S. higher education. At the micro-level, it proposes an analytical framework where ethical work focused on the cultivation and care of the self provides a novel approach for (re)considering and (re)conceptualizing the various aspects of international education. This dissertation offers two primary contributions to the knowledge of globalized higher education. It conceptualizes globalized higher education as both a technology of power and a technology of government, and it offers a Foucauldian critique of globalized higher education at three levels of analysis.

Résumé

Cette thèse manuscrite examine l'éducation internationale et la mobilité des étudiants internationaux à travers les cadres foucaldiens de la production de connaissances, de la gouvernementalité, et de la subjectivité à trois niveaux d'analyse : au niveau macro de l'élaboration des politiques mondiales, au niveau méso des influenceurs politiques nationaux, et au niveau micro de la subjectivité des étudiants internationaux. Encadrée autour de l'argument de Foucault selon lequel nous avons besoin d'une conscience historique de nos circonstances actuelles, cette étude développe une généalogie du discours, des politiques et des pratiques régissant l'enseignement supérieur international. Au niveau macro, la politique minimaliste du néolibéralisme et le discours de la mondialisation fonctionnent comme des technologies de pouvoir qui façonnent la politique mondiale de l'enseignement supérieur. Au niveau méso, l'internationalisation fonctionne comme une pratique discursive gouvernante parmi les institutions éducatives supérieures et les associations professionnelles d'enseignement supérieur. Au niveau micro, la subjectivité, le désir et la prise de décision des étudiants ont contribué à l'augmentation rapide de la mobilité des étudiants internationaux. Cette thèse contribue au domaine de la littérature comparative et l'enseignement supérieur internationale à trois manières : d'abord, elle satisfait « une forte demande de recherche interdisciplinaire » en se concentrant à la fois sur les études de gouvernementalité et l'analyse discursive, offrant une analyse qualitative mise à jour de la production de connaissances dans la sphère de l'éducation supérieur au niveau international. Second, il aborde le manque de recherche sur la manière dont les associations professionnelles d'enseignement supérieur régissent les politiques d'enseignement supérieur en analysant les régimes de pratiques dans l'enseignement supérieur américain, en particulier dans le domaine des études sur l'internationalisation. Troisièmement, il répond aux appels à des approches plus éthiques et qualitatives dans les études sur l'internationalisation en considérant les

aspects foucaaldiens de l'éthique comme une approche analytique de la subjectivité étudiante. Au niveau macro, il s'appuie sur l'analyse de Foucault de la connaissance et du gouvernement pour construire une généalogie des politiques éducatives des organisations internationales au cours des 30 années dernières, qui ont structuré le discours et la pratique de l'enseignement supérieur dans le monde pour refléter une gouvernamentalité néolibérale. Au niveau méso, il s'appuie sur des études de gouvernamentalité pour relier les concepts foucaaldiens de pouvoir-connaissance aux pratiques de gouvernance afin de construire une généalogie de la façon dont les associations professionnelles d'enseignement supérieur ont repris, articulé et transformé le discours sur l'internationalisation au sein de l'enseignement supérieur américain. Au niveau micro, il propose un cadre analytique, où le travail éthique concentré sur la culture et le souci de soi, fournit une nouvelle approche pour (re)considérer et (re)conceptualiser les divers aspects de l'éducation internationale. Cette thèse propose deux contributions principales à la connaissance de l'enseignement supérieur mondialisé. Il conceptualise l'enseignement supérieur mondialisé à la fois comme une technologie de pouvoir et une technologie de gouvernement, et propose une critique foucauldienne de l'enseignement supérieur mondialisé à trois niveaux d'analyse.

Dedication

For Katie, Gwen, and Elise

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I would like to begin by acknowledging and thanking my doctoral advisory committee. I begin with Dr. Blane Harvey, who agreed to take on my candidacy rather late in the process, for guiding my research, for his Foucauldian expertise, for his endless reviews, and for improving my academic writing overall. His supervision, support, and advice has been key to the success of my candidacy. I simply cannot credit him enough. I would also like to acknowledge Dr. Kayla Johnson, who agreed to sign on as a committee member and who has continued to provide me with excellent feedback, advice, support, and encouragement. I would also like to thank Dr. Anila Asghar, the original member of my doctoral committee, who has stayed on for nearly a decade and kindly reviewed my completed dissertation. She inspired me tremendously with her teaching style in my first year as a doctoral student at McGill, and her warm and caring guidance has always been targeted, thorough, and greatly appreciated.

I would also like to acknowledge the faculty in the Department of Integrated Studies in Education (DISE) at McGill University, those whose classes I have taken and those who I encountered along the way. You have always demonstrated warmth, kindness, and caring along with supreme intellect and knowledge. I always felt at home and at peace in the Education Building. I would especially like to thank Dr. Marta Kobiela, who showed concern for my candidacy and who connected me with Dr. Harvey. I also wish to acknowledge the profound loss of two tremendous DISE faculty who helped shape my doctoral candidacy. First, Dr. Doreen Starke-Meyerring, who agreed to sponsor me as a doctoral student back in 2011 and who guided me toward doing the type of discursive research conducted throughout this dissertation. Also, Dr. Aziz Choudry, whose “Globalization, Education, and Change” course I took my first semester at McGill and who showed me the possibilities for utilizing education as an instrument of true societal change.

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In Memoriam

In memory of Dr. Doreen Starke-Meyerring

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List of Abbreviations

| | |
|----------|--|
| AASCU | American Association of State Colleges and Universities |
| ACE | American Council on Education |
| AERA | American Educational Research Association |
| ASA | American Sociological Association |
| CIES | Comparative International Education Society |
| COIL | Collaborative online international learning |
| Covid-19 | Coronavirus disease and pandemic |
| CSSE | Canadian Society for the Study of Education |
| DISE | Department of Integrated Studies in Education (McGill University) |
| EEC | European Economic Community |
| EHEA | European Higher Education Area |
| ERASMUS | European Action Schemes for the Mobility of University Students |
| EU | European Union |
| GATS | General Agreement on Trade in Services |
| GATT | General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade |
| GCE | Global citizenship education |
| GNLE | Globally networked learning environments |
| HEI | Higher education institutions |
| HEPA | Higher education professional associations |
| IAU | International Associations of Universities |
| IMF | International Monetary Fund |
| IO | Intergovernmental organizations |
| ISM | International student mobility |
| NAFSA | National Association of Foreign Student Advisers: Association of International Educators |
| NPM | New public management |
| OECD | Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development |
| OEEC | Organisation for European Economic Co-operation |
| PISA | Programme for International Student Assessment |
| SDG | Sustainable Development Goals |
| TRIPS | Trade-Related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights |
| UCEA | University Council for Education Administration |
| U.K. | United Kingdom |
| UN | United Nations |
| UNESCO | United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization |
| U.S. | United States |
| WB | The World Bank |
| WTO | World Trade Organization |

Contribution to Original Knowledge

This thesis examines international education at three levels of analysis through the Foucauldian frameworks of knowledge production, governmentality, and ethics. The three manuscript chapters of this thesis demonstrate the ways in which globalized higher education has come to serve as a technology of power and as a technology of government in contemporary society. This thesis also offers a critique of international higher education that centers on the conditions and events that have allowed for the emergence of particular systems of knowledges and regimes of practices, namely that of profit and competition over development and exchange.

Chapter 3 draws from Foucault's analysis of discourse, power, and government to construct a genealogy of higher education policies developed by intergovernmental organization over the last 30 years, which have structured the discourse and practice of tertiary education around the globe to reflect a neoliberal governmentality.

Chapter 4 draws from governmentality studies to link Foucauldian concepts of discursive power-knowledge with governing practices to construct a genealogy of how non-governmental, higher education professional associations have taken up, articulated, and transformed internationalization discourse within U.S. higher education.

Chapter 5 proposes an analytical framework where Foucault's notion of ethics as the cultivation and care of the self provide a novel approach for (re)considering and (re)conceptualizing the various aspects of international education pedagogy and the practice of international student identity-making and self-formation.

Contribution of Author

This thesis follows a manuscript-based format comprised of three manuscript chapters in which I am the sole and primary author. As the sole author of each manuscript chapter, I have conceptualized and carried out all aspects of the presented research. I have also written the current dissertation in its entirety.

Dr. Blane Harvey, as my doctoral supervisor in the Department of Integrated Studies in Education (DISE) at McGill University, has served in an advisory capacity during the conceptualization of this research and writing of this dissertation. He has reviewed all the dissertation chapters and has provided guidance, feedback, and critique throughout. Dr. Harvey also guided me through the publication process, including assisting with addressing reviewer comments. Additional guidance and preliminary review of my manuscript chapters and draft dissertation was provided by Dr. Kayla Johnson in the Department of Educational Policy Studies and Evaluation at the University of Kentucky. In addition, Dr. Anila Asghar in DISE at McGill University reviewed my draft dissertation and provided additional feedback and guidance prior to its initial submission. Further guidance was provided in the examiner reports provided by Dr. Kevin McDonough in DISE at McGill University and Dr. Adeela Arshad-Ayaz in the Department of Education at Concordia University in Montreal, Canada.

Remarks on Style

This doctoral thesis is submitted following a manuscript-based format. Chapter 1 provides a general overview of the research topic, while Chapter 2 serves both as a literature review and methodological framework. Chapters 3 and 4 are submitted in the format in which they were published in peer-reviewed journals, while Chapter 5 is submitted in the format it was submitted for peer-review but had not yet been published. Chapter 6 serves as a comprehensive scholarly discussion of the three manuscript chapters. Only heading and subheadings have been altered in order to integrate the published manuscript chapters into a cohesive dissertation. Connecting texts introduce and help to link together the three manuscript chapters.

A comprehensive reference list is provided following Chapter 6, which includes all the references cited throughout the document. A brief appendix follows, which elaborates on the general methodological approach and specific methods used in each of the manuscript chapters.

Chapter 1: General Introduction and Conceptual Framework

1.1 Introduction

The relationship between globalization, neoliberalism, and internationalization in higher education remains an important topic for research and scholarship in the fields of educational studies and the sociology of education. This poststructural study explores the intricating linkages between these cultural, social, economic, and political phenomena as it relates to the discourse and practice of international higher education and the mobility of tertiary students. I begin by conceptualizing neoliberalism as a dominant political rationality, globalization as a dominant discourse of modernity, and internationalization as a highly normalized process and practice within higher education. I explore each of these concepts and how they relate to the policies and practices of globalized higher education at multiple levels in greater detail throughout this study.

Characterized by the transformations of time and space in the modern era (Bauman, 2000), twentieth- and twenty-first century globalization can be described as a process that has been driven in large part by innovations in finance, technology, transportation, and a proliferation of media (Appadurai, 1996). As a highly contested term, which is discussed in greater detail below, globalization has been contextualized by poststructural scholars as both a discursive system (Olssen, 2004) and as a governing rationality (Sidhu, 2004). Likewise, neoliberal concepts of privatization and the diminishing role of the nation-state have come to play an ever-present and defining role in setting higher education policies and shaping international education practices at multiple levels (Ball, 2012).

Of its many characteristics, the discourse of globalization has taken up the minimalist politics of neoliberalism and its ongoing project of eroding nation-state power (Porter &

Vidovich, 2000). Discussed further below, the discourse of neoliberalism has developed around and denotes the principles of extreme privatization of sectors traditionally conceived as residing within the public sphere, such as transportation or education; it also marks a turn toward corporate, non-governmental, and intergovernmental organizations for global governance solutions to public management (Marginson, 2012b; McMichael, 2016). Globalization has also given rise to popular movements of resistance and social justice (Torres, 2002) and democratizing aims such as global citizenship education, or GCE (Abdi et al., 2015). However, discussions surrounding neoliberalism and globalization have taken on a decidedly different tone more recently. With the advent and proliferation of social media, populist anti-globalization movements, misinformation, and authoritarian national leaders as well as the confluence of global crises and inequalities, the argument today revolves around whether or not we have entered some kind of post-neoliberal era (Means & Slater, 2019; Peck et al., 2010) and whether modern globalization is nearing some final iteration, especially after witnessing the global economy and global mobility coming to an abrupt halt in 2020 as a result of the novel coronavirus (Covid-19) pandemic (Hameiri, 2021).

Internationalization, meanwhile, particularly within the context of higher education, can be described as a process of institutional transformation that grew out of a global education movement and an interest in developing graduates who could compete in a globalizing world (Childress, 2009; Knight, 1994). Internationalization has roots in efforts to increase intercultural competency among university students (Deardorff, 2006), to reduce ethnocentrism particularly in the United States (Lambert, 1989), and to “internationalize” both the curriculum (Leask, 2015) and academic research (Marginson & van der Wende, 2007). Focused primarily on the relational exchange of scholarship and students, many scholars and practitioners continue to advocate for

internationalization through GCE as a multi-directional, transformative, and decolonizing pedagogical practice focused on social justice and human rights efforts (Abdi et al., 2015).

By the 2000s, however, critical scholars drawing from various neo-Marxist traditions and epistemologies and governmentality scholars drawing from Foucauldian and poststructural epistemologies were arguing that internationalization had increasingly come to reflect many of the same practices as neoliberal globalization, including a focus on commodification, marketization, privatization, and competition (Brandenburg & de Wit, 2011; Dixon, 2006; Marginson, 2004). One might say that internationalization is now governed by economic rather than teaching and learning priorities. Take, for instance, how U.S. states have collectively reduced public funding to higher education by \$9 billion from their 2008 levels, shifting much of the financial burden to students and families and searching for new forms of revenue from other private sources (Mitchell et al., 2017). It also has been argued that internationalization practices have come to reflect elements associated with coloniality, the concept of deep-rooted power dynamics and continuing economic domination that is the lasting result of European and North American colonialism and imperialism (Shahjahan, 2013).

One example can be found in the fast-growing number of internationally mobile tertiary students, which numbered 5.6 million prior to Covid-19 (OECD, 2020). These flows, however, have remained highly unbalanced, with students from global South nations disproportionately flowing to global North nations and students from global North nations moving within mainly global North nations. Even as China and India — which account for the largest numbers of internationally mobile tertiary students worldwide — have seen increases in the number of inbound international students, the number of outbound tertiary students from these countries continues to rise (UNESCO, 2021). This imbalance in international student mobility (ISM) has,

in turn, become an economic boon for many host institutions and host nations (Adnett, 2010). In the United States and elsewhere, international student revenues have helped to fill funding gaps left by public cuts to higher education, particularly due to the much higher tuition international students typically pay compared to domestic students (Deuel, 2020). While international education has tapped into the desires of international students seeking self-improvement and increased cultural capital, it has also harnessed their productive capabilities by collecting their highly prized tuition dollars, resulting in the perception and identity of international students being viewed as “cash cows” (Brooks & Waters, 2011; S. Robertson, 2011).

Taken together, the rise of globalized higher education has led to new ways of thinking about how higher education should be governed and practiced at multiple levels (Rizvi & Lingard, 2010). At the macro-level, global education policies disseminated by intergovernmental organizations (IOs) orient higher education toward market-models of competitive practices (Sidhu, 2007) while reducing the role of nation-states in higher education funding and administration (Vlk, 2006) and increasing corporate-style governance practices that rely on increasing knowledge of populations and processes, accountability, and metrics (Normand, 2016). Global higher education policies also have targeted reducing barriers to trade in educational services (S. L. Robertson, 2003), training workers for the knowledge economy (Dale, 2005), and fostering a culture of lifelong learning (Simons & Masschelein, 2006).

At the meso-level, non-governmental intermediary organizations, which historically aimed to shape policy debates, have come to play an increasingly principal role in governing higher education practices, a role once reserved for nation-states (Olssen & Peters, 2005). In the United States, higher educational professional associations (HEPAs), including the American Council on Education (ACE) and the National Association of Foreign Student Advisers:

Association of International Educators (NAFSA), have influenced higher education policies and practices for decades through the very knowledge that they produce (Roberts, 2016). Over the last 30 or so years, HEPAs have propagated a discourse of internationalization and led efforts to increase knowledge production through the exchange of scholarship while also focusing on increasing students' intercultural competencies. However, since the 2010s, HEPAs increasingly have pushed for increased market competition between higher education institutions (HEIs), greater commodification of research and scholarship, and recruiting more international students (Buckner & Stein, 2020; Johnstone & Lee, 2017).

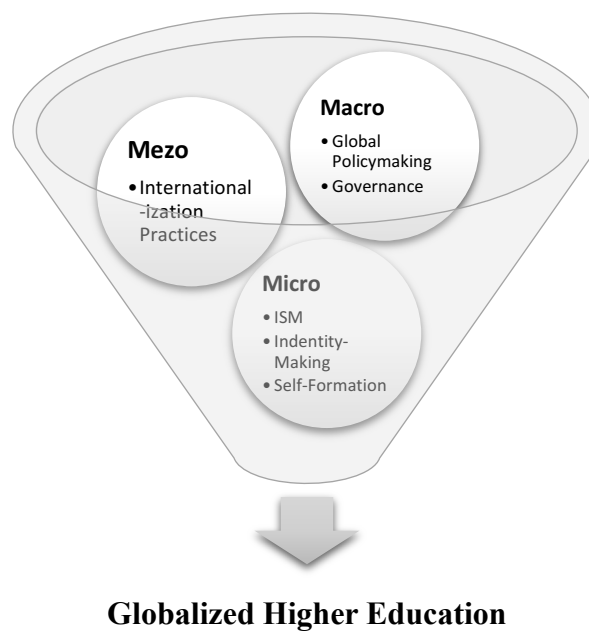
At the micro-level, student subjectivity, desire, and decision-making have contributed to the rapid rise in the mobility of international students (Montgomery, 2010; Page & Chahboun, 2019). In turn, international students have become the customer-base that universities and nation-states have come to rely upon to fuel economies and to prop up university budgets (de Oliver & Briscoe, 2011; Marginson, 2012b). The metanarrative of “West is best” has been thoroughly deconstructed by numerous critical scholars taking up various theoretical framings, particularly postcolonial scholarship (Crossley & Tikly, 2004; Koehne, 2006). However, viewing international students as hapless individuals chasing social capital (Kettle, 2017) or ISM as merely a coercive governing technology of subjugation (Ball, 2009) deprives international tertiary students of potential democratic and agential self-formation that might accompany such an experiential educational experience.

1.2 Contributions to Original Knowledge

This study illustrates the “phenomena of coagulation, support, reciprocal reinforcement, cohesion, and integration” as well as “the bundle of processes and the network of relations” (Foucault, 2007, pp. 238–239) that inform contemporary discourses and practices of globalized

higher education. It does so by examining international education through the Foucauldian frameworks of knowledge production, governmentality, and ethics at three levels of analysis: at the macro-level of global policymaking, at the meso-level of national policy influencers, and at the micro-level of international student subjectivity [Figure 1.1]. The three manuscript chapters of this dissertation demonstrate the ways in which globalized higher education has come to serve as a technology of power, as a technology of government, and as a technology of the self in contemporary society. In addition, it offers a critique of globalized higher education that centers on the conditions and events that have allowed for the emergence of particular systems of knowledge and regimes of practices, which will be discussed in detail in Chapter 2. Rather than attempt to provide totalizing assumptions (Bowman, 2007) or negative discussions that aim to reject, condemn, or negate (Lemke, 2011), the manuscript chapters trace discursive discontinuities and lines of transformations while also allowing for the potential of reversibility in various relations of power (Foucault, 1996).

Figure 1.1



At the macro-level, this dissertation draws from Foucault's analysis of knowledge and government to construct a genealogy of IO education policies over the last 30 years. Discussed in Chapter 2, genealogy both destabilizes existing conceptualizations of higher educational policies and practices and allows for the reconceptualization of objects of knowledge and of knowledge production (Hook, 2005). Genealogy also deals with the effective formation of discourse and attempts to grasp its power of veridiction as well as its power to constitute a domain of objects (Dreyfus & Rabinow, 1983a). Chapter 3 illustrates how IO policies have structured the discourse and practice of tertiary education around the globe to reflect a neoliberal governmentality. At the meso-level, Chapter 4 links Foucauldian concepts of power-knowledge with the concept of governing practices in order to construct a genealogy of how HEPAs have taken up, articulated, and transformed internationalization discourse within U.S. higher education. At the micro-level, Chapter 5 proposes an analytical framework where ethical work — the work one performs on oneself in an “attempt to transform oneself into the ethical subject of one's behavior” (Foucault, 1985, p. 27) — provides a novel approach for (re)considering and (re)conceptualizing the various aspects of international education related to identity-making and self-formation.

In his 1982-1983 lectures, *The Government of Self and Others*, Foucault (2010, p 4-5) outlines in rather unusual brevity the three main areas of his work up to that point. First, he identified the discursive practices that constitute possible bodies of knowledge and the “forms of veridiction” as that which can be understood as true and false within discourse. Second, he analyzed the exercise of power as a field of “procedures of government,” or what he calls governmentality. Third, he looked at the ways in which individuals constitute themselves as subjects “through the techniques/technologies of the relation to self.” The discursive knowledge of truth, procedures of government, and practices of the self can be viewed through what Flynn

(1987) and Dean (1994) have called the “Foucauldian triangle” of truth, power, and self or subjectivity. This study reflects a similar approach: identifying the discursive practices of higher education policy making at the macro-level; analyzing procedures of government regarding internationalization practices at the meso-level; and, conceptualizing ethical work as the cultivation of international student self-formation at the micro-level.

This dissertation contributes to the field of comparative and international higher education literature in three ways: First, it satisfies “strong demand for interdisciplinary research” by focusing on both governmentality studies and discursive analysis (McIlvenny et al., 2016, p. 3), offering an updated qualitative analysis of IO knowledge production in the higher education sphere at the international level. Second, it addresses the lack of research in the ways in which HEPAs govern higher education policies (Roberts, 2016) by analyzing regimes of practices in U.S. higher education, particularly in the field of internationalization studies. Third, it responds to calls for more ethical and qualitative approaches in internationalization studies (de Wit, 2020) by reconceptualizing ethics as residing *within* the Foucauldian triangle of truth, power, and self. This allows for the possibility of an ethical relationship to truth, power, and subjugating techniques of the self rather than the mere extension of governmentality as coercive forms of domination through self-governing.

Analysis that draws from Foucauldian concepts of discourse and governmentality demonstrates how policies shaped at the global level aim to influence higher education practices at the national, regional, and local levels as well as to govern individual subjects. Chapter 2 will further detail the poststructural approaches taken up in this dissertation that were used to critique normalized practices within higher education as well as to problematize various critical studies that have informed the literature on globalized higher education. That said, some notable works

linking the discourse of globalization and the governing effects of global policy on higher education have informed this study, including Sidhu (2004), Collins et al. (2014), Raghuram (2013), and Peters et al. (2009) as well as some recently published dissertations by Bindi de Oliveira (2018), Fredeen (2013), J. R. Luke (2017), and Roberts (2016). Despite these and other notable critical and poststructural studies, gaps in internationalization literature remain.

At the macro-level, there exists a vast amount of literature that examines the relationship between globalization and education policy (Rizvi & Lingard, 2010). Yet, there is a persistent need to problematize how international education has become constituted as residing within an economic domain and to better grasp the impact and influence that globalization discourses and practices have had on contemporary international higher education practices (Marginson, 2011). I began by asking the question, “How has the perceived role of higher education shifted discursively over the last two decades, as IOs have taken up and deployed neoliberal rationality in global higher education policymaking?” Chapter 3 examines a corpus of IO policy texts targeting higher education in order to demonstrate the discursive production of knowledge in this sector, its specificities and discontinuities, as well as their governing practices (Deuel, 2021a).

At the meso-level, internationalization research spans the spectrum of theoretical approaches. There exists, however, less literature analyzing internationalization discourses and practices through the lens of governmentality and even less that examines the governing role of non-governmental organizations especially within the U.S. context. I began by asking two interrelated questions: “How have ACE and NAFSA taken up, articulated, and transformed internationalization discourse in the United States?” And, “How have these concepts governed U.S. higher education practices over time?” Chapter 4 draws attention to the lack of governmentality research on internationalization, including the ways in which HEPAs as

intermediary organizations govern higher education policies and practices through the production of discourse and knowledge formation (Deuel, 2021b).

At the micro-level, problematizing internationalization as a field of truth, power, and subjectivity involves considering the ethical motivations and opportunities for identity-making and self-formation at the level of the individual in addition to the practices associated with the individual enterprise of freedom and mobility (Foucault, 2008). Thus, I began conceptualizing international student mobility with the following question: “How can we move international education from a coercive and deficit-centered practice — where international students are positioned as subjects of power — toward an agency-centered practice — where international students become active participants in identity-making and self-formation?” This requires considering how we might shift what Rose (1999) calls *ethico-politics* — or the techniques of self-government and the relation one has with one’s moral obligations and with others — toward the pole of ethics. An ethical approach aims to maximize opportunities for all individuals to construct their own identity, what Foucault (1985) calls the *arts of existence*, rather than simply achieving some culturally idealized form of morality. To do so requires a conceptualization of government past forms of self-regulation as a coercive practice in order to include “that which constitutes and transforms itself through the relationship with its own truth” (Foucault, 2017, p. 12). Chapter 5 extends the constitution of the self to include ethical work — including identity-making and self-formation — in order to (re)consider and (re)conceptualize the various aspects of global education and ISM.

1.2.1 Acknowledging Covid-19

In 2021, we cannot ignore the impact that Covid-19 has had on internationalization practices in higher education, most notably on the mobility of international students. U.S.

Immigration and Customs Enforcement (2021) reported a 72 percent decrease in first-time international student enrollments in 2020, while colleges and universities in the United States reported for the fall 2020 session a 13.6 percent decline in total international undergraduate student enrollments and a 7.6 percent decline in total graduate student enrollments (National Student Clearinghouse Research Center, 2020). In addition to statistics in the United States, several global North nations also reported fewer international student visa holders in 2020, including Australia [27 percent decline] and Canada [17 percent decline] (ICEF Monitor, 2020). Even while early indicators show an uptick in international students enrolled at U.S. colleges and universities and elsewhere in 2021, the effects of the pandemic on ISM certainly remain in flux.

While the manuscript chapters in this dissertation draw attention to the impact that the global pandemic has had on the practice of global higher education, they do not necessarily offer any post-pandemic solutions for a quick rebound in ISM. Instead, they suggest that the pandemic has disrupted global policy making, internationalization practices, and ISM in ways that have created opportunities for new discussions regarding globalized higher education. These discussions might include asking how internationalization practices may be re-imagined in ways where it becomes less competitive, less commercialized, more innovated through the use of hybrid teaching modalities, and more focused on decolonizing, democratizing, and ethical practices.

1.3 Higher Education in the Era of Global Reason

This study of global higher education policies and internationalization practices initially drew inspiration from the works of Rizvi and Lingard (2010), who take a policy sociology approach to education policy, and Olssen et al. (2004), who view education policy through the framework of governmentality. It also has been informed by several critical approaches to higher

educational studies, including the theoretical frameworks of cultural studies and postcolonialism, including the works of Rhee and Sagaria (2004), Crossley and Tikly (2004), Hall (1996a), and Giroux (2006), among others.

Underlying the rise of globalized higher education practices is an instrumentalization of power based on neoliberal political and governing rationality that looks to the market as the site of truth and economic intervention in the social domain (Peters, 2007). Globalization has been used as a meta-myth to politically, economically, and socially make sense of an increasingly complicated and interconnected contemporary world (Vaira, 2004) and has pushed universities to become “global” institutions (Dixon, 2006). Internationalization, as it is discussed in this study, relates to higher education’s recognition and response to globalization (Knight, 2008). Each of these concepts are discussed further below.

The following sections in this chapter address neoliberalism, globalization, and internationalization, which constitute this study’s conceptual framework. Conceptual frameworks possess ontological, epistemological, and methodological assumptions. Each concept within a conceptual framework plays an ontological or epistemological role, relating to knowledge of the way things are, the nature of reality, existence, and action (Guba & Lincoln, 1994).

To restate, this study conceptualizes neoliberalism as a dominant political rationality, globalization as a dominant discourse of modernity, and internationalization as a highly normalizing process and practice within higher education. Problematizing these dominant discourses, knowledges, and practices in international higher education allows one to reject the “metahistorical deployment of ideal significations and indefinite teleologies” (Foucault, 1984, p. 77). In other words, poststructural approaches using Foucault’s methods challenge the normalized and often taken-for-granted ways of knowing the world in which we live. A

poststructural approach should also aim to critique a set of practices that have become coordinated with particular regimes of truth in order to make “something that does not exist ... become something” (Foucault, 2008, p. 19).

1.3.1 Neoliberalism

At its most basic, neoliberalism represents a political rationality that aims to render the social domain economic and to link a reduction in state services to the increasing calls for personal responsibility and self-care (Lemke, 2001). From a governmentality perspective, which I discuss further in Chapter 2, neoliberalism represents a particular technique of power aimed at eroding nation-state power as well as a procedure of knowledge that constitutes the market as a form of truth. Taken together, neoliberalism recodes the social domain into an economic domain and predicates individual freedom on pure and complete competition (Peters, 2007). The following section will mainly focus on the production of knowledge associated with neoliberalism.

Governmentality scholars, including Foucault, have constructed genealogies of neoliberalism as an economic system that emerged from eighteenth-century economic liberalism attributed to Adam Smith and David Hume, from twentieth-century economic systems attributed to German *ordo-liberals* (prior to World War II) including those of von Mises and Hayek, and from American neoliberalism associated with James Buchanan and Milton Friedman of the Chicago School in the 1960s and 1970s (Foucault, 2008; Gordon, 1991; Harvey, 2007; Lemke, 2001; Olssen, 2016). Notably taken up as a political rationality in the 1980s by U.K. Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher and U.S. President Ronald Reagan, neoliberal governing policies took aim at social welfare programs, labor unions, education budgets, and other public services (Compton & Weiner, 2008; Simons & Masschelein, 2006; Torres & Schugurensky, 2002).

Neoliberalism mainly operates as a model of policy, governance, and economy (Means & Slater, 2019). As a model of policy, neoliberalism is often associated with defunding the public sector in favor of greater marketization and privatization of public services, including higher education (Schulze-Cleven et al., 2017). As such, neoliberal interests have pushed the social and public spheres toward increased commercial activity and profit-making as central features (Peters, 2001; Schugurensky & Davidson-Harden, 2003).

As a model of managerial governance, neoliberalism is frequently associated with the remaking of the state and subjectivities through the extension of market logics into all aspects of social life, including education (Brown, 2015). Neoliberal governance systems and practices, such those associated with new public management (NPM), are used to guide various educational policy reforms, where funding is based on outcomes while departments and institutions are set into competition with each other in order to emulate a market-like competition (S. L. Robertson, 2008). At the same time, governance systems which place increasing emphasis on educational achievements have become an important indicator of economic growth through the production of competitive human capital (Means & Slater, 2019; Rizvi & Lingard, 2010; Schulze-Cleven et al., 2017).

As an economic philosophy, neoliberalism espouses market models that advocate for greater privatization and commodification. When applied to the educational sphere, neoliberalism advances the notion of education as an economic driver for growth and innovation through competitive and market-ready skills (Rizvi & Lingard, 2010). Higher education, once a relatively protected and de-commodified public- and private-nonprofit sector institution governed namely by the policies of nation-states, has undergone relentless liberalization and internationalization coinciding with the era of globalization (Marginson, 2011; Morley et al.,

2014; S. L. Robertson, 2003). Dale (2005) enquires whether neoliberalism and the relationship between globalization and education represents “conscious efforts to develop new supranational forms of ‘education’ that seek to undermine and reconfigure existing national forms of education, even as they run alongside them, and even in their shadow” (p. 123). Examples of these supranational forms of education might include the proliferation of various, often resource-rich HEIs establishing branch campuses in less-wealthy nations; for-profit online degree-granting institutions; and, other competitive and income-generating cross-border educational initiatives (Altbach & Reisberg, 2015).

Another facet of neoliberalism that Foucault explored is the strategic production of social conditions which are conducive to the constitution of *homo economicus*, the entrepreneur of oneself (Hamann, 2009). Within a neoliberal governing rationality, *homo economicus* no longer is the individual of exchange associated with classical liberalism; rather, *homo economicus* becomes the individual of competition who is free to choose and to compete for that which contributes toward their individual interests and progress (Foucault, 2008).

Neoliberalism denotes a positive conception of the state’s role in providing market condition necessary for individuals to be free as *homo economicus*, one who is free to choose, compete, and to set one’s own goals. Foucault argues that freedom acts as a relationship between the technologies of government and the governed (Foucault, 2008). The state no longer defines and supervises freedom of the market; rather, the market itself represents the organizing and regulatory principle of the state (Rose, 1999). Yet, this freedom is an artificially arranged instrument of governmental practice (Foucault, 2008; Lemke, 2011), and its strategy is to intervene in both thought and practice in order to rationalize behaviors around a particular economic order (Rose, 1999). As a result, neoliberalism ties the rationality of government to the

rationality of the actions of individuals, including the entrepreneurial and competitive conduct of economic-rational individuals (Peters, 2007)

In higher education, neoliberalism has served as an economic philosophy that has introduced a new form of governmentality into policy-making (Olssen & Peters, 2005). Friedman's 1955 essay (published in 1962), titled "The role of government in education," first argued that market competition would maximize efficiency, responsiveness, and innovation (Friedman, 1962; Marginson, 2012b). For policy makers, this helped to reconceptualize higher education as a competitive private marketplace for global trade (Rizvi, 2011). Foucault recognized this transformation in education policy as "being oriented" toward neoliberalism (Foucault, 2008, p. 232). Today, HEIs and nation-states compete for fee-paying students in market-like fashion, while students vie for coveted seats at prestigious institutions at home and abroad (Schulze-Cleven et al., 2017). Likewise, educational investments — once viewed as the financial and governing responsibility of nation-states — as well as human development are both pushed-up to the global or intergovernmental level and also pushed-down to the micro-level of individuals themselves (Torres & Schugurensky, 2002).

1.3.2 Globalization

Mentioned above, globalization signifies a highly contested term with divergent conceptualizations. It includes the processes of "global flows" (Appadurai, 1996) in communication, transportation, and finance as well as information and research exchange that takes place across borders (Marginson & Sawir, 2012). Globalization can also be linked to the period of decolonization and nation building, which took place following World War II. The post-colonial era, therefore, denotes globalization as a decidedly political sphere in addition to the economic, social, and cultural aspects that accompany it (McMichael, 2016).

Globalization also represents a discursive system driven primarily by a neoliberal imaginary that pursues market-driven policies, de-emphasizes the role of the nation-state, and promotes a particular “Western” culture around the globe (Olssen et al., 2004). Globalization has also been linked to a rise in the discourse of knowledge economy, the notion that knowledge has become a new form of capital (Olssen & Peters, 2005), and the knowledge worker who has a greater potential for human capital development than the manual laborer (Drucker, 2017). During this contemporary period of globalization, Jessop (2008) argues that higher education was reorganized and reoriented toward this changing economic and political environment and played a key role in the development of a knowledge-based society.

The intensification of neoliberal globalization can be traced back to the early 1970s, following the collapse of the economic planning policies that came out of the post-World War II agreements. The UN Monetary Conference at Bretton Woods in 1944, principally negotiated by British economist John Maynard Keynes, played a key role in establishing several multilateral organizations, including the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) as well as the General Agreement of Trade and Tariffs (GATT), a U.S.-backed agreement following World War II that pursued trade liberalization rather than pre-war protectionism (Peck, 2008a; S. L. Robertson, 2003). The Organisation for European Economic Cooperation (OEEC) was later formed in Paris in 1948 to shape trade policies and to promote economic growth among its mainly economically wealthy member nations (OECD, n.d.). It would be replaced by the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) in 1961. Both the OECD and World Bank would increasingly come to view education as an important policy priority for global development and increasing economic growth (Rizvi & Lingard, 2006). However, these Keynesian economic and planning arrangements began to collapse in 1971, following a series of

global economic crises. Meanwhile, the rise in popularity of liberalized world trade eventually led to governments lifting economic controls set forth at Bretton Woods and allowing more neoliberal economic ideas to come to the forefront of global economic policymaking (Olssen et al., 2004; Peck, 2008b). The liberalization of international trade eventually would come to impact education and higher education in particular.

In 1995, the World Trade Organization (WTO) was formed to replace the GATT, when 123 countries signed the Marrakesh Agreement in April 1994, following the Uruguay Round of multilateral trade negotiations. Its General Agreement on Trade and Services (GATS) came into effect that same year, ushering in a global system of trade rules and protections on goods and services. Higher education was directly implicated, as the GATS aimed to increase global trade in educational services (WTO, 1998).

Globalization would explicitly become linked with the neoliberal imaginary under the so-called Washington consensus, a term coined by John Williamson in 1989, which aimed to move nations further away from Keynesian state-directed economic policy toward three big ideas of macroeconomic discipline, market economy, and openness to the world (Skidelsky, 2005). Globalization and neoliberalism from this period forward would become intertwined, with IOs including the OECD, World Bank, and WTO playing a significant role in shaping the global policy space, including higher education (S. L. Robertson, 2008; Shahjahan, 2012).

Globalization has also given rise to countering forces “from below,” including grassroots efforts and a belief “that citizens around the world can serve as agents of social change” (Rhoads & Liu, 2009). These movements indicate a certain reversibility in power relations, a “counter-conduct” (Foucault, 2007) or struggle against a particular regime of power (Bevir, 1999; Rose, 1999). Examples of these struggles on display include multiple anti-globalization protests,

including — among many others — November 1999 in Seattle during the WTO’s biannual meeting, April 2001 in Quebec City during the Third Summit of the Americas, and July 2005 in Edinburgh during a summit of Group of Eight (G8) nations. Other examples of individuals displaying a counter-conduct against a particular socio-politico-economic order include the Occupy Movements of 2011; protests and student strikes against tuition increases notably throughout Quebec, Canada, in 2012; the 2019-2020 demonstrations in Hong Kong against the Anti-Extradition Law; and, the so-called hashtag movements of the late 2010s, including #MeToo and #BlackLivesMatter, among others.

Along with these examples, it becomes possible to challenge the hegemonic discourse of neoliberal globalization and to include subaltern voices in the shaping of global policies. In this way, international higher education has the potential to become the site for human development rather than human capital development. Thus, there exists the possibility for reimagining international education as a technology for advancing decolonial practices, social justice, and social change, which I discuss more in Chapter 5.

1.3.3 Internationalization

Like globalization, internationalization also signifies a highly contested concept, generating often contradictory conceptualizations and dilemmas for higher education (Stein, 2017). Internationalization discourse first began to emerge in higher education in the United States and Europe in the late 1980s and early 1990s. Knight (2004) defined internationalization as essentially a non-economically aligned “process of integrating an international, intercultural or global dimension into the purpose, functions or delivery of post-secondary education” (p. 11). This includes the cross-border exchange of students or scholarships, or it may include pedagogies aimed at increasing intercultural competencies among tertiary students.

Neoliberal discourses of privatization, marketization, and commodification eventually crept into the higher education vernacular (Altbach & Knight, 2007), while international education was presented as a “desirable manifestation” of globalization (Matthews & Sidhu, 2005, p. 56). Taken together, higher education had become “swept up in global marketization” by the mid-2000s (Marginson & van der Wende, 2007, p. 7). Once considered a separate and benign force focused on intercultural learning, Kim (2009) argues, “The discourse of internationalization is much entwined with ‘globalization’ nowadays” (p. 395).

From various critical perspectives, internationalization has come to signify the increasingly monetized aspects of educational practices, which include transnational higher education (Dowling-Hetherington, 2020), branch campuses (Altbach & Reisberg, 2015; Looser, 2012), and international student recruitment efforts (Lomer, 2017). Not only are universities expected to prepare graduates for an increasingly globalized world (Gacel-Ávila, 2005), aligning policy with internationalization practices is viewed as a necessary development for fulfilling the demands of the global knowledge economy (Dale, 2005; Hénard et al., 2012). Viewed as a form of “educational capitalism” (Marginson, 2004), contemporary internationalization discourse increasingly signifies the competition between nations and HEIs for student bodies in the lucrative international student marketplace (Karram, 2013). Meanwhile, students chase social and cultural capital in the form of international credentialing and the desirable badge of global citizenship (Dower, 2008). While students are viewed as consumers of education, international students have also become increasingly mobilized just like any other globally traded commodity (Johnstone & Lee, 2017; Rhee & Sagaria, 2004).

Today, internationalization has become nearly synonymous with ISM (Brooks & Waters, 2011). The number of internationally mobile students grew from about 800,000 in the 1970s to

nearly 2 million in the early 2000s. That number would grow nearly 200 percent by 2018, when 5.6 million tertiary students studied outside of their home country prior to the onset of the Covid-19 pandemic (OECD, 2020). As international students tend to pay much higher tuition than their domestic counterparts (Marginson & Rhoades, 2002), it has been argued that international student recruitment and enrollment represents a deliberate attempt to subsidize the cost of providing domestic higher education services (A. Luke, 2010; Sierra, 2020).

Internationalization has also given rise to educational governance derived from theories of public management. These governance practices promote a corporatized view rather than a statist perspective of educational management, outcomes, and knowledge as a commodity in the knowledge economy (Rizvi & Lingard, 2006). Over these last 30 years or so, international education has been transformed from a mostly state-sponsored and state-provided service sector into an industry in itself, providing a source of revenue and enhanced reputation for HEIs and nation-states (de Wit, 2020), often at the recommendation of global higher education policies.

Taken together, internationalization has moved from the “fringe” of institutional interests to its very core (Brandenburg & de Wit, 2011), even while its purpose and its processes are being debated now more than ever (Wihlborg & Robson, 2018). Just as the discourse of globalization can be viewed as a governing rationality (Sidhu, 2004), internationalization also can be viewed as a governing discourse within higher education, (re)defining our collective knowledge and understanding of what exactly is higher education, who pays for it, who gets to access it, and what it aims to accomplish.

There also exist countering forces to the neoliberal representations of internationalization in higher education, particularly those discourses and practices related to and promoting GCE (Abdi et al., 2015), democratic education (Olssen et al., 2004), and social justice (Pashby, 2018).

These democratizing discourses and practices place a higher value on tolerance, diversity of ideas, fairness, respect for truth, and a focus on empowering citizens to influence future educational practices, which, in turn, aim to shape future political values, attitudes, and behaviors (Gutmann, 1999). As a result, critical and poststructural literature have increasingly critiqued instrumentalism, which aims to shape internationalization practices toward maximizing profits and ensuring growth (Brandenburg & de Wit, 2011; Stier, 2004). For example, recent scholarship in the emerging field of critical internationalization studies has amplified inequitable policies and growing student precarities surrounding internationalization practices such as for-profit services, international student recruitment, and ISM in general (Kirsch, 2020; Stein, 2019).

While this study does draw insights from critical perspectives, it primarily takes a poststructural approach to analyzing the three levels of globalized higher education. It constructs a genealogy of global higher education policymaking, a genealogy of internationalization discourse in the context of U.S. higher education, and it proposes an analytical framework based on the care and cultivation of the self in order to re-imagine international students as active agents in the construction of their own subject positions.

1.4 Overview of Chapters

Chapter 2 of this dissertation presents a literature review of globalized higher education at the macro-, meso-, and micro-levels. It also details the theoretical and methodological approaches used in the manuscript chapters 3, 4, and 5. I discuss Foucault's concepts of discourse, power, and subjectivity and link together the Foucauldian concepts of power-knowledge with an analytics of discourse and power; power and governmentality with an analytics of government; and ethics as framework for analyzing identity-making and self-formation in international education.

Chapter 3 analyzes a corpus of texts to demonstrate how IOs have shifted the governing responsibility for higher education, subordinated higher education to the practice of lifelong learning, and created the conditions for increasing ISM. Three specific themes emerge from this analysis. First, the reversal and specificity of shifting responsibility for financing and governing higher education away from the public sector and toward the private sector, while positioning higher education as a driver of economic growth. Second, the discontinuity and exteriority of knowledge economy and lifelong learning discourses. Third, the visibility of ISM and the relationship to the neoliberal notion of *homo economicus*.

Chapter 4 analyzes a corpus texts developed by ACE and NAFSA in order to trace the emergence of internationalization discourse and its lines of transformation as both a regime of truth and a regime of practice in the context of U.S. higher education over the last 30 or so years. As HEPAs both reflect and produce discourse, ACE and NAFSA have and continue to actively participate in the discursive formation of internationalization. The analysis demonstrates that HEPAs have recently contributed to the repositioning of internationalization from a discourse of exchange to a discourse of competition.

Chapter 5 views international student subjectivity through the lens of Foucauldian ethics, problematizing existing critical literature and widening the view of governing aspects of international education to include productive as well as coercive elements of international education. Chapter 5 views international education and ISM as the possibility for ethical work, or individual self-formation, allowing for a (re)conceptualization of international students as active agents in their mobility rather than individuals caught up in their own subjugation. A study of Foucauldian ethics and the notion of the cultivation and care of the self widens the study of governing aspects of international education and ISM to include not only the coercive elements

associated with these educational practices but also the positive elements related to student self-formation.

Chapter 6 will conclude this study by discussing in greater detail two main contributions that this dissertation makes to the knowledge of global higher education. This includes conceptualizing higher education as both a technology of power and a technology of government and offering a Foucauldian critique at the three levels of analysis that take place in Chapters 3, 4, and 5. It also concludes by suggesting the possibility of reversing power relations in globalized higher education in order to challenge the lines of coloniality while pushing toward democratic and global citizenship education practices.

1.4.1 Publication and presentation of research

A preliminary overview of this dissertation was published in the Winter 2020 edition of the *Journal of Comparative and International Higher Education*. In addition, portions of this dissertation have been published in leading peer-reviewed educational journals and presented at several academic conferences. Chapter 3 was published first online in March 2021 in the journal *Globalisation, Societies and Education*. Chapter 4 was published first online in June 2021 in the journal *Higher Education Policy*. Various findings from Chapter 3 were presented in 2021 at the American Educational Research Association (AERA), the Comparative International Education Society (CIES), and the Canadian Society for the Study of Education (CSSE), while findings from Chapter 4 were presented in 2020 at CIES and accepted to present at CSSE, which was canceled due to Covid-19. Portions of Chapter 5 were presented at the American Sociological Association (ASA) conference in August 2021 and at the University Council for Education Administration (UCEA) conference in November 2021. Portions of this chapter have also been accepted to present at the April 2022 AERA annual meeting. Chapter 5 was originally submitted

in July 2021 to the peer-review journal *Discourse: Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education*.

The journal invited me to revise and resubmit the manuscript near the time of the final submission of this dissertation.

Chapter 2: Literature Review and Methodological Framework

2.1 Globalized Higher Education: A Review of Literature

Higher education has become a big global business, and international students have played an increasingly important role in fueling the higher education sector. International students contributed \$44 billion to the U.S. economy in 2018 (IIE, 2020), \$35 billion (US) to the UK economy in 2014-15 (Universities UK, 2017), \$24 billion (US) to the Australian economy in 2018 (Universities Australia, 2018), and \$18 billion (US) to the Canadian economy in 2018 (Global Affairs Canada, 2019). International students, likewise, have become import consumers of higher education in global North nations. As a result of their economic impact, significant drops in student mobility due to Covid-19, discussed in Chapter 1, has created nothing less than panic among higher education institution (HEI) administrators as well as regional and national governments (Yuen, 2020). In many ways, globalized higher education and the practice of internationalization now sit at a crossroads perhaps even more tenuous than after September 11, 2001, when international student enrollments briefly fell in the United States (Engberg & Green, 2002), or following the financial crisis of 2008 (Altbach & de Wit, 2021).

The question for critical and poststructural scholars of higher education and internationalization often centers on trying to determine the various factors that have contributed to higher education being swept up in global marketization (Marginson & van der Wende, 2007), how international student mobility (ISM) has become highly imbalanced with flows moving from South to North (Lee et al., 2006), and how international students have internalized a neoliberal rationality of gaining social and cultural capital through mobility and Western higher education (Koehne, 2006). However, I am interested in both critiquing existing literature and

extending these somewhat narrow and often negative approaches in this dissertation. As such, I have aimed to take a more complex view of the operation of globalized higher education. I view globalized higher education as both a technology of power as well as a technology of government, discussed further in Chapter 6. I also have come to view the international student — who may be driven by coercion and desire — as being an active agent of one's own identity, self-formation, and mobility.

Before discussing the theoretical and methodological frameworks that were employed in the three following manuscript chapters, I will first review existing literature as it relates to globalized higher education discourse and practices in this chapter. First, at the level of global policymaking, where intergovernmental organizations (IOs) actively participate in shaping the discourse and knowledge related to higher education, its practices, and its role within a political economy of globalization. Second, at the regional and national level, where policies and intermediary organizations shape and govern the discourse and practice of internationalization in higher education. Third, at the level of the individual subject, where ISM is viewed as both the site of existing hegemonic power relations and as the site of struggle and resistance.

2.1.1 Global higher education policymaking

Intergovernmental organizations, including the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), the World Bank, and World Trade Organization, (WTO) have long taken up and deployed a discourse of globalization within a neoliberal imaginary in order to shape higher education policies and practices “toward increasing productivity and competitiveness in the global economy” (Moutsios, 2009, p. 475). These multilateral organizations disseminate knowledge and policy ideas at a global level (Shahjahan, 2012), which

subsequently shape educational policies and practices at the national and regional level (Rizvi & Lingard, 2006).

As discussed in Chapter 1, the WTO's General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS) has been particularly impactful in advancing a neoliberal political economy of higher education as a tradeable service (Altbach, 2001; Knight, 2006; Robertson, 2003). Under the GATS, WTO member states must remove barriers to the free movement of those providing or consuming services identified under the agreement. Education is one of the twelve service sectors identified by the GATS, with higher education a specific category within the sector. Despite the unofficial end of the Doha Round of multilateral trade negotiations among WTO member nations at the 10th Ministerial Conference in Nairobi, Kenya, in December 2015, the various trade commitments previously negotiated, including 45 commitments made in higher education services, remain in effect (WTO, 2020).

Since its inception in 1961, the OECD has emphasized education as a driver of both economic growth and social development (Rizvi & Lingard, 2010). The OECD has positioned education as a central component of economic policy, despite not having any legally-binding mandate in education (Rizvi & Lingard, 2006). The OECD has also been an influential supporter of the GATS and its trade-in-services in the education sector (Scherrer, 2005). Exercising its “soft power,” the OECD has advocated that low-income and small countries should make use of trans-border education and “import” tertiary education by sending students to wealthier nations including the United States, Australia, and Canada, among others (Collier et al., 2002; Johnstone & Lee, 2017; Scherrer, 2005). The OECD has also taken up neoliberal instrumentalist discourses and concepts of educational success, using performance indicators and national comparisons through its Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) and its Assessment of

Higher Education Learning Outcomes (AHELO), a pilot initiative which ultimately was never adopted by OECD members (Harmsen & Braband, 2019). As a global producer of knowledge on education and higher education specifically, OECD policies have steered member nations toward adjusting their educational practices, such as supporting education for the knowledge economy or practices of lifelong learning (Rizvi & Lingard, 2006; Robertson, 2005).

Claiming to be “the largest financier of education in the developing world” (World Bank, n.d.), the World Bank has used international development goals and structural adjustment programs to require less-wealthy nations to move toward market-based solutions in education (Brooks & Waters, 2011). Rizvi and Lingard (2010) argue that, “The policy role of nation-states was thus redefined as a facilitator of markets rather than an instrument that steered them or mediated their effects” (p. 40). Several global South countries, particularly in Latin America, have been obligated to open their higher educational systems to privatization as a condition of receiving international funding, such as World Bank loans (Boron, 2006). Concomitantly, World Bank policies targeting education often favor neoliberal managerial governance solutions and greater individualism over state controls and local collective knowledges (Robertson, 2005).

While there have been several critical and poststructural studies that have examined the role of IOs in situating neoliberal and globalization discourses within higher education policy, such as the knowledge economy or lifelong learning, and their role in transnational education policymaking in general (Dale, 2005; Morley et al., 2014; Moutsios, 2009; Olssen et al., 2004; Rizvi & Lingard, 2010; Scherrer, 2005; Shahjahan, 2012; Torres & Schugurensky, 2002), there remain calls to further examine the specific role of IOs and wider policymaking processes in the higher education sector at the international level (Harmsen & Braband, 2019). This is particularly necessary in order to trace the lines of discursive transformation, reversals, and

discontinuities which have taken place in global higher education policymaking over the last 30 or so years in parallel to the rise of neoliberal globalization, as discussed in Chapter 1.

Chapter 3 responds to this gap in the literature by drawing from Foucauldian analytics of discourse, discussed further below, in order to demonstrate the ways in which specific policies developed by the OECD, World Bank, and WTO have aimed to shape particular higher education practices at the national and local levels at different points in time. While few studies attempt to connect the notion of discourse and governmentality (McIlvenny et al., 2016), Chapter 3 responds to that gap, as well, by analysing IO policies for the production of regimes of practices as an analytics of government (Dean, 2010).

2.1.2 Governing the discourse of internationalization

Higher education professional associations (HEPAs) have played a significant role in the higher education sector, both representing higher educational needs and shaping higher education policy. As intermediary organizations, HEPAs exist in large numbers in the United States, Canada, the United Kingdom, the European Union, Australia, and elsewhere. Their purpose is to both advocate on behalf of higher education and to shape government policies that benefit individual HEIs (Metcalf, 2006; Metcalf & Fenwick, 2009). For example, the International Association of Universities (IAU) has been involved in ongoing initiatives related to the European Higher Education Area (EHEA) and the Bologna Process, which comprise 49 member countries and has the goal of “continuously adapt[ing] their higher education systems [to make] them more compatible and strengthening their quality assurance mechanisms” (European Higher Education Area, n.d.; Roberts, 2016).

In the United States, HEPAs have become more or less embedded into the U.S. higher education landscape, operating as a decentralized and complex network of agencies operating in

a decentralized and complex federalist system of higher education (Hawkins, 1992). Their roles are traditionally viewed as acting in the best interests of higher education, or some section of higher education, such as international education. HEPAs also have become established agencies of knowledge production within the field of international education (Buckner & Stein, 2020; Metcalfe & Fenwick, 2009). Roberts (2016) argues that “HEPAs serve as a unique window into the field of international higher education because they are the most far reaching, comprehensively representative of the field of international higher education” (p. 11).

The American Council on Education (ACE) and NAFSA: Association of International Educators, in particular, have been highly active participants in shaping internationalization discourse in the United States over the last 30 years or more. ACE was formed in 1918 as an “association for associations” in which all national associations of institutions of higher education were members (Hawkins, 1992). By the 1970s, ACE had become an effective policy actor, advocating for policies at both the federal and state levels (Forest & Kinser, 2002). NAFSA, meanwhile, was founded in 1948 as the National Association of Foreign Student Advisers to promote the professional development of U.S. college and university officials and faculty advisors responsible for assisting and advising international students studying in the United States (de Wit, 2002). Calling themselves the largest association dedicated to international education and exchange, NAFSA has grown significantly along with the rise in internationalization discourse and practices, now serving more than 10,000 professionals engaged in international higher education services (Altbach, 2009).

While there exists an abundance of literature analyzing education policies and the discourse of internationalization, much less have analyzed the ways in which HEPAs govern higher education policies and practices through the production of discourse and knowledge

formation, perhaps with the notable exception of Buckner and Stein's (2020) recent critical discourse analysis of internationalization advanced by three international HEPAs. Chapter 4 responds to this gap by bringing together the analysis of discourse with an analysis of governing practices influenced by HEPAs, discussed further below, in order to investigate the specific knowledges and regimes of practices that have come to constitute a discourse of internationalization, specifically within a U.S. context. Chapter 4 also differs from other critical policy analyses in that it does not examine policies for what they say, necessarily; rather, it analyzes the discursive knowledges that have been put into practice (Bacchi & Goodwin, 2016).

2.1.3 International student mobility and subjectivity

As is evidenced above, a multiplicity of diverse factors has led to the rise in importance of internationalization in higher education and, with it, the rise in tertiary student mobility. Yet, this still leaves open the question of the role of the international student themselves in the globalized higher education domain. For example, how have tertiary students been governed to become internationally mobile? And, how have tertiary students governed themselves within this rationality of globalization and internationalization in higher education?

Critical approaches often argue that international education represents the maintenance of cultural capital, where elites take advantage of higher education while their mobility perpetuates the dominance of their "status-group culture" (Schofer & Meyer, 2005, p. 900). In this way, social mobility similarly favors well-developed education systems and institutions, which compounds existing inequalities (Rhoades & Slaughter, 2006).

Cultural studies and postcolonial theory both tend to emphasize the grave imbalance in mobility trends, in which income-wealthy Western nations "export" higher education to students from global South nations. International students, in turn, "import" Western higher education by

traveling to and studying in income-wealthy nations (Johnstone & Lee, 2017). Meanwhile, Crossley and Tikly (2004) argue that the maintenance of a colonial worldview reinforces cultural stereotypes, racial inferiorities, and economic domination over formal colonized regions, leading to the maintenance of global inequalities. These various critical perspectives and approaches also articulate a politics of resistance to educational inequalities, exploitation, and the narrowing of political and ethical choices associated with globalization (Krishna, 2009). In this way, international student identity-making and self-formation become both a site of struggle and of negotiation between students, their host nations, and host institutions (Courtois, 2020; Giroux, 2006; Marginson, 2012a, 2014). Marginson (2014) argues that, rather than viewing international students simply within the normative framework of higher education, international education, which is grounded in reflexive self-determination, helps to build “conscious international student agency” and involves a “never-finished” process of fostering international students as worthy of respect for their histories, identities, perspectives and learning practices rather than “a journey of conversion to a (non-existent) stable equilibrium” (p. 19).

Studies in governmentality, meanwhile, allow for investigations into the ways in which forms of political government — such as those knowledges and practices associated with capitalism, coloniality, and neoliberal forms of rule — become articulated within self-government, or the ways in which one governs oneself (Lemke, 2011). This convergence is frequently associated with what Foucault refers to as the *technologies of the self*, which he describes as the procedures which are recommend or prescribed to individuals for transforming their identity in order to obtain certain aims and objectives (Foucault, 2017). These include notions of self-care, self-control, and resiliency, among others. Government, therefore, becomes the contact point where the techniques of domination and coercion “interact” with the ethical

techniques of the self (Burchell, 1993, p. 268). While both critical and poststructural approaches challenge and disrupt the instrumental and dominant discourses that shape internationalization practices, including ISM, these approaches also tend to view international education as a deficit-centered practice (Clark & Gieve, 2006), which denies international students of agency and their capacity for decision-making.

Marginson and Sawir (2012) argue that viewing international education as a process of self-formation allows us to see the international student as a “strong agent” shaping the course of one’s own life rather than as a weak, deficient, or inherently divided human agent (p. 139).

Meanwhile de Wit (2020) has called for more ethical and qualitative approaches to internationalization studies. Chapter 5, therefore, proposes an analytical framework for viewing internationalization policies and practices, including ISM, through the lens of ethics, specifically Foucault’s notion of the cultivation of the self (Foucault, 1986). In this way, it becomes possible to focus attention on questions related to why tertiary students mobilize, the value of international education to the subject rather than to institutions and nation-states, and international education as a practice for the cultivation and the care of the self.

The remainder of this chapter will explore the theoretical and methodological approaches taken up in each of the following manuscript chapters. Each of the three manuscripts draws from various Foucauldian concepts and methods following along the axes of truth, power, and self. After introducing the section, I will first discuss his methods of archaeology and genealogy before exploring the three main theoretical aspects of Foucault’s work. I will also discuss the corresponding interpretive approaches that Foucault developed in his books and lectures and how I applied these approaches in each of my subsequent manuscript chapters.

2.2 Theoretical and Methodological Framework: Drawing from Foucault's Toolbox

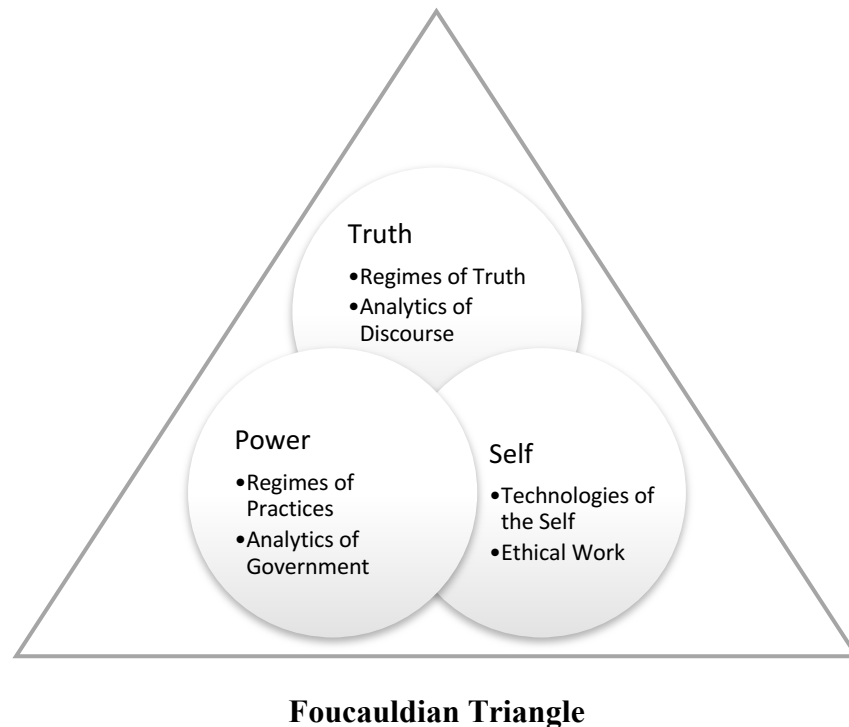
Perhaps the greatest challenge when working with Foucault's methods is deciding exactly which concepts — or which period — with which to work. His most notable works spanned nearly three decades, taking up a variety of theoretical topics and employing a variety of methodological approaches. The notion of the Foucauldian “toolbox” has come to represent this wide and varied array of theoretical and methodological instruments from which one has to choose (Cheek, 2008).

Discussed in Chapter 1, Foucault summarized his “general project” for analyzing the technologies of power in society — up to that point — which had resulted in the correlation of three axes that constitute the human experience: the formation of knowledge, the normativity of behavior, and the constitution of the subject (Foucault, 2010, p. 41). Flynn (1987) and Dean (2010) notably refer to these three axes of human experiences as the “Foucauldian Triangle” of truth, power, and self [Figure 2.1]. It can also be said that the first axis addresses questions related to the domain of reason, truth, and knowledge; the second the domain of power, domination, and government; and, the third addresses the domain of ethics, self, and freedom (Dean, 1994). Thus, in this way, Foucault's overarching methodological approach was the “analysis of forms of veridiction; analysis of procedures of governmentality; and analysis of the pragmatics of the subject and techniques of the self” (Foucault, 2010, p. 42). I discuss these approaches further below.

This study closely parallels Foucault's three domains of analysis. Chapter 3 analyzes global governing policies as a particular discursive formation of veridiction (truth) in the context of higher education. Chapter 4 analyzes internationalization practices as procedures of governmentality, specifically shaped by HEPAs. Chapter 5 analyzes international education,

including ISM, as an ethical practice in relation to knowledge, power, and subjectivity, where international students might constitute themselves as moral agents.

Figure 2.1



Before discussing how I took up these three axes of the Foucauldian triangle of truth, power, and subjectivity for addressing questions related to globalized higher education at three levels of analysis, two of Foucault's principle methodological approaches require further elucidation. First, archaeology, which describes his approach to analyzing discourse, and second, genealogy, which represents his approach to analyzing power. The combination of archaeology and genealogy, working together, problematizing, alternating, supporting, and complementing one another, proves to be a potent method for the interpretive analysis of discourse, non-discursive practices, conduct, and subjectivity (Dreyfus & Rabinow, 1983a; Lemke, 2019).

2.2.1 *Archaeology*

Foucault views discourse as both ordered knowledge and knowledge that is culturally and historically situated (Foucault, 1970). As a system of representations, discourse entails both meaning and practice as well as a way of representing knowledge (Hall, 2001). Ball (1990), in describing Foucault's approach to discourse, argues that "Meanings ... arise not from language, but from institutional practices, from power relations, from social position" (p. 18). Thus, the production and reproduction of discourse relies on institutional supports, operating as social acts, and attempts to contribute to, take away, or reshape our understanding of a particular social structure while also contributing to true and false statements of knowledge (Foucault, 1971).

Foucault's concept of discourse, therefore, is situated more closely to knowledge, materiality, and power relations rather than it is to language itself (Hook, 2001). In this way, discourse becomes the ordered ways for structuring knowledge and for constituting the social practices "that systematically form the objects of which they speak" (Foucault, 1972, p. 49). Foucault (1971) outlines four discursive principles of reversal, discontinuity, specificity, and exteriority [Table 2.1]. Concurrently, Foucault rejects the notion of ideology and instead looks for the effects of power situated within discourse (Foucault, 1980a). Thus, discourses not only construct certain possibilities of thought, attitudes, and other social representations that shape our knowledge and our subjectivity; discourses shape social practices, social relations, and the ways in which we do things (Foucault, 1991).

Table 2.1

| Archaeology | |
|----------------------|--|
| Reversal | Discursive formations that subvert assumptions of origin; shows the object of analysis in multiple forms |
| Discontinuity | Discursive formations that constitute diverse components; looks for competing constructions |
| Specificity | Regularity of discourse and materiality within discursive practices; demonstrates how discourses are institutionalized by specific material conditions |
| Exteriority | Elements which both enable and limit discourses; looks outward toward the condition of possibility |

(Foucault, 1971, Hook, 2005)

An archaeological method focuses on discursive formations and the general set of rules that govern objects, statements, concepts, and theoretical options (Foucault, 1972). Archaeology does not offer an ideological critique, nor is it a linguistic analysis meant to create new truths about a particular topic or discourse (Graham, 2005). Rather, archaeology offers *an analytics of discourse*, which examines the function of statements within their historical situatedness (Foucault, 1971). It aims to explicate statements that function to place a discursive frame around a particular position, and to form rhetorical constructions that present a particular reading of social texts (Foucault, 1991). Moreover, archaeology describes discursive practices, which give rise to specific norms, values, and knowledges: “There is no knowledge without a particular discursive practice; and any discursive practice may be defined by the knowledge that it forms” (Foucault, 1972, p. 183).

While archaeology proves useful in the search for discursive reversals and the rarefaction of discourse, it falls short on its own for linking discursive formations to actual material practices themselves (Dreyfus & Rabinow, 1983a). Thus, after meticulously working out archaeology for the “system of discursivity” and the “system of enunciative possibilities” (Foucault, 1972, p. 129), Foucault turns to a different method for analyzing how discursive formations take on the effects of power and to examine the relations of power in society (Foucault, 1980a).

2.2.2 *Genealogy*

Foucault eventually moves away from the strict analysis of discourse and begins developing his method of genealogy (Foucault, 1984). Genealogy signifies the method of examining texts in order to map the complex operations of power in our society (Foucault, 1980a). It attempts to make apparent those knowledges that have been hidden and forgotten by more dominant and normalizing discourses. Genealogy also aims to emancipate a “historical knowledge of struggles,” which include disqualified forms of local and historical knowledges (Foucault, 1980b, p. 83). It seeks discontinuities rather than a unitary progression of history, questioning taken-for-granted truths and looking for strategies of domination (Dreyfus & Rabinow, 1983a).

While archaeology illustrates the structural order as well as differences in discourse, genealogy searches for descent and emergence [Table 2.2] in order to demonstrate how various contingencies shape our current understanding of the present (Garland, 2014). Descent disturbs what was previously considered immobile, while emergence helps to describe the set of historical conditions out of which specific practices emerge (Foucault, 1984). Descent and emergence draw attention to the embedded knowledges as well as the unexamined ways of thinking, highlighting the battles that take place over knowledge. So, while archaeology refers to the analysis of discursive formations, reversals, and transformations, genealogy pays attention to the historical conditions which have normalized and institutionalized particular discursive formations (Dreyfus & Rabinow, 1983a).

Table 2.2

| Genealogy | |
|------------------|--|
| Descent | Avoids assumptions in which concepts are static; shows how object of analysis takes multiple forms across discontinuous lines of history |
| Emergence | The shifting set of historical conditions out of which specific practices emerge; a moment, an outcome, or product of a network of opposing forces |

(Bowman et al., 2019; Foucault, 1984; Garland, 2014; Hook, 2005)

It can be said, then, that genealogy examines the emergence of particular *regimes of truth*, which are linked together with specific systems of power that both induce and extend these truths (Foucault, 1980a). If archaeology offers an analytics of discourse, genealogy offers *an analytics of power*, allowing for a more complex understanding of power as “something which circulates” rather than something that is possessed (Foucault, 1980b, p. 98). An analytics of power becomes especially useful when analyzing the various ways in which technologies of government are employed as a power exercised over individuals (Burchell, 1993).

2.3 Utilizing the Foucauldian Triangle for Analyzing Globalized Higher Education

With the above overview of archaeology and genealogy, it becomes possible to examine the technologies of power that comprise the three axes of the Foucauldian triangle. This includes taking up both an analytics of discourse as well as an analytics of power to examine various technologies of power in society. In the following section, I will discuss how I employed the concepts of archaeology and genealogy as analytical lenses to examine international higher education policy discourse at the macro-level and internationalization practices at the meso-level. At the micro-level, I employ the notions of an analytics of discourse and an analytics of power, discussed further below, to construct a genealogy of international student subjectivity that critiques instrumental as well as critical approaches while moving toward more ethical conceptualizations of agency and self-formation.

2.3.1 *The formation of knowledge and the analytics of discourse*

The formation of knowledge and truth — what Foucault also refers to as the formation of forms of veridiction — is intimately tied together with the concept of power and subjectivity. Foucault's later works, which focus more on the axes of governmentality and the subject, discussed below, would allow for a productive conceptualization of power: For Foucault, power produces knowledge and rituals of truth; it produces the domain of objects and docile bodies; it produces reality itself (Foucault, 1977). Thus, one cannot separate governmentality and subjectivity from the notion of knowledge and forms of veridiction. In this way, knowledge and politics, including governing subjects and the constitution of the state, are intimately related through the production of discourse (Lemke, 2009).

While discourse should be viewed as a vast system that structures our reality, discourse must also be viewed as being socially and historically situated, both reflecting and shaping social relations and particular rationalities of power (Rhee & Sagaria, 2004). In *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, Foucault poses the question: "How is it that one particular statement appeared rather than another?" (Foucault, 1972, p. 27). Two items immediately emerge regarding the formation and practice of discourse. First, discourse is more than the semiotic ordering of language, or the signifier signifying the signified. While discourse is comprised of a set of signs and statements of said things [*énoncés*], it also comprises a set of rules that specify a discursive practice. Second, discourse embodies meaning and social relationships; it constitutes both subjectivity and power relations (Ball, 2013). In this way, discourse produces the objects of knowledge; it governs the ways in which a topic is discussed; and, it influences how ideas are put into practice and used to regulate the conduct of others (Hall, 2001). Knowledge, then, becomes a technology of power in

the formation of truth — a regime of truth (Foucault, 1980a) — be it scientific, historical, social, or political.

For Foucault, there is no exteriority between knowledge and power; power and knowledge are joined together within discourse (Foucault, 1978). As instruments of power, discursive formations constitute, organize, and regulate the “matrices of possible bodies of knowledge” and various forms of truth in society (Foucault, 2010, p. 5). The normalization of discursive power resides in its regularity, its homogenization, and its individualization (Foucault, 1977). The power-knowledge complex, therefore, signifies the endless operation and circulation of power relations in society, mutually reinforcing and extending each other in complex ways (Hook, 2007). It also signifies a discontinuous and “multiplicity of discursive elements,” which are neither continuous, uniform, or stable (Foucault, 1978, p. 100).

One such way that we see discourse operationalized as power-knowledge is through the production of policy (Bacchi, 2000). When analyzing policy as a discursive activity, policy can be viewed as constructing and defining a particular field — such as higher education — while also limiting the possibility of actions (Ball, 1990). In this way, policies act as regimes of truth, setting limits on knowledge, distributing power relations, and governing people and populations in particular ways (Ball, 1993). The aim of policy production is not to defeat or to subjugate but to produce and articulate economic, political, and social spheres (Tellmann, 2009). Policy, thus, makes for an appropriate target of further interpretive analysis.

Hook (2001, 2005) argues that an analytics of discourse is not discourse analysis, in the sense of locating meaning-making within language. Rather, it is a genealogical approach, which sees the analysis of discourse as intertwined with the broader analysis of power, history, materiality and knowledge. An analytics of discourse aims to explain the discontinuities, breaks,

ruptures in discursive systems of knowledge while also exploring the assemblage and connections between particular discursive formations and various political, economic, and social relations of power (McIlvenny et al., 2016).

Genealogy also provides for an analytics of power, which studies the relations and instruments of power (Foucault, 1978). Genealogy examines the operations of power such as the techniques and tactics of domination, the point at which power takes aim at specific and effective practices, and how power constitutes and governs subjects while also dictating behavior and desire (Foucault, 1980b). Foucault argues that the analysis of power is necessary in order to “see how these mechanisms of power, at a given moment, in a precise conjuncture and by means of a certain number of transformations, have begun to become economically advantageous and politically useful” (p. 101).

Chapters 3 and 4 of this study construct genealogies of higher education policy making at the global level and policy influencing at the national level. These studies draw upon the approach of Hook (2005), Garland (2014), and Bowman et al. (2019), who combine the methods of archaeology together with the approach of genealogy. Using Foucault’s four discursive principles of reversal, discontinuity, specificity, and exteriority, (Foucault, 1971) together with the genealogical search for descent and emergence takes the analysis of policy and practices beyond merely an analysis of discourse in order to detail the operation of power (Hook, 2007). Chapter 3 looks for the ways in which IOs have shaped and transformed higher education policy and governance at a global level within the neoliberal economic imaginary. Chapter 4, meanwhile, looks for the ways in which HEPAs in the United States have both shaped and been shaped by shifting political and economic discourses and have situated and contextualized internationalization within these political and economic rationalities.

2.3.2 Regimes of practices and the analytics of government

Power, as conceived by Foucault, allows for a constructive and productive as well as disciplinary and dominative approach to governing both populations and individuals (Dreyfus & Rabinow, 1983a; Foucault, 1977). Power, as mentioned above, signifies the “operation of the political technologies throughout the social body” (Foucault, 1978, p. 82). This conceptualization of power is antithetical to juridico-political, state-centered model of power possessed by a sovereign and/or elites, flowing from a centralized source in a dialectical, top-down model. For Foucault, power is not something that is possessed by individuals or even the state like a commodity. Power is relational; it produces knowledge and discourse and circulates at every level of social life (Foucault, 1980a).

Foucault identified two main types of power: discipline, as the power that is centered on individual bodies, and bio-power, the power that centered on the regulation of populations (Foucault, 1978). This study is primarily interested in the regulation of populations through policymaking and social practices and the ways in which power conducts social behavior, most notably in the area of higher education. As institutions and social structures limit and constrict the free flow of discourse, reinforce, and renew it (Hook, 2001), it becomes necessary to identify the institutional supports and the “whole strata of practices” that underlie the production of truth (Foucault, 1971, p. 11). In this way, the notion of governmentality allows for a more complex understanding of the conditions that make it possible for the objects of policy (e.g. higher education) to be problematized and a sector of society to be administered (Miller & Rose, 1990).

Foucault’s concept of bio-power and governmentality refines his notion of political power. He summarizes governmentality as:

“The ensemble formed by institutions, procedures, analyses and reflections, calculations and tactics that allow the exercise of this very specific, albeit very complex, power that has population as its target, political economy as its major form of knowledge, and apparatuses of security as its essential technical instrument” (Foucault, 2007, p. 108).

Foucault also later referred to governmentality as a “strategic field of power relations in their mobility, transformability, and reversibility” (Foucault, 2005, p. 252).

Governmentality studies recognizes knowledge and power as a dispersed form of governing power that harnesses the consent and productive capacities of individuals in order to shape the conduct of the greater population (Foucault, 2007). Governmentality provides both a theory and method for conceptualizing how populations are conducted *through discourse* toward specific norms, values, and economic means (Miller & Rose, 2008). As a theory, governmentality allows for the identification and conceptualization of particular governing rationalities. It not only denotes a particular way of thinking about and exercising power toward the security of a population; it also involves particular representations, knowledges, and a view of how populations should be governed.

Foucault also conceptualized governmentality as the “conduct of conduct,” meaning that the objective of government is to lead people toward governing themselves in a specific manner (Foucault, 1982). To govern “is to structure the possible field of action of others” (p. 790). Likewise, technologies of government serve as the mechanisms used to shape and normalize the conduct, thoughts, decisions, and aspirations of people and society in order to achieve desired results (Miller & Rose, 2008, p. 32). Governmentality, therefore, mediates between power and

subjectivity and allows for the investigation of how processes of subjugation and domination are linked to technologies of the self (Lemke, 2011), discussed further below.

Taking up governmentality studies as a framework and as a lens for analysis, it becomes possible to view the governing rationalities of neoliberalism and the discourse of globalization as particular governmentalities (Larner & Walters, 2004). Likewise, it becomes possible to analyze the manifold and often mundane governing technologies used to shape the conduct of individuals and collectives to achieve specific objectives (Lemke, 2009; Rose et al., 2006).

The pivot to studies in governmentality targets *regimes of practices*, “with the aim of grasping the conditions which make these acceptable at a given moment” (Foucault, 1991). *An analytics of government*, consequently, is concerned with the knowledges that constitute the strategies and techniques — such as control and surveillance — used to shape conduct and govern populations (Rose, 1999). It calls into question the assemblage of political apparatuses, rationalities, and technologies (understood as regimes of practices) that shape economic and social life as well as the management of human conduct and specific local practices (Dean, 2010; Foucault, 1991; Lemke, 2009; Rose, 1999). While the broader notion of an analytics of power defines “the specific domain formed by relations of power” (Foucault, 1978, p. 82), an analytics of government defines a discursive field in which the exercise of power is conceptualized and rationalized (Lemke, 2009; Rose & Miller, 1992).

An analytics of modern government pays particular attention to the mechanisms that align economic, social, and individual conduct with socio-political objectives (Miller & Rose, 1990). As government becomes both internal and external to the state (Foucault, 2007), an analytics of government allows the analyst to conceptualize the processes of individualization and institutionalization as “technologies of government” (Lemke, 2009). Thus, a

governmentality approach provides a method for analyzing the rules imposed and reasons given at a particular historical moment (Foucault, 1991). In this way, the genealogist attempts to make visible the various non-discursive apparatuses, or *dispositifs*, which include the various technologies, techniques, and procedures for directing human behavior at a certain moment in time (Rose et al., 2006).

Chapter 3 and 4 apply an analytics of government in order to analyze global higher education policy at a macro-level and internationalization practices at the meso-level. Taking an approach that combines genealogy together with analytics of government aims to satisfy the “strong demand for interdisciplinary research” by focusing on both governmentality studies and discursive analysis that allows for investigation of discourses, practices, and rationalities of the conduct of conduct (McIlvenny et al., 2016).

2.3.3 The care of the self and ethical work

After years of focusing on the nature of discourse, knowledge and power, Foucault proclaims in his 1982 article, “Subject and Power,” that his real objective has been to study the ways in which people are made into subjects, first through scientific objectification, second through disciplining individualization and dividing practices, and third through how humans turn themselves into subjects (Foucault, 1982). While his work in the early 1980s focused on the governing practices of the self, his work after 1981 took an unexpected turn toward a *genealogy of ethics* (Dreyfus & Rabinow, 1983b). Foucault re-oriented his analysis toward the practices by which individuals make and recognize themselves as subjects, what he called the pragmatics of the self or the “ethical work” that one performs in order “to transform oneself into the ethical subject of one’s own behavior” (Foucault, 1985, p. 27).

When analyzing the genealogy of the subject in Western society, Foucault argues that one must take into account both the techniques of domination as well as the techniques of the self (Foucault, 1993). He first takes up the question of governmentality from the perspective of the techniques of the self in his 1980-1981 lectures, *Subjectivity and Truth*, as being “the procedures ... that are recommended or prescribed to individuals for fixing, maintaining or transforming their identity in term of certain aims and thanks to relations of the self-master and self-knowledge” (Foucault, 2017, p. 293).

Viewed as a governmentality — where the macro-technologies of discipline that govern populations transcend to the micro-technologies individuals use to govern themselves (Binkley, 2009) — the techniques of the self constitute the programs of government that aim to form and transform individuals and populations in particular ways (Dean, 2010). These are the practices that one accepts as a duty and obligation to authority, whether that be state, institutional, religious, or otherwise (Foucault, 1988). While government as the conduct of conduct is concerned with the micro practices, techniques, and procedures for directing human behavior (Rose et al., 2006), the techniques of the self are those practices that the individual imposes on oneself and where techniques of the self are integrated into technologies of coercion. Because individuals are the vehicles of power rather than simply its point of application (Foucault, 1980b), the subject is a participant in power relations and government becomes the contact point where the technologies of coercion and techniques of the interact (Burchell, 1993).

When researching the rapid rise in ISM since the late 1990s, it becomes possible to argue that international students have internalized the rationality of neoliberalism and developed techniques of the self that include self-reliance, entrepreneurialism, and hypermobility in response to the needs of global capital (Courtois, 2020). Foucault (1978) argued that, “Where

there is desire, the power relation is already present” (p. 81). Conceptualizing desire, such as attaining a higher education, as an object of power connects subjectivity to notions of knowledge, governmentality, and techniques of the self, with power relations carried through the very discourses they create.

This rather narrow conceptualization of power tends to deny international students of their own agency. It contextualizes the international student merely as the subject of one’s own desire. However, as it is widely known, Foucault (1978, 1980b, 1982) argued that power is not something that has a centralized form, nor does power extend from the top-down. Rather, power acts as a set of reversible relationships, and — as in the case of techniques of the self — power acts as a relationship between politics and ethics. With this understanding of power relations, governmentality, then, “must refer to an ethics of the subject” defined as a relationship of the self to self (Foucault, 2005, p. 252).

Foucault would eventually “complicate” his studies of governmentality beginning in his 1981-1982 lectures, *The Hermeneutics of the Subject*, through the exploration of the ancient Greek and Roman practice of care of the self (Gros, 2005, p. 512). Contrary to the normative-disciplinary systems of individualization or the imminently governable subject such as *homo economicus* as the correlate of governmentality, Foucault turns his attention to the subject’s own relationship to the truth. Through his genealogy of ancient Greek and Roman texts, the individual emerges as the ethical subject of one’s own truth rather than simply the product of systems of power and knowledge (Foucault, 1997). For example, Foucault (2005) interprets Seneca’s writings as working toward becoming a master of himself: “We should seek our objective, happiness and ultimate good in ourselves, in our minds, in the quality of our souls” (p. 265). This undoubtedly does *not* signify that the subject is free from techniques of power and systems of

coercion and domination; rather, it signifies that the subject is engaged in a constant struggle in the constitution and cultivation of the self (Foucault, 1986).

Ultimately, the individual subject is the final authority in the constitution of one's own conduct. Therefore, various practices, or techniques, that fall under the technologies of the self, are key to differentiating what might be called a separation of politics and ethics, or even an ethico-political spectrum (Rose, 1999). Focusing on ethics, including the care of the self [*epimeleia heautou*] and speaking one's own truth [*parrhesia*], allows for an examination of how individuals actively constitute, cultivate, and assert themselves as subjects of and subjects to various rationalities and practices that are embodied in conscience and self-knowledge. In this way, the ethical work that one performs not only is the way one brings oneself into compliance with rule; it is a practice for the individual to question one's relationship to truth. For Foucault (1997a), ethics is an ascetic practice of self-formation as well as a practice of liberty through a care of the self. The cultivation of the self, therefore, suggests an approach to viewing and supporting pedagogically the notion of international students as agents acting on their own behalf while also recognizing various coercive elements that contribute to their precarity.

Chapter 5 takes up the notions of ethics and the cultivation of the self in relation to international student identity and self-formation. Rather than conceiving of ethical practices as a subset of the technologies of the self, it resituates ethics as residing within the Foucauldian Triangle and in relation to truth, power and subjectivity. It also proposes moving toward ethical internationalization practices, situating international students as agents in the production of truth.

2.4 Discussion and Limitations

As discussed in Chapter 1, this study approaches the topic of internationalization and ISM from three distinct vantages. Chapter 3 employs an analytics of discourse to examine global

higher education policy making. Chapter 4 employs an analytics of government to examine the discursive practices of higher education professional organizations at subjectivity. Rather than focus on the techniques of the self that deal with the ways in which the individual is called upon to constitute themselves as subjects (Foucault, 2010), Chapter 5 conceptualizes international education as an ethical practice of the self and relates these practices to a cultivation and care of the self in the process of self-formation and identity-making. This approach does not necessarily move away from analysis of power or practices. Rather, it proposes extending perhaps what could possibly be called *an analytics of subjectivity* to (re)situate international student as an agential subject.

There are obvious limitations to using Foucauldian conceptualizations of truth, power, and self and his methodological strategies that accompany these topics. It must first be acknowledged that Foucault, a white European male, grounds his approach to analysis in Western philosophical traditions, including the likes of Nietzsche, Weber, and Heidegger. The rise of governmentality studies in the 1990s informed by Foucault were also narrowly developed in mostly Anglo-North American contexts (Simons & Masschelein, 2006). In this way, research drawing from Foucault's methods runs the risk of excluding marginalized and subaltern voices, of centering analysis exclusively on Western-dominant approaches, and of overlooking opportunities for decolonizing methodologies, especially in the field of higher education internationalization, where neoliberal pedagogies perpetuate coloniality and manifold inequalities (Brathwaite, 2017). These and other limitations are discussed further in Chapter 6.

However, his works have informed and continue to challenge a variety of other Western-centric philosophical traditions, perhaps most notably critical methods that draw on neo-Marxist traditions. Foucault's concepts and methods have been taken up by cultural studies,

poststructural, and feminist scholars, including those investigating international higher education. Hall (2001), taking up Foucault's notion of the production of knowledge via discourse, viewed the subject as operating within a discursive system [*episteme*], a regime of truth in a particular time within a particular culture, and subjugated by discourse. From a postcolonial research perspective, Tikly (2004) argues that Foucault's governmentality "provides a critique of dominant forms of rationality or ways of thinking about global governance" (p. 174), while Sidhu (2006) argues that governmentality allows scholars to consider how "individuals internalize the effects of power and regulate themselves toward ends that are congruent with the forms and effects of power deployed by both state and non-state actors" (p. 31, cited in Rhee, 2009). Nakayama and Krizek (1995) also argue that Foucault's exteriority allowed for Whiteness to be viewed as a rhetorical construction which allows for research on the rhetorical ways Whiteness makes itself visible — and invisible — eluding analysis while exerting influence over social life.

Poststructural methods that draw from Foucault arguably allow for multiple theoretical and methodological conceptualizations, contingencies, and perspectives. These allow for a connection between discourse and knowledge with regimes of truth; power and governmentality with regimes of practices; and, bio-power, coercion, and ethics with the technologies of the self. Moreover, aligning research practices with the ethics of the traditionally marginalized reconceptualizes questions and practice of research and challenges notions that any one group could "know" or define or represent the "others" (Cannella & Lincoln, 2018, p. 186).

Analyzing the increasingly globalized nature of higher education policies and practices at three levels of analysis through the Foucauldian lens of truth, power, and self allows for a more complex representation of twenty-first century international higher education. It helps to detail

knowledge production associated with neoliberalism, globalization, and internationalization and the manifold complexities related to higher education practices. This approach to analysis also avoids reducing globalized higher education down to a particular or singular phenomenon, a continuation and/or augmentation of existing trends, or some desirable manifestation of modernity. Finally, it allows for new questions to be raised regarding global policymaking, governing practices, and international students as strong agents of their own subjectivity.

Preface to Chapter 3

Chapter 3 began as an analysis of the World Trade Organization's (WTO) General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS) in an attempt to illustrate linkages between the GATS and the rapid increase in ISM in the 2000s. However, what became apparent through an ongoing review of literature was that while the WTO's GATS did provide a framework for liberalizing educational trade in services, other intergovernmental organizations (IOs) — including the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) and the World Bank — were actively shaping global higher education policies. Their policy discourses were grounded in what Rizvi and Lingard (2010) refer to as “neoliberal globalization,” a discourse that promotes a growth-first approach to policy, including education policy (Peck & Tickell, 2002).

Marginson (2012b), Rizvi and Lingard (2006), Robertson (2003, 2009), and Verger (Verger, 2009) provide useful studies into the active role IOs have taken in (re)shaping higher education policies toward a global governing sphere. Meanwhile, Sidhu (2004) views globalization through the Foucauldian framework of governmentality and examines the ways in which global imaginaries were used to govern international education. Several authors analyze the discourse of *knowledge economy*, which gained in importance in the 1990s, with the OECD's 1996 report, titled “The knowledge-based economy” (OECD, 1996). Peters (2002) traces the emergence of knowledge economy discourse back to the Chicago school economists of the 1960s, who often link education to the concept of human capital development. The political economy of the late twentieth century was intrinsically tied to the rise and reproduction of the globalizing knowledge economy and a new logic of governance that links the reorganization of higher education to these changing economic and political environment (Jessop, 2008).

Selecting a corpus of texts required reviewing several IO policy documents, positioning papers, and annual reports, such as the OECD's "Education at a glance" reports, which offers a number of comparative measures in education and development among its member states. Beginning with IO with texts from the late-1980s and 1990s, the period often linked to the so-called Washington consensus, I looked specifically for documents that took up higher education, specifically. I began with a search for several key terms, including "higher education," "tertiary education," "post-secondary education," "international student(s)," "public good/public funding/public sector," "knowledge economy," "economic growth," "governance," "globalization/globalization," and "internationalization/internationalisation."

As IOs are important producers of knowledge, Chapter 3 utilizes an analytics of power to search for the power-knowledge regimes of truth that IOs produced to construct a genealogy of global higher education policy. This chapter also aims to answer the call for interdisciplinary research that combines discursive analysis with approaches to governmentality studies (McIlvenny et al., 2016). Foucault later expanded his genealogical method to include an analytics of government to search for techniques that shape regimes of practices where governing actually takes place (Dean, 2010). Therefore, Chapter 3 also includes an investigation into the rationalities that govern the "conduct of conduct" (Foucault, 1982) in contemporary global higher education policy.

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Chapter 3: Governing higher education toward neoliberal governmentality: a Foucauldian discourse analysis of global policy agendas

Abstract

Intergovernmental organisations (IOs) have developed global policies that have shaped the practices of higher education for decades. The OECD, WTO, and World Bank have long framed higher education as both a contributor to human capital and a driver of economic growth. Yet, their policy agendas have transformed over time and more recently taken up neoliberal narratives. This paper analyses a corpus of IO texts to demonstrate how these organisations have shifted the governing responsibility for higher education, subordinated higher education to the practice of lifelong learning, and created the conditions for increasing international student mobility. Applying a Foucauldian analysis of discourse and studies in governmentality, this paper broadly explores the complexity of IO governing policies, which have (re)imagined and (re)positioned the purpose of higher education and its role as a technology of government. As global environmental, social, political, and health crises demand globally researched and financed solutions, this exploration of IO policy is a necessary step in the work of reimagining the future practices of higher education.

Keywords: *Higher education; governmentality; governance; knowledge economy; lifelong learning*

3.1 Introduction

Since the late 1980s, intergovernmental organisations (IOs) have promoted and shaped globalising higher education policies (Shahjahan 2012; Rizvi and Lingard 2010). The influence of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), the World Bank, and

the World Trade Organisation (WTO) on the topic of education policy has influenced national, regional, and local practices, such as reducing public funding for higher education (Altbach and Knight 2007); adopting managerial governance practices (Marginson 2012); developing competitive institutional internationalisation practices (van der Wende 2007); and, increasing international student mobility (Courtois 2020). Yet, as global crises from environmental catastrophes to the Covid-19 pandemic prompt a reimagining of the ways in which higher education is practiced, an examination of the history and transformations of IO policies that affect the sector warrant closer examination.

According to IOs, human capital development, productivity, and knowledge acquisition have become central to the global economy (Moutsios 2009). Thus, their policy frameworks have positioned higher education as an important factor for developing knowledge workers for a knowledge-based global economy (Lomer 2017). Paralleling the rise of the notion of knowledge economy has also been the drumbeat for mobilising societies through the practices of continuous training and lifelong learning (Edwards 2002; Gordon 1991). While IOs have wielded considerable authority and influence in the global governing complex (Ydesen 2019), the confluence of multiple global crises strongly challenges existing historical narratives and the ways in which global governing hastaken place within the neoliberal imaginary.

With these challenges in mind – including consideration for how Covid-19 has completely upended the residential university model and international experiential learning (Marinoni, Land, and Jensen 2020; Huish 2021) – this paper presents an analysis of IO policies related specifically to higher education over the last three decades, with an emphasis on the reversals and discontinuities related to recent policy developments. Given that widespread deployment of neoliberal strategies has infused market values into practically every aspect of

social and political life –even as scholars debate a post-neoliberal socio-political rationality (Means and Slater 2019; Peck, Theodore, and Brenner 2010) and as calls for increased multilateralism have been spurred on by the UN's Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) – this paper aims to contribute a deeper understanding not only into the ways in which IOs have shaped global higher education policy within the neoliberal imaginary but also how these narratives have transformed over time. In addition, the author looks for ways in which IO have sought to shape educational practices into a mechanism for governing populations.

This paper draws from Foucauldian analytics of discourse in order to demonstrate the ways in which policies developed by IOs aim to shape higher education practices at a local and national level. It also employs an analytics of government to demonstrate how IO policies aim to govern various regimes of practices in the higher education sector (Dean 2010). Considering these two approaches, this study asks the question: 'How has the perceived role of higher education in contemporary society shifted discursively over the last two decades, as IOs have taken up and deployed neoliberal rationality in global higher education policymaking'? Rather than analysing sector-specific or country-specific responses to global higher education policies, the author analyses a corpus of IO texts that address globalising higher education policies (Shahjahan 2012) by linking Foucauldian concepts of power-knowledge 'regimes of truth' together with governing 'regimes of practices'.

This study begins with a short review of IO involvement in higher education policymaking since their formation. It then advances a conceptual framework for investigating these global higher education policies and their discontinuities before analysing a corpus of IO texts that pertain to global higher education policies and suggested practices. Developing this genealogy of modern globalised higher education policies includes a close reading of several key

policy documents produced by the OECD, the World Bank, and WTO from the mid-1990s until today. It concludes with a discussion of findings and suggestions for possible future research.

3.2 IOs and Global Higher Education Policy

The UN Monetary and Financial Conference of 1944 at Bretton Woods played a key role in the beginnings of global political economy as well as an interest in education as a tool for development (Olssen, Codd, and O'Neill 2004; Rizvi and Lingard 2010). In 1947, the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund (IMF), and the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) formed the institutional 'pillars [of the] liberal international economic order' (Lal 1998, 113–114). Funded by the US Marshall plan to help rebuild post-World War II Europe, the Organisation for European Economic Co-operation (OEEC) was established in 1948 (Papadopoulos 1994). The OEEC would eventually become the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development in 1961, which drew attention to links between economic productivity and educational investment (Rizvi and Lingard 2006).

These Bretton Woods institutions were 'designed to coordinate economic growth between the advanced capitalist powers and to bring capitalist-style economic development to the non-communist world' (Harvey 2003, 55). The effort, steeped in Keynesian economics and social democracy (Olssen, Codd, and O'Neill 2004), focused foremost on nation building and dovetailed with a global development strategy (McMichael 2016). Human capital theory – the accompanying theory that the acquisition of knowledge becomes a form of economic capital that can be exchanged in the labour market (Schultz 1961) – presented higher education as both a public and private investment decision made by nation-states and its people (Maringe 2015).

Under the so-called Washington consensus of the late 1980s (Scherrer 2005), the OECD and World Bank embraced neoliberal market-based policies and emerging globalisation

practices, including the liberalisation of both capital and global trade on goods and services (Robertson 2003). Throughout the 1990s and 2000s, the World Bank shifted its policies toward a neoliberal agenda of fiscal austerity through conditional funding programmes, including those targeting education. Schugurensky and Davidson-Harden (2003) argue the World Bank has been a key player in encouraging private sector development in education. Its increasing leverage has raised concerns about the concentration of decision-making power in setting educational agendas at an international scale, particularly in developing countries, where World Bank funding acts as a leveraging mechanism for supporting a marketising and privatising agenda in the education sector (Robertson 2009).

The OECD – whose statistics serve as important assessment points for policy initiatives at the national and international levels – advocates for market-like competition between states, their institutions, and their citizens (Sidhu 2007). Without any legally-binding mandate in education, the OECD has exerted its influence through its strong form of governance and comparative modelling of national indicators such as its Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) and other performance indicators (Martens et al. 2004; Ydesen 2019). As a result, the OECD has come to suggest a ‘radically renewed’ interpretation of the neoliberal state, with greater reliance on markets and ‘new devolved’ forms of governance compatible with the demands of the global economy (Rizvi and Lingard 2010, 130). However, what tends to be missing are analyses that not only illustrate the neoliberal elements of IO education policies but also the discursive transformations that have strategically reconceptualised post-secondary education as a technology of government in modern society.

The term ‘higher education’ has come to signify a highly complex system of public and private institutions forming a vast network of higher learning, including universities, colleges,

technical training institutes, community colleges, nursing schools, research laboratories, centres of excellence, and distance learning (World Bank 2002). These systems vary significantly based on their national context, diversity, and according to the role various higher education sectors play in the economy and society (Teichler 2006). With the rise of IO interest in developing a competitive ‘global higher education marketplace’ (Armstrong 2007), national and local contemporary higher education policies and practices must be situated within the context of global political economy (Schulze-Cleven et al. 2017), policymaking (Ball 2012), and governance practices (Ozga 2008) as well as neoliberal forms of governing rationality (Binkley 2009).

One of the most visible governing rationalities involving higher education comes from the World Trade Organisation (WTO). In 1995, the WTO was established, after 123 countries signed the Marrakesh Agreement in April 1994 (WTO 2020). The WTO absorbed the GATT and established both the General Agreement on Trade and Services (GATS) and the Trade-Related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights (TRIPS) that same year (Scherrer 2005). The complex GATS includes the most-favoured nation principle, which stipulates that each member will provide the same treatment to foreign service suppliers as those of any other member country (Verger 2009), and the domestic regulation clause, in which nation-states must remove barriers to the free movement of those providing, or consuming, services outlined in the agreement (WTO 1995). In particular, the GATS sets broad limits and conditions insofar as member nations may be trade restrictive with respect to twelve services sectors, with education being one of them and higher education its own category within the sector (Knight 2002).

The GATS caused great concern among critical and postmodern scholars in its approach linking education – particularly higher education – to the market economy (Altbach 2001;

Knight 2002, 2006; Robertson 2003; Schugurensky and Davidson-Harden 2003; Sidhu 2007; Marginson 2011). Schugurensky and Davidson-Harden (2003) argue that there has never been a trade agreement so intrusive in its attempt to ‘reintegrate and reterritorialise the world’ according to the new maps and goals of the marketplace, including the educational one (350). Robertson (2003) argues that under GATS, the relatively de-commodified education sector is being liberalised and transformed into a multi-billion-dollar industry, ‘powered by market-liberalising proponents in the developed economies’ (259). Despite the WTO’s Doha Round unofficially ending at the 10th Ministerial Conference in December 2015, the 53 commitments made to education services remain in effect.

While the evidence presented by these authors illustrates that neoliberalism has become the dominant policy approach of IOs (Klees 2012), there remains a need to further augment the existing literature by tracing recent discursive transformations in IO texts. Conducting a genealogy allows the analyst to disturb perceived historical contingencies and examine the inventedness of neoliberal policies as technologies of government. Currently, there exists a great deal of speculation surrounding the future of both neoliberalism (Means and Slater 2019) and globalisation as a development approach (Hameiri 2021). Thus, it becomes imperative to learn from past evidence in order to think more carefully and more critically about the ways IOs have shaped global trends, especially as it relates to higher education around the globe.

3.3 Conceptual Framework

This paper takes as its methodological approach an analytics of discourse taken together with an analytics of government in order to investigate specific knowledges and regimes of practices that constitute global higher education policy. First, a genealogical approach sees the analysis of discourse as intertwined with the broader analysis of power, the consideration of

history, materiality, and what counts as knowledge (Hook 2001). Second, an analytics of government helps draw attention to the organised regimes of practices through which collectives are governed through the production of truth (Dean 2010). Taken together, it allows for the uncovering of how ‘IOs objectify reality into a terrain to be governed’ by analysing the discourses that constitute political and social singularities as problems that require international solutions (Merlingen 2003, 367–368).

While Foucauldian methods do not necessarily offer solutions to societal problems, one of the strengths of governmentality studies is its capacity to render governing as the ‘conduct of conduct’ visible in new ways, including global higher education policymaking. As a particular form of knowledge and power, neoliberalism aims to shape the populace as economically productive subjects (Means and Slater 2019; Lomer 2017). One of the more important aspects of neoliberal governmentality is the creation of social conditions that encourage the production of a *homo economicus*, entrepreneur of oneself (Hamann 2009). Rather than man of exchange, neoliberal *homo economicus* becomes man of freedom and competition in which economic activity becomes the ‘grid of intelligibility’ one adopts (Foucault 2008, 252).

There also exists an essential discursive element to governmentality. Miller and Rose (1990) argue: ‘The government of a population, a national economy, an enterprise, a family, a child, or even oneself becomes possible only through discursive mechanisms that represent the domain to be governed’ (6). Policy should, therefore, be located within a discursive field of inquiry. Establishing policy as discourse directs attention to the ways in which policy exercises power through a production of truth and knowledge (Ball 1993). In this way, governmentality scholars working with Foucault have provided the most visible questioning of policy discourses by problematising what often is unquestioned and taken for granted (Bacchi and Goodwin 2016).

3.3.1 *Methods and data sources*

Constructing a genealogy of global higher education policy demonstrates the complexity of IO governing policies, which have (re)imagined and (re)positioned the purpose of higher education as a technology of government within a neoliberal imaginary. Genealogy takes account of the constitution of knowledge, discourses, and the domain of objects (Dreyfus and Rabinow 1983a; Foucault 1979) while tracing linkages between discourses and technologies of power (Olssen 1999). First, I turn to Foucault's four analytical principles of discourse, which include the archaeological principle of reversal along with the genealogical principles of discontinuity, specificity, and exteriority in order to define a regularity of discursive formations (Hook 2005). Foucault (1984) further extends his analysis of discourse with the genealogical search for descent and emergence. Descent disturbs what was previously considered immobile, while emergence helps to describe the set of historical conditions out of which specific practices emerge (Foucault 1984). As a point of discussion, genealogy aims to problematise the present by drawing attention to power relations and contingent processes that brought them into being (Garland 2014).

Meanwhile, an analytics of government views power relations as forms of knowledge accompanied by the various technologies and forms of thinking that guide and shape how governing actually takes place (Bacchi and Goodwin 2016; Lemke 2011). According to Dean (2010), an analytics of government places regimes of practices at the centre of analysis. Taking an approach that combines genealogy together with analytics of government aims to satisfy the 'strong demand for interdisciplinary research' by focusing on both governmentality studies and discursive analysis that allow for investigation of 'the forms, practices, modes, programmes and rationalities of the conduct of conduct today' (McIlvenny, Klausen, and Lindegaard 2016, 3).

The corpus of texts analysed in this study includes OECD, World Bank, and WTO policy documents that relate specifically to higher education [Table 3.1]. As each of these IOs are producers of influential discourses on global education policy (Buckner and Stein 2020), the corpus of texts analysed serves as a useful representation of IO discursive production in the sphere of global higher education policymaking. Texts were located by conducting a thorough search of OECD, World Bank, and WTO websites, using key search terms including [but not limited to] ‘higher education’, ‘tertiary education’, ‘post-secondary education’, ‘international student(s)’, ‘public good/public funding/public sector’, ‘knowledge economy’, ‘economic growth’, ‘governance’, ‘globalisation (globalization)’, and ‘internationalisation (internationalization)’.

Table 3.1

Corpus of texts analysed

| Title | Author | Year |
|---|---|-------------|
| World Trade Organization | | |
| Educational Services: Background Note by the Secretariat | WTO Secretariat: Trade in Services Division | 1998 |
| Educational Services: Background Note by the Secretariat | WTO Secretariat: Trade in Services Division | 2010 |
| Mainstreaming Trade to Attain the Sustainable Development Goals | WTO | 2018 |
| Organisation for Economic Development and Co-Operation | | |
| The Knowledge-Based Economy | OECD | 1996 |
| Lifelong Learning for All | OECD | 1996 |
| Approaches to Internationalisation and Their Implications for Strategic Management and Institutional Practice | OECD: Hénard, F., Diamond, L. & Roseveare, D. | 2012 |
| Education at a Glance | OECD | 2019 |
| Education at a Glance | OECD | 2020 |
| The World Bank | | |
| Education Sector Strategy | World Bank Group | 1999 |
| Learning for All: Investing in People's Knowledge and Skills to Promote Development | World Bank Group | 2011 |
| Learning to Realize Education's Promise | World Bank Group | 2018 |

3.4 Analysis

Several specific themes emerged from the analysis of OECD, World Bank, and WTO policy texts. The first theme that emerges is the specificity around shifting responsibility for financing and governing higher education away from the public sector and toward the private sector. The second theme emerges surrounding the discontinuities and exteriorities of ‘knowledge economy’ and ‘lifelong learning’ discourses. The final theme that emerges centres on the mobilisation of international students and the relationship to the neoliberal notion of *homo economicus*.

3.4.1 *Shifting the governing responsibility for higher education*

In 1998, the WTO Secretariat issued a background note to ‘stimulate’ discussions on trade in education services among member nations (WTO 1998). While it recognised that education is normally regarded as a ‘public consumption item’ offered free to promote ‘human capital development’ (WTO 1998, 2, 3), it immediately reversed this position, specifying a move away from public financing toward ‘greater market responsiveness’ and ‘openness to alternative financing mechanisms’ (WTO 1998, 5). This reversal illustrates how the GATS, from its earliest adoption and through active global policymaking, aimed to discursively reposition higher education toward market orientation and as a private responsibility.

Reversing the responsibility for financing higher education also became a policy framework in the 1990s and 2000s for both the World Bank (the Bank) and the OECD. Financing higher education varies widely in OECD member nations, with some – particularly in Northern Europe – funding the full cost of tuition to others, where individuals and families bear a much higher portion of tuition costs even at publicly funded colleges and universities, particularly in the United States and Canada (OECD 2014). In reports dating back to 1986, the

Bank adopted calls from economists who advocated for sharing the cost of delivering higher education with students and families in wealthier nations (Woodhall 2007). The Bank called upon developing countries to ‘recover’ the costs of funding higher education through mechanisms such as student loans (World Bank 1986). While the OECD frequently argued for providing higher education at a lower cost, it has more recently argued that private sources should play an increasingly prominent role in funding the higher education sector and has advocated for alternatives to the high cost of tertiary education, such as lifelong learning (OECD 2014, 2019).

The growing debate over who pays for higher education has given rise to calls for greater autonomy in the higher education sector. The Bank (1999) has argued that greater autonomy allows for greater responsiveness, efficiency, and accountability while creating new economic markets for higher education. Arguing that globalisation has put pressure on institutions to be more competitive, the OECD propagates a neoliberal discourse of market-like solutions and greater competition in which institutions seek their own worldwide reputation in order to ‘rise to meet the challenges associated with globalisation’ (Hénard, Diamond, and Roseveare 2012, 8).

With greater autonomy in the education sector, IOs problematised the need for re-imagined governance strategies, such as setting performance goals and assessing learning outcomes. Similar to the WTO, the Bank (2011) has favoured a private-education policy framework, arguing that governance practices allow for greater accountability through data collection, assessment, and benchmarking, reflecting a discourse of global governance. More recently, the Bank has problematised the failure of governing education, or what it refers to as ‘schooling without learning’, in which ‘students will be locked into lives of poverty and exclusion’ due to the lack of ‘foundations for adaptability, creativity and lifelong learning’

(World Bank 2018, xi–xii). This ‘learning crisis’ is not viewed by the Bank as the result of a lack of public financing; rather, it is viewed as a lack of governance.

The Bank also has argued that replacing state controls with global governance solutions, particularly in nations with high rates of corruption, provides new mechanisms for assessing learning outcomes. Using the results to ‘guide action’ (World Bank 2018, 92), it has argued that assessments better align learning and skills development with national economic objectives, which ‘translates into economic growth’ (World Bank 2018, 41). Meanwhile, its anti-corruption strategy – which remains a top interest on the Bank’s website today – aims to increase accountability in education systems by ‘aligning their governance, management of schools and teachers, financing rules, and incentive mechanisms’ in order to develop greater efficiencies (World Bank 2011, 5–6). The Bank argues that governance strategies which assess the level of skill in a workforce ‘predicts economic growth rates far better than do average schooling levels’ (World Bank 2011, 3).

Assessments, however, also suggest a technology for governing populations toward both disciplinary techniques and greater competitive imperatives (Bruno 2009). Thus, it becomes possible to infer that the push for greater governance-through-assessment acts as a set of governing practices, which diminish the role of the nation-state while placing the responsibility for learning and financing on individual institutions and the private sector in general.

3.4.2 The emergence and discontinuity of knowledge economy and lifelong learning

International organisations have long supported the discursive practices that situate higher education as a function of economic growth (WTO 1998). Yet, IOs only began to adopt knowledge economy as a policy framework after the Washington consensus of the 1980s. The term ‘knowledge economy’ can be traced back Drucker’s 1968 book *Age of Discontinuity*

(Drucker 2017), while the concept originates from Machlup's (1962) study, where he argued that knowledge industries accounted for the largest share of GDP and employment.

The OECD's 1996 report 'The Knowledge-Based Economy' marks a transition for the organisation by calling for the measurement of the knowledge-intensity of national and regional economies. While it argued that knowledge as embodied in humans (i.e., human capital) has 'always been central to economic development' (OECD 1996b, 9), it now viewed knowledge production as essential to the global economy: 'Knowledge is now recognised as the driver of productivity and economic growth' (OECD 1996b, 3). In so-called knowledge-based economies, IOs have aligned knowledge production more intentionally with the technological developments associated with globalisation. Concerned that the private sector would 'underinvest' in knowledge creation, the OECD originally called upon national governments to ensure and subsidise 'the creation of science to improve social welfare' (OECD 1996b, 21).

That same year, the OECD published 'Lifelong Learning for All' (OECD 1996a). In its early development in the 1970s, lifelong learning was equated with giving adults access to formal courses at educational institutions (OECD 2001). Yet, the 1996 report signalled a departure for the OECD by adopting an agenda that involves *less* formal learning. This includes supporting credentialing over degree granting, especially in less-wealthy nations, and a systemic approach in which learning becomes self-directed (OECD 2001, 3). On the one hand, the discontinuity in the definition of lifelong learning can be viewed as a response to a high number of adults in several OECD nations failing to reach literacy targets: 'A population with this level of skills can hardly be expected to adapt rapidly and respond innovatively to the ongoing structural changes. "Lifelong learning for all" is a response to this challenge' (OECD 2007, 9).

On the other hand, lifelong learning also becomes a tool for increasing the mobilisation of societies and permanent training to meet economic demands.

Supporting the OECD's lifelong learning agenda, the World Bank since the late-1990s has argued that people must have a 'foundation of skills' in order to become lifelong learners and to adapt to changes associated with globalisation (World Bank 1999, 8). The Bank has come to increasingly support a lifelong learning framework of providing ongoing training as a better solution than higher education for less-wealthy nations (World Bank 2002). Reversing earlier policy guidance in which educational attainment predicting one's human capital potential, the Bank's 'new education strategy' shifts to skill development as the more important metric: 'While a diploma may open doors to employment, it is a worker's skills that determine his or her productivity' (World Bank 2011, 25).

More recently, the OECD has been even more direct in questioning the purpose of higher education: 'The traditional linear progression through education, from primary through tertiary, is being gradually replaced by a more holistic vision of lifelong learning' (OECD 2019, 9).¹ Meanwhile, the term 'knowledge economy' is noticeably absent from the its 2019 'Education at a Glance' report, as is any reference to knowledge capital, used in its 2013 'Supporting Investment in Knowledge Capital, Growth and Innovation' report (OECD 2013), or 'knowledge-based society' used in its 2017 'Education at a Glance' report (OECD 2017).

The Bank provides some clues to the reversal and rarefaction of a discourse of knowledge economy in its 2011 'Learning for All' report. Using a graphic, the Bank moves away from its 2005 education strategy of 'education for the knowledge economy' and replaces it with 'learning for all' for its 2020 strategy (World Bank 2011, 41). The Bank later expands on 'learning for all' as its strategy to 'build a high-quality knowledge base' through assessments, results-oriented

financing, and partnerships with donor communities and the private sector, among others (World Bank 2011, 60). Similar to the omission from the OECD's 2019 report, 'knowledge economy' is absent from the Bank's 2018 report 'Learning to Realize Education's Promise' (World Bank 2018).

We should be cautious to conclude that 'knowledge economy' has simply been moved to the exterior of global education policy. While the OECD continues to acknowledge that the labour market has become increasingly 'knowledge-based' and that better educated individuals are more likely to have an advantage, as a policy framework, it now promotes non-tertiary education as a more efficient means for developing knowledge, skills and competencies 'with less complexity than those characteristic of tertiary education' (OECD 2019, 149).

The search for descent helps to demonstrate that the so-called knowledge economy, which IOs once placed at the centre of the global economy, is no longer reliant on higher education for knowledge development. Rather, education policies developed by IOs increasingly have turned toward the practice of lifelong learning, which these organisations claim provide a more efficient mechanism for societies to continuously adopt to the shifting needs of global capital and industry. When viewed as an event, this analysis demonstrates how the OECD and World Bank have excluded 'knowledge economy' – as a discursive formation and a form of knowledge – as a practice exclusive to higher education and instead have shifted knowledge development toward the 'less complex' practice of lifelong learning.

3.4.3 Mobilising tertiary students

The specificity of large-scale international student mobility as a common practice of higher education arises temporally over the corpus of IO texts. In its 1998 Background note by the Secretariat on education services, the WTO briefly speaks of international education only in

the sense of students studying abroad in relation to loosening trade restrictions and for developing initiatives that enhance ‘the mobility of consumers and providers of education services’ (WTO 1998, 9). By 2010, the practice of international student mobility had become an important facet in the trade of educational services. In a follow-up Background note by the Secretariat on education services, the WTO refers to international student mobility as ‘one of the most important innovations in higher education’ (WTO 2010, 15). The trend of rising student mobility shifts the source of funding for higher education even further toward private sphere, especially in several wealthy nations which attract the highest numbers of international students (WTO 2010, 5). As nation-states, primarily in wealthy Western nations, ‘export’ their higher education to international students to effectively subsidise the cost of delivering higher education in the domestic arena (Luke 2010), what becomes apparent is that greater student mobility also becomes a mechanism of government used to achieve strategic goals, such as the liberalisation of trade in educational services.

The OECD simultaneously has promoted a discourse of internationalisation that aligns with the practices of the ‘globalised education marketplace’ (Hénard, Diamond, and Roseveare 2012, 25). These include the promotion of international student mobility, a reduction in trade barriers to align with WTO priorities, and university internationalisation strategies that align with national education, trade, and immigration policies (10, 17, 28). While the Bank does not promote a discourse of internationalisation or international student mobility, *per se*, it has promoted the assessment of secondary student performance using global governance benchmarks, claiming these metrics better predict economic growth over average schooling levels (World Bank 2011, 2018).

This includes the OECD's PISA, which assesses de-nationalised global competence and knowledge, and measures 'so-called global twenty-first-century skills' (Steiner-Khamsi and Dugonjić-Rodwin 2018, 603). As neoliberal governmentality seeks to create a political economy where individuals pursue their own success, international student mobility is viewed not only as an opportunity for individual growth in learning but also as an opportunity for governing populations toward maximising individual productivity.

The strategic production of discourses and the social conditions that have given rise to *homo economicus* have also provided the foundation for governing toward greater international student mobility. Despite global environmental, social, and political concerns, the OECD promotes study abroad as the 'key differentiating experience for young adults enrolled in tertiary education' (OECD 2020, 227). Offered as a freedom to individuals who can choose to 'get closer to labour markets that offer higher returns on education,' tertiary student mobility is viewed as 'a way to improve employability in increasingly globalised labour markets' (OECD 2020, 227)

While students and scholars have been mobile for centuries (Altbach and Knight 2007), what has emerged in the last few decades appears less about exchange for learning and knowledge and more about competition between higher education exporting host nations, particularly those in the West, and skill development for workers to 'update their skills to be effective workers in the 21st century global economy' (OECD 2020, 138). While the OECD recognises that student migration is often nationally contingent on 'differentials in education capacity' (OECD 2020, 228), it offers no solutions to equalising those differentials.

3.5 Discussion and Conclusion

Looking across the data for descent challenges the notion that IOs view higher education as a constant, state-directed, continuation of formal post-secondary education. Rather, this

genealogical approach illustrates how IOs, through discursive discontinuities and reversals, have challenged higher education's position as the culminating site of formal educational. Higher education has come under intense scrutiny through the production of policy discourse at a macro level. IOs no longer position higher education as a semi-state dependent, public-sector institution aimed at developing some equilibrium of human capital (Bröckling, Krasmann, and Lemke 2011). Rather, higher education is viewed by IOs as merely one of many delivery mechanisms for developing skills necessary for maximising productivity and economic growth.

Looking outward with a focus on exteriority allows for the consideration of lifelong learning applied as a neoliberal governing technology, with the strategy of diminishing the traditional role of the national higher education complex and moving further toward practices of self-governance. What is different in a lifelong learning model from the liberal 1960s model of human capital development is the neoliberal practice of 'permanent training' (Deleuze 1992). This 'cradle-to-grave', never-ending, self-directed system of credentialing has been established for society to meet the economic demands of global capital rather than meeting national economic priorities: 'Countries have not articulated explicit targets for the lifelong learning system taken as a whole. In those cases where targets have been identified they relate to specific sectors of provision' (OECD 2001, 4). As Deleuze (1992) argued, the development of permanent training has become a mechanism of controlling populations and a new system of domination.

Analysing the corpus of IO texts for emergence also disturbs what might be otherwise taken for a continuation of discourse and practices in global higher education policymaking. First, the reversal in funding responsibility has given rise to a discourse of autonomy in the higher education sector. With greater autonomy from state-controls comes the need for new governance strategies, including the setting of performance goals and assessing learning

outcomes. Second, once of primary interest for IOs, the discourse of knowledge economy has become subordinate to the discourse of lifelong learning. Permanent training through lifelong learning – often provided by private providers (Ball 2012) – creates a new governing rationality, which ensures individuals remain productive throughout their lives (Hamann 2009). The discontinuity between knowledge provided by higher education and skills developed through lifelong learning indicates that IOs no longer view higher education as a culminating educational achievement. Rather, as the Bank (2018) argues, higher education simply allows individuals to ‘take *better* advantage of new technologies and adapt to changing work’ (41, italics added), that is, if one can afford the price. Finally, while governmentality situates both the economic and the political realms as rationalities for governing the entire social body, the central aim of neoliberal governmentality is the strategic creation of social conditions that allow for the rise of *homo economicus* (Hamann 2009). Neoliberal governmentality, therefore, governs individuals to assume market-like values in their judgements and practices.

What I have attempted to offer in this paper is an updated qualitative analysis of IO policy and knowledge production in the higher education sphere at the international level. Due to the sheer scale and scope of IO policies and their reach into national and global education policy, this study offers a broad overview and fragmentary analysis concerning the production of global education policies. Each of the texts included in this study – particularly the OECD’s most recent ‘Education at a Glance’ reports, the Bank’s 2018 ‘Learning to Realize Education’s Promise’ and the WTO’s 2018 ‘Mainstreaming trade to attain the Sustainable Development Goals’ – should be analysed independently, using the same method proposed using an analytics of discourse together with an analytics of government in order to search for governing practices propagated through the discursive production of knowledge.

That said, this genealogy of global education policies provides a broad and deeper understanding of how the discursive transformations within transnational higher education policymaking have come to serve as technologies for governing societies further toward de-statisation, mobilisation of populations, and continuous training in order to meet the demands of the changing global economy. Even while attempting to address the UN's SDGs, IOs continue to put forth policy proposals that to promote market-based strategies in international development and education (World Bank 2018; WTO 2018; OECD 2019) while failing to acknowledge or to offer erudite solutions to society's most pressing and urgent concerns.

As such, there remains a need for additional critical analysis into the discursive production of knowledge in global higher education policymaking and their governing practices. Future studies would also be necessary in order to view the ways in which globalising higher education policies developed by IOs are taken up in regional and country-specific contexts. There also exists the need to critically analyse the rise in vocational and technical training discourse in contrast to the devaluation of higher education and the prioritisation of lifelong learning at the regional and national levels. Furthermore, there remains a need to analyse the mechanisms and techniques of governing through global higher education policies that result in governing the conduct of individuals themselves.

Note

1. While the OCED's 2019 'Education at a Glance' report focuses on tertiary education, its 2020 'Education at a Glance' report focuses on vocational education and training (VET) (OECD 2020).

Preface to Chapter 4

Chapter 4 focuses on internationalization as a particular governing practice by higher educational professional associations (HEPAs) — also known as intermediary organizations — specifically in the United States. Beginning in the late 1980s and 1990s, the American Council on Education (ACE) began taking up a discourse of internationalization in order to promote the development of intercultural competencies through curricular programming and increasing study abroad for U.S. students as well as promoting the exchange of faculty scholarship including global research exchange. NAFSA: Association of International Educators had long championed study abroad and international education at U.S. higher education institutions (HEIs). NAFSA began promulgating the discourse of internationalization following the events of September 11, 2001. That event created the exigence for U.S. HEIs to further internationalize in an effort to combat growing ethnocentrism and ambivalence to global affairs. ACE (Engberg & Green, 2002) and NAFSA (2003) both developed several reports in the early 2000s, which sought greater federal governmental involvement in funding area studies programming while also pushing back against the WTO's GATS initiative to globalize competitive trade in higher educational services (ACE et al., 2001).

In 2011, however, both ACE (2011) and NAFSA (2011) published influential reports, seemingly reversing the discourse of internationalization from a discourse of exchange to a discourse of competition. This discontinuity in internationalization discourse represents a rupture in the governing of internationalization practices and has contributed to the more recent focus on recruiting greater numbers of international students in order to remain competitive in the global marketplace of international higher education.

Chapter 4 examines a corpus of ACE and NAFSA reports in order to trace the reversals and discontinuities in the discourse of internationalization as both a regime of truth and a regime of practice in the U.S. higher education sphere. While some have warned of an end to internationalization due to its increased commercialization (Brandenburg & de Wit, 2011), practices of comprehensive internationalization have led to an increased focus on attracting greater numbers of international students not only in the United States but also in other global North nations, particularly Australia, Canada, and the United Kingdom.

Chapter 4 argues that critical and poststructural scholars should direct greater attention not only to nation-state and global actors but also to non-state actors, such as HEPAs, in order to demonstrate the relationship between the production of discourse, policy, and regimes of practices in the sphere of international higher education.

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Chapter 4: Governing the Discourse of Internationalization in the USA: The Influence of Higher Education Professional Associations

Abstract

Higher education professional associations (HEPAs) are well-established agents of knowledge production and have been influential in shaping higher education policies and practices. In the context of US international higher education, HEPAs have contributed to the rise of ‘internationalization’ as a discursive practice. Proposing an analytical framework that takes up Foucauldian analysis of discourse and studies in governmentality, this paper examines a corpus of ACE and NAFSA reports in order to trace the emergence of internationalization and its lines of transformation as both a regime of truth and a regime of practice in the context of US higher education over the last 30 or so years. The findings of this study illustrate that since its emergence in the 1980s, HEPAs have participated in the transformation of internationalization from a discourse of exchange to a discourse of competition.

Keywords: *higher education, internationalization, Foucault, governmentality, discourse*

4.1 Introduction

While the practice of international education is centuries old (Altbach and Knight, 2007), *internationalization*, as a term used to signify the practices and strategies related to international higher education, only began to emerge in the context of US higher education in the late-1980s and early-1990s (de Wit, 2002). At the center of this rise in internationalization discourse in the USA are two higher education professional associations (HEPAs) — the American Council on Education (ACE) and NAFSA: Association of International Educators. Both organizations have actively participated in giving rise to and shaping the discursive regularities and normative

practices of international education for decades, often through the production of positioning papers and policy recommendations (Barker, 1970; Buckner and Stein, 2020). While other HEPAs, including the American Association of State Colleges and Universities (AASCU), also have played a significant role in shaping international education practices in the USA (Harclerod and Eaton, 2011), this investigation will focus specifically on ACE and NAFSA.

Internationalization has been — and continues to be — applied to the growing international dimensions of higher education. Once the focus of curricular development and exchange (Knight, 2004), it increasingly has come to signify international student mobility (Brooks and Waters, 2011), the recruitment of fee-paying international students (Robertson, 2011), and graduate education to expand science and technology workforces (Hill *et al.*, 2016). The discourse of internationalization often gets swept up and associated with the discourse of globalization (Knight, 2004) and the notion of knowledge economy, both of which have gained in economic and political importance, particularly at the international level (Dale, 2005). Globalization and knowledge economy are often viewed as inextricably linked to the rise of a neoliberal governing rationality, which can be viewed as both a permanent critique of state governmental overreach and the extension of market logic to non-economic social domains (Foucault, 2008; Olssen and Peters, 2005).

While there exists an abundance of academic literature analyzing education policies and internationalization discourse, much less has analyzed the ways in which HEPAs govern higher education policies and practices through the production of discourse and knowledge formation (Bacchi and Bonham, 2014; Roberts, 2016). This paper aims to partially fill this gap in internationalization studies by asking two interrelated questions. First, “How have ACE and NAFSA taken up, articulated, and transformed internationalization discourse within US higher

education?” Second, “How have HEPA conceptualizations of internationalization governed international education practices in particular ways?”

Drawing from both discourse and governmentality studies, this study links together the Foucauldian concepts of power-knowledge “regimes of truth” with governing “regimes of practices” as its genealogical method (Dean, 1994, 2010; Lemke, 2011, 2019). As an instrument of power, discursive practices constitute, organize, and regulate the “matrices of possible bodies of knowledge” and various forms of truth in society (Foucault, 2010, 5). To govern, meanwhile, is to exercise power through a variety of techniques and forms of knowledge in order to structure the field of possible actions of individuals and collectives (Dean, 2010; Foucault, 1982). Government, in the broadest sense, includes both ways of knowing and activities that shape conduct (Bacchi and Goodwin, 2016). While an analysis of discourse examines the exercise of power-knowledge (Hook, 2001), an analysis of government recognizes the manifold authorities that govern in different sites and toward different objectives while seeking to identify the conditions for the knowledges they generate and practices they carry out (Rose *et al.*, 2006).

To trace the articulation and transformation of internationalization discourse over the last three decades, this paper begins by providing an overview of international higher education in the USA over the last century. It also examines the role of ACE and NAFSA in problematizing the American population’s growing isolation and ethnocentrism in a post-Cold War, globalizing world. (Dale, 2005; Peters, 2002). This author then proposes an analytical framework for examining a corpus of ACE and NAFSA texts produced over the last three decades, which are then analyzed. The final section offers a discussion of the results of the analysis and concludes with suggestions for future research.

4.2 The Role of HEPAs in US International Higher Education

Higher education in the USA is a highly complex and decentralized system of public and private, not-for-profit and for-profit institutions governed differently by each of the 50 states (Hawkins, 1992; U.S. Network for Education Information, 2008). The US federal government both directly and indirectly oversees multiple aspects of higher education. This includes the US Department of Education, which was created in 1979 to consolidate federal programs and funding (Mumper *et al.*, 2011) as well as various federal policies that span the spectrum from issues of equity (Valentin, 1997) to intellectual property rights (National Research Council, 2003) to the immigration of international students (Bista *et al.*, 2018). Higher education institutions (HEIs) are also governed by an agglomeration of regional and professional accrediting bodies and, in some instances, local communities.

Referred to as both intermediary and intermediating organizations (Metcalf, 2004), HEPAs exist in the USA, Canada, the United Kingdom, Australia, the European Union, and elsewhere. Their purpose is to both advocate on behalf of higher education and to shape government policies that benefit individual HEIs (Metcalf, 2006; Metcalf and Fenwick, 2009; Roberts, 2016). In the decentralized and complex higher education system found in the USA, HEPAs perform a unique role in producing truth and knowledge from a position of power.

Beginning in the late-nineteenth century with the Association of American Agricultural Colleges and the National Association of State Universities, HEPAs, often led by university presidents and chancellors, served to influence a variety of government policies (Hawkins, 1992). By 1918, there became a need for an “association for associations,” an umbrella organization with a central office, constitution, and an annual budget to which all national

associations of institutions of higher education were members. That association became the American Council on Education (Ibid., 23–24).

International higher education, meanwhile, emerged gradually in the USA. Until the late-nineteenth century, it mainly consisted of privileged individuals traveling to Europe to complete their higher education credentialing (de Wit and Merckx, 2012). Following World War I, international studies were primarily a focus of European institutions due in part to the US refusal to join the League of Nations. De Wit and Merckx (2012) argue that World War II caused a radical change in the practice of internationalization in the USA. While the period between world wars focused on peace and mutual understanding, the rapid expansion of international education following World War II came to focus on national security and foreign policy along with government funding and regulations (Ibid.). In 1946, the US Congress established the Fulbright exchange program, which continues to exist today under the US State Department's Bureau of Educational Cultural Affairs (Dolby and Rahman, 2008). Later consolidated in 1961, the Fulbright-Hays Act would become known as the Mutual Educational and Cultural Exchange Program, which helped clear a path for international students to study at colleges and universities in the USA (Smithee, 2012).

In 1948, the National Association of Foreign Student Advisers (NASFA) was founded to promote the professional development of US college and university officials responsible for assisting and advising the 25,000 international students studying in the USA (Buckner and Stein, 2020). ACE and NAFSA both helped shape the National Defense Education Act in 1958 and the Higher Education Act of 1965, which marked the beginning of modern federal higher education policy in the USA (Barker, 1970). These acts further increased funding for international education (Forest and Kinser, 2002), including the Department of Education's Title VI area

studies centers and Fulbright-Hays programs (Dolby and Rahman, 2008). By the 1970s, ACE had become an effective policy actor, advocating for and dissenting against policies at both the federal and state levels (Forest and Kinser, 2002), supporting Title VI programming (CIE, 2013), opposing cuts to the federal Pell Grant program (ACE, 2016), and, more recently, joining international higher education associations in rallying against the inclusion of higher education as a globally protected tradable service (ACE, AUCC, EUA and CHEA, 2001).

As the Cold War was coming to an end in the late 1980s, HEPAs began to speak to a new problem emerging in US higher education. “Using their bully pulpit,” ACE warned that the American populace was falling behind in the new world order of “globalization” (Engberg and Green, 2002, 8). With support from major corporate foundations, ACE generated a series of reports, which mapped international education efforts (or the lack thereof) at colleges and universities across the nation. It found that, while there was often public support for international learning, participation in second language learning and study abroad were in decline (Green, 2003). Following the events of September 11, 2001, concern over American isolation became even more acute:

In the age of globalization after September 11, U.S. colleges and universities face an urgent and perplexing set of questions about how to educate students for this new world. We cannot claim to have the best system of higher education in the world unless our graduates can free themselves of ethnocentrism bred of ignorance and can navigate the difficult terrain of cultural complexity (Engberg and Green, 2002, 9).

ACE and NAFSA placed the blame for the US's unpreparedness on state and federal governments: "The events of September 11, 2001, constituted a wake-up call — a warning that America's ignorance of the world is now a national liability" (NAFSA, 2003, iv).

While the term *internationalization* had been used for decades in economics, political science, and governmental relations (Knight, 2003), its usage in the context of US higher education emerges gradually. The first use of internationalization in US academia can be attributed to Harari (1977) in a report for AASCU. In the late-1980s, it would come to address growing economic and security concerns (Altbach and Knight, 2007; de Wit, 2002; Lambert, 1989). As a discursive formation, its meanings and significations have shifted over time (de Wit, 2002). Knight (2004) has defined internationalization as essentially a non-economically aligned "process of integrating an international, intercultural or global dimension into the purpose, functions or delivery of post-secondary education" (11). However, Knight (2004) has also argued that globalization was "changing the world of internationalization" (5). Neoliberal discourses of privatization, marketization, commodification, and competition have crept into the higher education vernacular as desirable manifestations of globalization (Matthews and Sidhu, 2005, 55). As a result of this neoliberal political rationality, Marginson and van der Wende (2007) argue that higher education has become "swept up in global marketization" (7).

Once considered a separate and benign force focused on intercultural learning, internationalization discourse has become "much entwined with 'globalization'" (Kim, 2009, 395). Internationalization has come to represent not just academic elements but also economic elements for students and institutions (Sidhu, 2006). It has moved from the "fringe" of institutional interests to its very core (Brandenburg and de Wit, 2011), even while its purpose and processes remain under critical scrutiny (Wihlborg and Robson, 2018). To better understand

the rise in importance of internationalization in US higher education, this paper pays particular attention to the role of ACE and NAFSA in giving rise to particular knowledges and truths regarding internationalization, their role in shaping the practices that aim to align higher education with greater political and economic objectives, and the ways in which ACE and NAFSA have transformed these knowledges and practices over time.

4.3 Analytical Framework

This paper takes as its methodological approach an analytics of discourse together with an analytics of government in order to investigate the specific knowledges and regimes of practices that have come to constitute a discourse of internationalization. First, an analytics of discourse examines the ways in which power and knowledge combine and work together to form a particular regime of truth (Deacon, 2002). Foucault's conception of discourse is situated more closely to knowledge, materiality, and power relations rather than to language (Hook, 2001). Rather than "discourse analysis" as linguistic analysis, a genealogical approach sees the analysis of discourse as intertwined with a broader analysis of power (Ibid.). The task of the genealogist, therefore, is to reveal the "inventedness of our world" (Burchell, 1993, 277) by explicating statements that function to place a discursive frame around a particular position, and to form rhetorical constructions that present a particular reading of social texts (Graham, 2011).

Second, governmentality studies suggests an analytics of government, which calls into question the assemblage of political apparatuses, rationalities, and technologies (understood as regimes of practices) that shape economic and social life as well as the management of human conduct and specific local practices (Dean, 2010; Foucault, 1991b; Lemke, 2009; Rose, 1999). Foucault referred to governmentality as a dispersed form of governing power that harnesses the consent and productive capacities of individuals in order to shape the conduct of the greater

population (Foucault, 1991a). Analytics of modern government pays particular attention to the mechanisms that align economic, social, and individual conduct with socio-political objectives (Miller and Rose, 1990). While the broader Foucauldian notion of an analytics of power defines “the specific domain formed by relations of power” (Foucault, 1978, 82), an analytics of government defines a discursive field in which the exercise of power is conceptualized and rationalized (Lemke, 2009; Rose and Miller, 1992).

As an analytical approach, governmentality helps to identify historical transformations and discontinuities of government and power relations by identifying the technologies of power that are situated within a wide range of political, social, and economic institutions (Gordon, 1991; Rose *et al.*, 2006). Foucault’s detailed genealogy of the rise of neoliberalism in his 1978–1979 lectures *Birth of Biopolitics* (Foucault, 2008) provides an analytic for the ways in which neoliberalism represents a modern “governmental rationality” (Peters, 2007, 138). According to Foucault, neoliberalism should be understood as the exercise of political power based on market principles used to govern social, political, and economic relations of power (Foucault, 2008). As neoliberal governmentality extends economy into social domains that were previously considered non-economic (Foucault, 2008; Peters, 2007), the higher education sector has also become the site of market-driven policies and practices implemented by states, international capital, and HEIs themselves (Olssen and Peters, 2005; Sidhu, 2006).

4.4 Methods and Data Sources

Developing a genealogy of internationalization discourse complements an analytics of government by drawing attention to the lines of fracture and transformations that indicate a particular regime of truth and regime of government (Bacchi and Goodwin, 2016; Dean, 2010). An important step in developing a genealogy of internationalization is identifying its emergence

in the late 1980s as a discursive formation that problematized the specificity of America's perceived isolation, discussed further below. To problematize is to transform "the difficulties and obstacles of a practice into a general problem for which one proposes diverse practical solutions" (Foucault and Rabinow, 1998, 118). Problems, however, "[A]re not pre-given, lying there waiting to be revealed; problems must be constructed and made visible" (Miller and Rose, 2008, 14). As discourses do not remain fixed, a genealogical approach allows the analyst to seek out discontinuities rather than try to prove a continuous and uninterrupted progression (Dreyfus and Rabinow, 1983a).

As such, genealogy takes account of the constitution of knowledge, discourses, and the domain of objects (Dreyfus and Rabinow, 1983a; Foucault, 1979) while tracing linkages between discourses and technologies of power (Olssen, 1999). First, a search for descent identifies the reversals, discontinuities, specificities, and exteriorities that are found within discourse and aims to disturb what was previously considered immobile (Foucault, 1984). The search for reversal is used to subvert, or invert, notions of a single origin or a creation and instead look to discourse as event (Hook, 2001). The search for discontinuity pays attention to the competing and changing constructions of discursive formations (Bowman *et al.*, 2019). Specificity extends beyond text in order to identify the conditions that allowed for the formation of discourse, while exteriority looks for the elements which both enable and limit discourse (Ibid.). Second, reading for emergence locates the historical conditions that allowed for the formation of new objects and struggles within discourse (Bowman *et al.*, 2019; Hook, 2005).

Meanwhile, an analytics of government views power relations as forms of knowledge accompanied by the various technologies and forms of thinking that guide and shape how governing actually takes place (Bacchi and Goodwin, 2016; Lemke, 2011). Dean (2010), for

example, identifies four dimensions for conducting an analytics of government along the axes of visibility, techniques of government, forms of knowledge, and forms of identification. This study applies Dean's grid to analyze the discourses used to govern internationalization practices.

Taking an approach that combines genealogy together with an analytics of government aims to satisfy the "strong demand for interdisciplinary research" by focusing on both governmentality studies and discursive analysis that allows for investigation of "the forms, practices, modes, programmes and rationalities of the conduct of conduct today" (McIlvenny *et al.*, 2016, 3).

This study concentrates on a series of surveys, reports, and working papers developed by ACE and NAFSA between the period 1988 and 2017 [Table 4.1]. As indicated above, this temporal frame was selected as it correlates with the emergence of a discourse of internationalization, which was applied to the growing international dimensions of higher education as well as how the sector responded to the discourse of globalization and notions of knowledge economy. I began with a thorough review of ACE and NAFSA websites in an effort to locate landing pages, working papers, and communications with members that discuss internationalization.¹ Working backward, I traced the use of internationalization to its earliest usage among ACE and NAFSA, bringing me to the late 1980s. From there, I identified ACE and NAFSA positioning papers that took up international studies and international education and examined the ways in which internationalization was conceptualized, discussed, and ultimately shaped by HEPAs up to the present.

¹ Several websites have subsequently changed since I originally began my study and analysis of HEPA reports.

Table 4.1

Higher Education Professional Association Reports Analyzed, 1989-2017

| Higher Education Association | Title | Author | Year | Sponsoring Agency or Commissioned By |
|--|---|---|--|--|
| American Council on Education | "International Studies and the Undergraduate" | Lambert, R. | 1989 | Ford Foundation; Exxon Education Foundation; Pew Charitable Trusts |
| | "Educating Americans for a World in Flux: Ten Ground Rules for Internationalizing Higher Education" | ACE's Commission on International Education | 1995 | |
| | "Promising Practices: Spotighting Excellence in Comprehensive Internationalization" | Engberg, D. & Green, M., eds. | 2002 | Carnegie Corporation |
| | "Building a Strategic Framework for Comprehensive Internationalization" <i>Part of the Global Learning for All working papers series</i> | Olson, C., Green, M., & Hill, B. | 2005 | Ford Foundation |
| | "At Home in the World: Bridging the Gap between Internationalization and Multicultural Education" <i>Part of the Global Learning for All working papers series</i> | Olson, C., Evans, R., & Schoenberg, R. | 2007 | Ford Foundation |
| | "Strength Through Global Leadership and Engagement: U.S. Higher Education in the 21st Century" | Blue Ribbon Panel on Global Engagement | 2011 | |
| | "Mapping Internationalization on U.S. Campuses" | Multiple | 2003 edition 2008 edition 2012 edition 2017 edition | Center for Internationalization and Global Engagement |
| NAFSA: Association of International Educators | "Securing America's Future: Global Education for a Global Age" | Strategic Task Force on Education Abroad | 2003 | |
| | "Comprehensive Internationalization: From Concept to Action" | Hudzik, J. | 2011 | Internationalization Dialog Task Force of NAFSA |

4.5 Analysis and Discussion

The analysis of ACE and NAFSA reports makes visible three central moments related to the knowledge and practices of internationalization: The first relates to American higher education falling behind. This specificity was developed through a series of ACE reports from the late-1980s and early-1990s, which problematized US higher education's global positioning in light of the fall of communism and rise of globalization. The second relates to shaping the discourse of internationalization around calls for greater state and federal governments to support foreign language learning, increasing study abroad and exchange programming, and the promotion of intercultural competence among US tertiary students. The last and more recent moment signifies a growing discontinuity in internationalization discourse, particularly arising from two ACE and NAFSA reports published in 2011. The specificity of internationalization located in the 2011 reports indicates a rationalization and normalization of discourse around the competitive dimensions of neoliberalism, signifying a reversal from previous notions of internationalization as a discourse of exchange.

4.5.1 American higher education falls behind

ACE's 1989 report, titled "International Studies and the Undergraduate," was written by Richard Lambert, former director of the National Foreign Language Center at Johns Hopkins University. The report was the result of a two-year study that included a review of previous literature, site visits, and multiple surveys of HEIs. It sampled more than 500 HEIs on foreign languages and international studies programs, which included language and culture courses and study abroad programs. It should be noted the ACE report was funded by the Ford Foundation, Exxon Education Foundation, and the Pew Charitable Trusts. These foundations with ties to

large American corporations have long participated in shaping educational policy through corporate philanthropy and lobbying efforts (Moeller, 2020).

The ACE report seemingly sounds an initial alarm to educators, administrators, and policy makers. It claims American higher education was leaving its population in “woeful ignorance” concerning languages and cultures compared to a world with “fewer boundaries” and a rising “global society” (Lambert, 1989, 3). The importance of study abroad seemed to be of great interest to ACE at this time, especially given that China and the Soviet Union had for the first time begun allowing American students to study where they had previously been prohibited. “In view of its current growth and momentum, it is likely that study abroad will expand, both in terms of student participation and in the types of institutions providing study abroad opportunities” (Lambert, 1989, 12).

ACE’s 1989 report specifies that the USA was also facing competition, namely from the United Kingdom, Canada, and Australia. In Europe, ERASMUS (European Action Schemes for the Mobility of University Students) was poised to dramatically change international education and foreign student exchange. In 1987, the European Economic Community (EEC) introduced ERASMUS in order to expand study abroad arrangements and exchanges between HEIs in members countries, with the goal of ten percent postsecondary students studying for at least 3 months in another EEC country (Ibid, 13). ERASMUS, thus, raises another alarm for ACE: While about five percent of US students studied abroad for a year or less (a high-estimate depending on how the percentage is measured), the US tertiary student population would fall further behind its European peers if the ERASMUS ten percent goal were achieved (Ibid.).

Despite the neoliberal rhetoric of privatization and deregulation associated with the Thatcher-Reagan era (Jessop, 2008), ACE appeals to state and federal governments to expand

their influence in higher education (Lambert, 1989). As an acclaimed scholar of foreign languages, Lambert called for the greater funding of Title VI programs, especially in area studies (Lambert, 1991). The 1989 report advocates for massive public investment in study abroad programming to both increase “participation rates” and to “remove barriers to underrepresented student groups” in order to foster greater exchange (Ibid, 160). It also calls for national, state, and institutional indicators of progress in foreign language instruction as well as a national program to extend instruction of non-European languages (Ibid., 163–164). Finally, the report calls upon HEIs to develop ways to prioritize international studies and to hold national discussions on developing instructional models of teaching (Ibid., 165–166). ACE’s proto-Keynesian strategy was in many ways out of step with the growing neoliberal rationality.

More than a decade later, ACE again turned the spotlight onto the lack of government funding support for international education in the early 2000s with “Promising Practices: Spotlighting Excellence in Comprehensive Internationalization.” Funded by the Carnegie Foundation, the report details the experiences of eight US HEIs that ACE had selected to participate in its Promising Practices project, that it had identified as both “adopting comprehensive approach to internationalizing,” and that had developed an “international self-assessment instrument” (Engberg and Green, 2002, 3).

“Promising Practices” drew specific attention to globalization and how — particularly through mobility and communication — the phenomenon was reshaping societies. “[A] world in which national borders are permeable; information and ideas flow at lightning speed; and communities and workplaces reflect a growing diversity of culture, attitudes, and values” (Ibid., 7). Moreover, ACE viewed US ethnocentrism as an even greater threat to global stability following the events of September 11, 2001: “To the extent that national priorities are reflected

in federal programs and spending, international education has been low on the list” (Ibid.). ACE was sustaining a truth similar to its 1989 report, viewing international education practices as a means for emphasizing cultural awareness, contributing to a diversity of languages, knowledge of international issues, and increased civic engagement. The responsibility for developing policies that would achieve these goals seemingly lay not only with HEIs, but in partnership with government: “There is reason to hope that internationalization will become a central part of the U.S. reform agenda” (Ibid.).

4.5.2 *(Re)Shaping the discourse of internationalization*

The term internationalization — as a specific discursive formation signifying various international components and practices in US higher education — emerges gradually in the late 1980s and early 1990s in HEPA positioning papers. In 1995, ACE’s Commission on International Education, a group of more than 40 college and university presidents and heads of other major HEPAs that advised ACE on the development of policies and programs in international education, published “Educating Americans for a World in Flux: Ten Ground Rules for Internationalizing Higher Education” (ACE, 1995, 1).

The 1995 report promotes a regime of practice that focuses on infusing international competence into the educational experience, including study abroad, second language learning, and drawing on experiences of international students (Ibid., 13–14). It argues that, without proper recognition, “The nation’s standard of living is threatened and its competitive difficulties will increase” (Ibid., 1). The Commission’s report also presents the problem of economic competitiveness as a central theme for higher education and internationalization, and a problem for American cultural insularity: “Despite its influence on every other region, ethnic group, and race, its domestic culture is insular, provincial, and parochial” (Ibid., 3). Rather than seeking any

decoupling of state and federal government involvement in higher education policy making, it calls upon institutions, state, and local governments, as well as the private sector, to make commitments toward a “national agenda” of internationalization (Ibid., 9).

ACE’s 2002 “Promising Practices” employs many of the same truths and practices promoted in its 1989 report, namely second-language learning, study abroad opportunities, and internationally-focused coursework. “America’s future hinges on its ability to educate a globally competent citizenry” (Engberg and Green, 2002, 5). This, according to the report, can only be accomplished with increased federal policy support: “Financial constraints, competing reform agendas, the absence of public and student insistence, and the paucity of government funding make the work all the more difficult. It’s no wonder that progress has been slow” (Ibid., 9).

NAFSA’s Strategic Task Force on Education Abroad, co-chaired by former US Sen. Paul Simon and Former Secretary of Education Richard Riley, developed its own report in 2003, titled “Securing America’s Future: Global Education for a Global Age.” Published soon after September 11, 2001, the report refers to the event as another “Sputnik moment,” which, in 1957, had served “a blow to American pride and confidence in the superiority of capitalism and free markets over communism and the dictates of the state” (NAFSA, 2003, 3). For the task force, September 11 “constituted a wake-up call — a warning that America’s ignorance of the world is now a national liability” (NAFSA, 2003, iv). NAFSA calls for massive federal spending to support study abroad opportunities for American students to combat American ignorance. One of the two co-chairs wrote:

In the 2002–03 academic year, we had 584,000 international students on our campuses — great for them and for us. Unfortunately, only slightly more than 1

percent of our students ever study abroad for a summer or a semester — and two-thirds of them study in Western Europe (Ibid., ii).

The other co-chair argued: “Democrats and Republicans alike recognize that our nation’s future hinges significantly on the international competence of our citizens and that, in this day and age, to be fully educated is to be educated internationally” (Ibid., iii).

Similar to ACE’s 2002 “Promising Practices,” the 2003 NAFSA report does not ignore practices related to globalization. “It is now cliché to talk about how small the world has become, and to note how the globalization of communications and commerce affects everyday life. But it is true” (Ibid., 1). However, as seen in earlier ACE reports, NAFSA defines internationalization as the need to increase intercultural competencies for American students:

Our colleges and universities must respond to this reality by better equipping students to live and work in the interconnected world of the twenty-first century.

We desperately need to understand other countries and other cultures — friend and foe alike (Ibid.).

NAFSA also echoes ACE’s calls for greater public sector investment and strategic involvement. “The federal government must set a direction and provide leadership and funding” (Ibid., 11).

While study abroad (or the lack thereof among US tertiary students) is a frequent concern in early reports on internationalization, there is little, if any, discussion on international student recruitment as a priority in the early 2000s. While the USA continued to be a top destination for international students (Altbach, 2004), it appears as if ACE and NAFSA were almost naïve to the changing global landscape in which nations including Australia, Canada, the United Kingdom, and even China, had aggressively begun recruiting international students. Meanwhile, scholars in the USA, U.K., and Australia, in particular, had begun calling into question neoliberal policies

implemented at an international level that were contributing to a globalized education marketplace, which included a growing dependence on revenue related to increasing international student mobilities (Altbach, 2004; Marginson and Rhoades, 2002; Rhoads and Liu, 2009; Rizvi and Lingard, 2000; Sidhu, 2003; Torres and Rhoads, 2006). Whether purposefully ignoring the neoliberal pressures or woefully unaware of a changing global landscape in higher education, ACE and NAFSA at this time continued to focus on obtaining governmental support to get more Americans to study abroad.

4.5.3 *An emerging discontinuity*

The transformation of internationalization in the 2000s from a discourse of exchange to a discourse of competition can be traced somewhat throughout ACE's "Mapping Internationalization on U.S. Campuses" series. ACE released its first report in 2003, following a 2002 survey of selected colleges and universities that measured various metrics of internationalization, internationalization policies and strategic goals, assessment efforts, foreign language requirements, study abroad participation, and funding for faculty as well as international travel (Siaya and Hayward, 2003). While ACE reaffirmed its commitment to policies focusing on practices of developing intercultural competencies and furthering exchange, it began to shift the onus of responsibility away from state and federal governments. Rather, it called upon individual colleges and universities to use their own financial and human resources to further their internationalization efforts: "Colleges and universities should ... clearly articulate their commitment to internationalization, and create conditions to increase the level of international learning on campus" (Ibid., 6).

By 2012, the discourse of internationalization promoted by ACE and NAFSA had come to reflect a rational-economic model, reversing what had been previously considered a social

sphere into an economic domain. The new truth propagated by HEPAs centered on neoliberal policy recommendations that limited government action, universalized competition, and invented market-shaped systems of action (Lemke, 2001). This new neoliberal rationality of internationalization as competition was applied to all levels of the higher education complex, from state and national policies, to HEIs, and to domestic and international students themselves. Campuses reported in the 2017 ACE survey that “improving student preparedness for a global era” was the top reason for internationalizing, followed by diversifying students, and becoming more attractive to prospective students (Helms and Brajkovic, 2017). Revenue generation had become the number four priority for internationalizing, while recruiting international students was number two, just behind increasing study abroad for US students (Ibid.).

Practices of competition, mobility, and revenue generation related to internationalization were in stark contrast to ACE’s 2007 working paper, “At Home in the World: Bridging the Gap between Internationalization and Multicultural Education,” part of its *Global Learning for All* series. At the time, international student recruitment was seen as a “potential flashpoint” for administrators, due to financial resources and conflating international students with domestic diversity goals (Olson *et al.*, 2007, 21). However, following the financial crisis of 2008, both ACE and NAFSA would abandon these earlier concerns with two influential reports in 2011 that effectively reversed the discourse of internationalization from that of exchange to that of competition.

The first was ACE’s Blue Ribbon Panel on Global Engagement, titled “Strength through Global Leadership and Engagement.” The second was NAFSA’s “Comprehensive Internationalization: From Concept to Action.” In both, the discursive practice of internationalization moves away from the concerns of isolationism, egocentrism, and calls for

public investment in international studies. Instead, both articulate a neoliberal rationality by taking up and promulgating concepts of global competition, marketization, commodification, and managerialism. Priorities for internationalization now included international student recruitment and entrepreneurialism as a means for maintaining American dominance in the international higher education domain. Competition had become the new regime of truth: “There now is a global marketplace that did not exist until recent years” (ACE, 2011, 11).

The Blue Ribbon Panel’s executive summary begins by calling higher education in the 21st century a “global enterprise” and makes several references to the “excellence” of American universities, compared to other nations (ACE, 2011, 5). The document boasts the number of international students studying in the USA compared to other OECD nations. Yet, it also identifies several areas in which the USA now lags its peers, including the percentage of the population with a college degree compared to Canada, Japan, and South Korea (Ibid., 11). The Blue Ribbon Panel report acknowledges the trend of several Western nations setting international student recruitment targets and “aggressive efforts by countries to market their higher education systems as destinations for mobile students” (Ibid., 11). It calls upon HEIs to develop “their own strategies for global engagement” and to align internationalization strategies with “local and global interests” (Ibid., 5).

Three prominent discursive practices emerge here. First, the “globalization of higher education” is discussed as a truth that has already happened. As such, American colleges and universities must accept this change and embrace the panel’s recommendations in order to “compete” in this new global landscape (Ibid., 14, 23). Second, state and federal governments are no longer called upon to support internationalization efforts, re-centering authority with HEPAs and universities themselves. The panel recommends that ACE (not the federal

government) “guide American colleges and universities in working strategically and substantively in a globalized higher education environment and interconnected world” (Ibid., 7). Third, HEIs must independently enhance their “global engagement” in order to remain competitive in the global higher education marketplace. Thus, on the one hand, the Blue Ribbon Panel argues that globalization “offers new opportunities” (Ibid., 6) to American higher education. Yet, despite those opportunities, ACE aims to govern US higher education practices toward a particular competitive response: “American higher education is a preeminent global force. That preeminence is being challenged” (Ibid., 10).

NAFSA’s “Comprehensive Internationalization” was commissioned by the Internationalization Dialogue Task Force of NAFSA. The report was written by John Hudzik, past president and chair of the Board of Directors for NAFSA, and past president of the Association of International Education Administrators (Buckner and Stein, 2020). Hudzik argues that *not* committing to competitive internationalization would accelerate the decline of American higher education’s world standing: “The need to effectively participate within a global reconfiguration of markets, systems of trade, research and discovery, communications, and quality of life dramatically expands the rationale for internationalization” (Hudzik, 2011, 17).

Like ACE’s Blue Ribbon Panel report, “Comprehensive Internationalization” takes up a discourse of neoliberal globalization. Hudzik argues: “The globalization of commerce, social forces, idea exchange, and growth in student mobility drive further significant internationalization of education” (Ibid., 7). The term “comprehensive internationalization” denotes both a discursive transformation and new technique of government. Not only does it signify practices beyond previously conceived notions of international studies, it also signifies a new approach based on competitive market-oriented practices. “Comprehensive

Internationalization” repeats the term “globalization of higher education,” as something that must be accepted as a new truth. It also signifies the notion that American higher education must come to terms with this new reality, a new economic truth, in which globalization and higher education are inextricably linked:

The development of a global higher education system is recognition of a paradigm shift underway in that higher education institutions are not only a local, regional, or national resources but also are global resources — globally connected (Ibid., 9).

Similar to ACE’s Blue Ribbon Panel report, “Comprehensive Internationalization” frames higher education as an entity that lies beyond state and federal government, a sector that is both self-defined and self-governed: “The globalization of higher education provides a non-campus-based frame of reference or context for internationalization” (Ibid.). No longer do ACE and NAFSA appeal for federal investment. ACE and NAFSA have transformed the discourse of internationalization into a market-shaped strategy that acts economically, lies beyond state control, operates across national borders, and engages in global competitive practices.

4.6 Discussion and Conclusion

The emergence of internationalization discourse in the 1980s and 1990s which originally called for greater national government leadership and funding, greater exchange of scholarship, and greater exchange of students would not remain its final historical development. Even while some US HEIs — as well as higher education systems in nations such as Australia — had applied neoliberal practices of competition, marketization, commodification since the early 2000s, ACE and NAFSA continued to pursue state-centered solutions for higher education, perhaps even longer due to the events of September 11. However, the financial crisis of 2008

seemed to reorient ACE and NAFSAs conceptualization of internationalization.

Internationalization was reconceptualized and taken up almost synonymously with what ACE called the “globalization of higher education” (ACE, 2011, 5) and NAFSA referred to as “higher education globalization” (Hudzik, 2011, 17). ACE and NAFSA in 2011 were now appealing directly to HEI leaders to become more competitive in an “interconnected global environment” (ACE, 2011, 6) and to develop “global engagement strategies” (Ibid., 15), such as promoting greater global student mobility. “The business of universities,” NAFSA argued, “is ... not just in the free flow of ideas but in the global flow of students and scholars who generate them” (Hudzik, 2011, 7).

This paper finds that HEPAs had established a certain regime of truth in earlier definitions of internationalization that related to practices of exchange. Yet, as neoliberal governing rationality continued its expansion into non-economic social spheres, HEPAs, in their governing capacity, participated in the transformation of internationalization from a discourse of exchange to that of competition, disqualifying previous iterations. The search for descent demonstrates that this transformed iteration of internationalization in the 2010s, which reflected a neoliberal governing rationality, was not merely a continuous development of internationalization. Rather, it was the result of a “multiplicity of events” that came to constitute it (Foucault, 2013, 198).

Future studies would be necessary to explore the relationship between the production of discourse by HEPAs and the official policy making that takes place in state and federal government. Future studies should also explore the internationalization practices taken up by HEIs at a local level in relation to the production of discourse and regimes of practices by ACE, NAFSA and other HEPAs.

Arguably, a great deal has changed in international higher education since 2011. US HEIs had already seen international student enrollments plateau and begin to wane over the last several years (IIE, 2019). Covid-19 has added another layer of complexity to internationalization practices. In addition to existing and compounding financial challenges due to the pandemic (Hubler, 2020), Covid-19 has led to a precipitous drop in international students returning to US HEIs (ICEF Monitor, 2020; NAFSA, 2020), with a reported drop of 43 percent in new international student enrollments (Korn, 2020). Meanwhile, countries such as Australia and Canada, which have the second and third highest numbers of international students, respectively, are poised to gain a greater number of international student enrollments and challenge American supremacy in the practice of internationalization (Semotiuk, 2020).

Brandenburg and de Wit (2011) warned of an end to internationalization as the result its devaluation in light of its increasing commercialization. The crisis of internationalization has also been brought about by a complexity of health, economic, and political factors within the higher education sector, which portends new discontinuities within discourse and practice. While they argued the future of internationalization is certainly global, new imaginaries are necessary to ensure meaningful and sustainable practices (Ibid.). It may, in fact, be more possible to envision a post-commercialized internationalization age now than it was even a decade ago. Despite ongoing pressure for higher education to participate in a competitive neoliberal space, internationalization as academic collaboration and capacity building remains paramount among critical international educators and administrators (Knight, 2014; Stein, 2017). Thus, critical scholars should direct attention to the regimes of practices of state and non-state actors, such as HEPAs, in the governing of internationalization through their ongoing production of knowledge and truth.

Declarations

Conflict of interest The Author is unaware of any conflicts of interest in regard to this study or the journal to which this study has been submitted.

Preface to Chapter 5

Critical and poststructural scholars have long challenged and disrupted instrumentalist and normative discourses that shape internationalization practices and patterns of international student mobility (ISM). These theoretical approaches often argue that internationalization increasingly mirrors neoliberal globalization, predicated on global competition for students and revenue rather than on the premise of the exchange of scholarship, development, and intercultural learning. In this way, international education represents both the maintenance of cultural capital, where elites take advantage of higher education while their mobility perpetuates elite social capital, and the maintenance of coloniality, where ISM is predicated along existing global North-South economic, social, and cultural inequalities.

Yet, viewing international education merely along these lines of argument denies the more than 5 million internationally mobile students of their agency and capacity to make decisions for themselves. In order to move toward democratized and decolonized internationalization practices, it becomes necessary to (re)consider the role of international education in fostering student identity-making and self-formation.

Discursive knowledge, procedures of government, and constitution of the self can be viewed through what Dean (1994) refers to as the “Foucauldian triangle” of truth, power, and self (195). Included in the axis of self is Foucault’s notion of ethics and the care of the self. Chapter 5, however, reconceptualizes the axis of subjectivity by repositioning ethics in relation to truth, power, and subjectivity. This helps to critique and move beyond existing critical and governmentality conceptualizations of internationalization practices, including ISM, as merely technologies of domination for bringing the subject into compliance with truth and power.

Rather, it argues that international education might also be viewed as the site for the cultivation and the care of the self, where international students develop an ethical relationship of the self to the self (Foucault, 2005).

An analytical framework that includes various aspects of ethical work is particularly useful in moving past what has been called a deficit-centered approach to international education studies (Clark & Gieve, 2006). Rather, it aims to promote various agency-centered approaches (Oorschot, 2014), which place the international student at the center of international education pedagogy rather than on the periphery. By recognizing international tertiary students as agents of their own self-formation — rather than simply subjects of economic push-pull factors (Mazzarol & Soutar, 2002) or individuals whose bodies are potential site for the reproduction of neocolonial relations (Sidhu et al., 2020) — it allows for the extension of ethics into discussions of international education pedagogy and for the consideration of ethical internationalization practices. As an analytical framework, the concepts of ethical work and the cultivation of the self help to destabilize instrumentalist practices of internationalization and move toward practices of decoloniality, democracy, and global citizenship education.

Chapter 5 has been submitted for peer-review to the journal *Discourse: Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education*. Portions of this chapter were presented in August 2021 at the American Sociological Association's (ASA) annual meeting and at the November 2021 University Council for Educational Administration (UCEA) annual convention. Portions of this chapter have also been accepted to present at the American Educational Research Association (AERA) in April 2022.

Chapter 5: International Education as an Ethical Practice: Cultivating a Care of the Self

Abstract

Various critical approaches have viewed international student mobility (ISM) within a framework of political economy, while governmentality studies mainly focuses on the governing practices that shape individual conduct and govern populations toward specific ends. Yet, both critical and poststructural scholars often overlook another crucial element, the ethical relationship individuals have to themselves. Considering the relationship international students have to truth and power as well as to subjugating techniques of the self acknowledges the coercive as well as the constitutive elements of international education and student mobility. It allows for new understandings of identity-making and self-formation during students' international experiences. This conceptual study proposes the development an analytical framework based on Foucauldian ethics for (re)conceptualizing international students as active agents in the construction of their own subjectivity rather than as individuals caught up in their own subjugation. This novel approach suggests a move toward ethical internationalization practices, which emphasize democracy and the exercise of freedom over division, control, and competition.

Keywords: *Internationalization, international student mobility, ethics, identity-making*

5.1 Introduction

Critical internationalization scholars have long drawn attention to the manifold concerns regarding international students and their mobility. These include conceptualizing international students as subjects of cultural power defined by their difference (Cooks, 2010), structures of educational inequalities and power imbalances (Buckner & Stein, 2020), neoliberalism and the

failures of international development (Stevano et al., 2021), the normalization of transnational mobility (Raghuram, 2013), international student precarity (Green et al., 2020), and the expansion of mobility in the midst of global environmental crises (Huish, 2021). The Covid-19 pandemic has further demonstrated the precarity of international students as temporary foreign residents. The global reaction to the pandemic resulted in students being left abandoned on closed college campuses (Dickerson, 2020), stranded due to travel restrictions (Stevenson & May, 2020), impoverished and hungry (Quinn, 2021), in limbo due to uncertain immigration status (Jansen, 2020), and subject to racism and hostility (Anti-Defamation League, 2020), among other issues.

While critical approaches have drawn attention to marginalized voices and populations (Moon, 2010), they often argue that international students have been mobilized to serve a political economy of globalization dominated by Western-centric economics, politics, and culture (Steger, 2005). Governmentality scholars have also argued that mobility is a political technology used to govern populations and to shape the conduct of individuals (Bærenholdt, 2013). Governmentality is viewed as linking the rationality of modern liberal government to the rationality of the actions of individuals, including the entrepreneurial and competitive conduct of economically rational individuals (Peters, 2007). Yet, various critical and governmentality approaches often ignore the notion of international student subjects as agents capable of making their own decisions, not merely for the accumulation of cultural capital, but deliberate decision-making as the process of self-formation. Madge et al. (2015) have argued that ISM literature would be well-served to move beyond viewing students in terms of their cultural capital and mobility as the social reproduction of class advantage in order to move toward “consideration of the implications of student mobility for pedagogy” (p. 682).

Marginson and Sawir (2012) argue that taking the approach of international education as a process of self-formation allows for international students to be viewed as a “strong agent[s]” and active participants in shaping the course of one’s own life rather than merely a weak, deficient, or inherently divided human agent (p. 139). Marginson (2014) also argues that, as a practice of self-determination, international students “choose mobility to alter their space of possibilities” (p. 10). This differs from Bourdieu’s (1993) view of the self-positioning subject who is situated within a socially constituted “space of possible” (p. 30). Rather than tertiary students becoming mobile in order to increase their social, economic, and cultural capital, international higher education may be viewed as a space for and process of reflexive self-formation, where international students consciously negotiate their identity through their growth in individual capacities (Marginson, 2014).

Building upon Marginson’s conceptualization of international student mobility (ISM) and international higher education as the site of reflexive self-formation, this paper turns to Foucault’s later lectures and books on sexuality in order to consider ISM as an ethical practice that involves forming the relationship that one has to oneself. Discussed in greater detail below, Foucault views the practice of self-formation as the means by which individuals change themselves in order to become ethical subjects. What Foucault calls the “techniques of the self” include the “intentional and voluntary actions by which men not only set themselves rules of conduct, but also seek to transform themselves, to change themselves in their singular being, and to make their life into an *œuvre* that carries certain aesthetic values and meets certain stylistic criteria” (Foucault, 1985, pp. 10–11). Thus, the technologies of the self involve both techniques of domination as well as techniques of freedom.

5.1.1 *Toward an ethical approach*

The dimension of ethics goes beyond a diagnosis of the subject in relation to power-knowledge and political government. An ethical approach, first, directs analysis toward what has been problematized (politically and through various regimes of practices or strategies of government) at specific historical moments (Rose, 1999). Second, it concerns the relationship that one has to oneself as “an ethics and an aesthetics of the self” (Foucault, 2005, p. 251). In this way, it becomes possible to move beyond various critical notions of internationalization, including the practice of ISM, as merely technologies of domination aimed at bringing the subject into compliance with truth and power. Rather, international education may instead be viewed as a reflexive practice (Archer, 2010), taking into account both one’s structured environment as well as the subject’s own process of self-formation.

This conceptual study began by asking: “How can we move international education from a coercive and deficit-centered practice — where international students are positioned as subjects of power — toward an agency-centered practice — where international students become active participants in identity-making and self-formation?” An ethical conceptualization of international education requires considering how we might shift what Rose (1999) calls *ethico-politics* — or the techniques of self-government and the relation one has with one’s moral obligations and with others — more toward the pole of ethics. An ethical approach aims to maximize opportunities for all individuals to construct their own identity, what Foucault (1985) calls the *aesthetics of existence*, rather than simply achieving some culturally idealized form of morality. To do so requires conceptualizing government past forms of self-regulation as merely coercive practices in order to include “that which constitutes and transforms itself through the relationship with its own truth” (Foucault, 2017, p. 12).

This study begins by first problematizing existing critical conceptualizations of internationalization practices. Second, it aims to develop an analytical framework for viewing international students around Foucault's *genealogy of ethics*, which includes the practices of care and cultivation of the self. Third, it considers how agency-centered conceptualizations of ISM and international education as the site of resistance might contribute toward an ethical internationalization paradigm. It concludes by suggesting possible ways of applying Foucault's domain of ethics to the practice of international education.

5.2 Critical and Poststructural Frameworks for Analyzing ISM

International education can be traced back to the period of European imperialism, where colonial governments would often send elites to their colonizing nations in order to become doctors, lawyers, teachers, etc. (Varghese, 2008). Even after World War II and the period of political decolonization, the flows between former colonized and colonizing nations often remained intact (UNESCO, 2013). This practice helped contribute to the Western imaginary of globalization, which is predicated on a truth that "presumes the superiority and universality of Western knowledge and therefore of Western education" (Stein & de Andreotti, 2016, p. 231). So-called Western education and English language learning become "a desirable product in the global higher education market" (p. 235), further contributing toward asymmetrical relations of power.

It has been argued that internationalization in the context of higher education increasingly mirrors neoliberal globalization, predicating knowledge and practices on global competition for students and revenue rather than on the premise of the exchange of scholarship, development, and intercultural learning (de Wit et al., 2017). From various neo-Marxist perspectives, tertiary students have come to represent the ideal neoliberal subjects in pursuit of cosmopolitan capital in

their attempt to gain greater social capital (Bamberger, 2020). Meanwhile, universities now compete in a global higher marketplace, jockeying for global rankings (Jöns & Hoyler, 2013) and re-enforcing a truth that elite higher education is somehow more valuable. In this way, student mobility serves to maintain cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986), where elites take advantage of higher education while their mobility perpetuates the dominance of their “status-group culture” (Schofer & Meyer, 2005, p. 900).

Yet, as Jessop (2002) argues, knowledge is a “fictitious commodity” which has been “artificially made scarce” through market-driven education reforms in order to serve capital interests (pp. 13-14). Thus, critical scholarship often draws attention to discourses of competition and desirable inequalities that have developed into a sort of “academic capitalism,” which revolves around increased competition among students, academics, and academic institutions (Bourdieu, 1988; Rhoades & Slaughter, 2006).

Investigating practices of global higher education in terms of historical power imbalances as a legacy of European colonialization (Shahjahan, 2013), postcolonial frameworks examine migration and diaspora formation as well as the effects of race, culture, class, and gender (Crossley & Tikly, 2004). Postcolonial approaches also tie the historical power relations associated with the Western imperial era together with the economic inequalities that exist today between global North and global South nations (Rhee & Sagaria, 2004). Crossley and Tikly (2004) argue that the maintenance of a colonial worldview maintains cultural stereotypes, racial inferiorities, and economic domination over former colonized regions. Thus, identities and subjectivities are viewed as being shaped by dominant histories, languages, and cultures and constituted by “dominant political and policy discourses” (Rizvi & Lingard, 2010, p. 137).

Meanwhile, analyzing international education through the lens of cultural studies — a complex field which traces the relationships of language, identity, cultural representation, and economic production — has somewhat fostered a critique of Marxist reductionism (Hall, 1996a). Hall (1990) views cultural identity as both the collective and shared cultural values that shape people's identity and make them feel part of a larger whole together with the historical cultural practices that constitutes difference based on knowledge and power: "Cultural identities are the points of identification ... which are made within the discourses of history and culture" (p. 226). Joseph (2008) argues that cultural differences are embedded in power relations and construct international student identities along us/them binary definitions such as domestic and international or citizen and foreigner. As knowledge is culturally situated, discursive knowledge functions to ensure the West's political and cultural dominance related to a particular social and political imaginary (Giroux, 2001). This may help account for a power-knowledge complex that "speak students into being" (Koehne, 2006, p. 242).

Several critical perspectives also articulate a politics of resistance to educational inequalities, exploitation, and the narrowing of political and ethical choices associated with globalization (Krishna, 2009). International student identity and self-formation, therefore, become both a site of struggle and negotiation between students and their host nations and host institutions (Giroux, 2006; Marginson, 2012, 2014).

Governmentality scholars working in the field of comparative international higher education, meanwhile, are inclined to challenge the critical perspectives of "empowerment" as something handed over to less powerful groups (Rose et al., 2006), such as international students. Governmentality is expressed as the macro-technologies that govern populations as interacting with the micro-technologies that individuals use to govern themselves (Binkley,

2009). Thus, the techniques of the self are those practices – including discipline and coercion — that individuals impose upon themselves. For governmentality scholars, power works by producing practices, including the practice of self-subjectification (Bragg, 2007).

While governmentality, as outlined by Foucault and other governmentality scholars, refers to a particular governing rationality, neoliberal governmentality refers an economy of moral regulation, situating individuals as economically rational, free to be entrepreneurial, and competitive in all aspects of their lives (Peters, 2007). Therefore, the aim of liberal political government is not to crush the capacities of individuals to act but to harness their productive capacities and desire for self-improvement. Sidhu (2004) argues that nation-states and HEIs have used a logic of “de-territorialized globalization” and hybrid subjectivity to encourage self-reliance and self-sufficiency. Through the lens of governmentality, “citizens have a responsibility to be eclectic and mobile—to reconfigure themselves to meet changing economic and political demands—rather than demanding particular rights as situated citizens of a nation-state” (p. 56).

When viewing ISM as a form of governmentality one might argue that international students have come to internalize the rationality of neoliberalism and have developed subjugating technologies of the self (Rhee, 2009). Foucault referred to this type of power of the self as “the procedures ... that are recommended or prescribed to individuals for fixing, maintaining, or transforming their identity in terms of certain aims [through] relations of self-mastery and self-knowledge” (Foucault, 2017, p. 293). These include practices of independence, autonomy, resilience, self-care, entrepreneurialism, and hypermobility in response to the needs of global capital (Brooks & Waters, 2011; Courtois, 2020).

However, while governmentality scholars often problematize these subjugating virtues and draw attention to the ways in which spatial mobility has contributed to international student precarity, often what remains missing in these discussions are the factors in the international student experience which allow one to challenge and disrupt inequalities, marginalization, exclusion, injustices, and, above all, self-subjugation. As this paper argues, expanding the analytics of government includes not only paying attention to the coercive practices of the self but also to the set of reversible relations that “must refer to an ethics of the subject defined by the relationship of self to self” (Foucault, 2005, p. 252). The themes of government of the self and the ethical practices of the self, therefore, must be viewed as “two separate yet intricately interwoven strands” of Foucauldian thought (Dean, 1994, p. 178).

5.3 Ethical Work and the Cultivation of the Self

Some have argued that Foucault’s later writings on ethics suggest a “radically reconceptualize[d]” relationship between power, knowledge, and subjectivity (Berard, 1999, p. 208). Gros (2005) points out that, prior to 1980, Foucault conceived of the subject as “the passive product of techniques of domination;” only later did he conceive of a relative autonomy of the techniques of the self (p. 525). Yet, Dean (2010) cautions “assuming anything like a fundamental discontinuity” in Foucault’s thought (p. 35). May (2006) also argues that, “[T]here is no great divide between the earlier works and the later ones. The concept of problematization should make that clear” (p. 122).

Instead, Foucault’s discussion of ethics should be viewed as completing the theory of the subject premised on both practices of coercion as well as practices of freedom (Greco & Savransky, 2018). May (2006) interprets freedom for Foucault as one’s participation in particular complex practices “with their rules, norms, problematizations, knowledges and power

arrangements” but also one’s ability to understand that we can be something else: “That is our freedom” (p. 123).

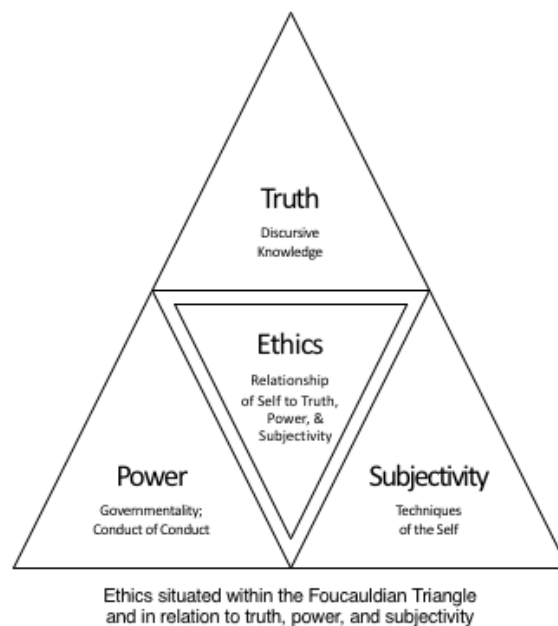
Foucault (1982) clearly argues that a theory of governmentality allows for the likelihood of struggle, resistance, and reversibility in power relations, such as those against political, social, or cultural forms of domination and economic exploitation. He referred to this resistance to power in his lectures on governmentality as “counter-conduct” (Foucault, 2007). There had also emerged in his writings the notion of struggles against various forms of subjectification, in the sense that discipline and concepts of body-domination were already losing their binding force (Lemke, 2011).

In his later lectures and in *The History of Sexuality* volumes two and three, *The Use of Pleasure* and *The Care of the Self*, respectively, Foucault notably shifts his focus to investigate how individuals actively constitute themselves and assert themselves in the “cultivation of the self” (Foucault, 1986). The “ethical work” that one performs not only is the way in which one brings oneself into compliance with rule; it also is how one “attempts to transform oneself into the ethical subject of one’s own behavior” (Foucault, 1985, p. 27). While “no theory of the subject is independent of the relationship to the truth” (Foucault, 2017, p. 12), the subject should be conceived as the ultimate authority in the constitution of one’s own conduct. Thus, an ethical approach to subjectivity allows for a concept of government that extends *beyond* the technologies of coercion and domination to include notions of agency and reflexivity in the process of self-formation.

Dean notably (1994) refers to discursive knowledge, procedures of government, and the constitution of the self as the “Foucauldian triangle” of truth, power, and subjectivity. However, I have come to view the ethical relationship that one has to truth, power, and subjugating

techniques of the self as residing *within* the Foucauldian triangle rather than ethical practices as merely a sub-dimension of the technologies of the self [Figure 5.1]. First, this allows for an uncoupling of ethical practices, including the care of the self, from techniques of self-subjectification. Second, it acknowledges the manifold points of contact that both inform—and are informed by—these three dimensions of truth, power, and subjectivity. Finally, it not only allows for the conceptualization of ethics in relation to politics, as is so often discussed; it allows for the conceptualization of ethics in relationship to discursive knowledge, governmental power, and the disciplining technologies of the self in order to investigate questions related to why tertiary students mobilize, the value of international education to the subject, and mobility as the site of agency-centeredness and identity-making.

Figure 5.1



5.3.1 *The four aspects of ethics*

In the interview “On the genealogy of ethics,” Foucault outlines four major aspects of ethics, or the relationship of the self to the self, based on his genealogy of ancient Greek and Roman ethical practices (Dreyfus & Rabinow, 1983b). The first is ethical substance, or the part of the self that is concerned with moral conduct. Unlike modern morality, which concentrates on what is prohibited, permitted, and required; moral problematizations in antiquity were more closely aligned with dangers versus prohibitions, opportunities versus obligations, and different ways of navigating dangers and opportunities versus allowances (May, 2006). Second is the mode of subjection (*mode d’assujettissement*), or the way in which people are invited or incited to recognize their moral obligations. The third aspect of the relationship to the self is ethical work, what Foucault also refers to as self-formation. Foucault refers to this as an ascetic practice, or an exercise of the self on the self “by which one attempts to develop and transform oneself, and to attain to a certain mode of being” (Foucault, 1997, p. 282). The fourth aspect is telos, or *teleologie*, which is what we aspire to become when we act in a moral way. Foucault argues that telos includes both a “kind of relationship to oneself” with these various aspects of ethics as well as an independence from them (Dreyfus & Rabinow, 1983b, p. 240).

Taken together, these aspects of ethics propose what might lead to an aesthetic mode of being, or “the art of existence” (Foucault, 1986, p. 43), where the ancients accepted obligations to morality in a conscious way and as a personal choice.² When applied to the study of

² I distinguish between “ascetic” and “aesthetic” in the following manner: “Ascetic” is understood as a type of practice, such as self-renunciation or “the kind of techniques you use in order to recognize, to constitute yourself as a subject of ethics” (Dreyfus & Rabinow, 1983b, p. 241). “Aesthetic” is understood as a particular mode of being, e.g. “an aesthetic of existence” (p. 236).

internationalization, ISM, and international education pedagogy, the four aspects of ethics suggest a view of the international student as that “strong agent” that Marginson and Sawir (2012) discuss as capable for shaping the course of one’s own life.

5.3.2 *Care of the self*

The care of the self that Foucault identifies in his genealogy of ancient Greek and Roman practices is characterized by the notion of *epimeleia heautou*, or the care of the self. In his 1981-1982 lectures, *The Hermeneutics of the Subject*, he argues that neither truth nor the subject exists without one another; rather, the subject gains access to truth through the practices of the care of the self (Foucault, 2005). The care of the self represents an “attitude towards the self, others, and the world” (p. 10). It implies a practice of attending to what takes place in our thoughts and includes a set of actions “exercised on the self by the self” (p. 11).

The care of the self involves a sort of withdrawal (*anakhōrēsis*) into oneself in order to concern oneself with one’s own affairs and to reject certain conventions in order to review oneself (p. 47-48). The aim, however, is not constituting the self in solitude; rather, the cultivation of the self is a social practice that requires “an intensification of social relations” (Foucault, 1986, p. 53). Foucault turns to several Stoic texts that discuss the care of the self, which often takes place in ancient institutionalized structures. While these include various educational settings, the care of the self also finds support “in the whole bundle of customary relations of kinship, friendship, and obligation” (p. 52-53). In this way, the care of the self seeks the help of others as well as giving support to those who seek to care for themselves, giving pre-existing relationships “a new coloration and a greater warmth” (p. 53). Rather than isolating us from the world, the care of the self is what enables us to situate ourselves within it: “The subject discovered in the care of the self is quite the opposite of an isolated individual: he is a citizen of

the world” (Gros, 2005, p. 538). Thus, rather than *homo economicus* — the individualism often associated with neoliberalism as a governable entrepreneur of oneself who must turn to practices of resilience and self-care — the care of the self is a social practice in which one focuses on one’s relationship with others.

The relationship between the care of the self and pedagogy means that the individual subject must also be recognized as an ethical subject, as a moral agent, and as an active participant in their own self-formation (Foucault, 1985). In the modern, post-Cartesian era, one accesses truth through knowledge alone; the subject “can recognize the truth and have access to it in himself and solely through his activity of knowing, without anything else being demanded of him and him having to change or alter his being as a subject” (p. 17). The ancient practice of the care of the self, meanwhile, is a practice of self-transformation (*askēsis*) in order to return to a particular way of knowing and a particular way of being (Hroch, 2013). It employs various *technē* (craft, art) in order to achieve a mode of self-fashioning (McGushin, 2007) and in order to gain access to the truth of oneself (Foucault, 2005). It should also be noted that the care of the self is not an obligation for everyone; rather it is a personal choice of one’s own existence (Dreyfus & Rabinow, 1983b).

Another important element in the cultivation of the self includes the ancient notion of *parrhesia*, or the practice of telling one’s own truth. The *parrhesiast* is someone who exercises their freedom through free expression (Foucault, 2010). *Parrhesia*, thus, constitutes the “meeting point” of an obligation to speak the truth, the techniques of government, and the constitution of the relationship to the self (Foucault, 2010, p. 45). A certain culture of the self is developed around the subject’s true discourses about oneself and the practice of speaking frankly (*franc-parler*) as a relationship of the self to the truth (Foucault, 2011). *Parrhesia*, Foucault argues, is

not simply freedom of speech or to give one's opinion; instead, the practice of *parrhesia* allows the individual to exercise one's own freedom and "to choose the decisions one wants" (Foucault, 2010, p. 199). Moreover, *parrhesia* calls for a pedagogy centered around the caring of others. Foucault argues that the act of speaking freely involves acting on others, not to order and subjugate them but to act on them "so they come to build up a relationship of sovereignty to themselves" (Foucault, 2005, p. 385).

"It is really taking care of them, seeking them out wherever they may be, sacrificing oneself, one's own life, so as to be able to take care of others. And it is not the enjoyment of self, but much more a certain form of self renunciation that enables one to take care of others" (Foucault, 2011, p. 278).

The relationship between knowledge, power, technologies of the self, and ethics as an "ascetic practice of self-formation," thus, constitutes a "chain" around which it becomes possible to connect questions of politics to question of ethics (Foucault, 2005, p. 252). If we are to conceive of power as a set of "reversible relationships," then it becomes necessary to situate the ethics of the subject as that which is defined by the relationship one has to truth, governmentality, and subjectivity. For Foucault, there is no resistance to political power other than the relationship one has with oneself.

5.4 Discussion

The focus on the cultivation and the care of the self creates new possibilities for moving beyond instrumentalist as well as strictly critical conceptualizations of internationalization. Instead, it becomes possible to discuss what could be called *ethical internationalization* practices. On the one hand, ethical internationalization should aim to reduce international student precarities and move away from practices that situate international students merely as "cash

cows” for higher education and global capital (Lomer, 2017). On the other hand, ethical internationalization should contribute to and enhance critical approaches to internationalization studies. Rather than characterizing international students as passive or weak agents, who have become pawns in the maintenance of a (neo)colonial political economy (Crossley & Tikly, 2004) and “unwitting subjects” caught up “in their own subjugation” (Kettle, 2017, p. 39), international students should alternatively be characterized as those “strong agents” that Marginson and Sawir (2012) had previously noted.

Sen (2000) has argued that an “agent” is “someone who acts and brings about change, and whose achievements can be judged in terms of her own values and objectives, whether or not we assess them in terms of some external criteria as well” (Sen, 2001, p. 19, quoted in Marginson, 2014, pp. 10-11). Marginson (2014) also argues that, rather than viewing international students simply within the normative framework of higher education, international education, which is grounded in reflexive self-determination, helps to build “conscious international student agency” and involves a “never-finished” process of fostering international students as worthy of respect for their histories, identities, perspectives and learning practices rather than “a journey of conversion to a (non-existent) stable equilibrium” (p. 19). By including notions of ethics as a relationship of the self to the self, it allows for a (re)imagining of international education and a (re)positioning of international students toward an agency-centered vantage. In this way, international students become engaged subjects in the production and negotiation of knowledge (Oorschot, 2014).

Foucault’s four elements of ethics provides a useful approach. First, ethical substance, recognizes international students as (strong) moral agents who are capable of making their own decision making. It also focuses attention on the student’s relationship of the self to oneself.

Second, the mode of subjection, invites international students to recognize their moral obligation to themselves. It includes questioning who we are when we are being governed and what is our mode of subjectification (Dean, 2010). Third, the ethical work that one performs is the actual change one makes to become an ethical subject. This self-forming activity does not mean renouncing one's culture or identity, nor does it mean resisting change either. Rather, what matters in the practices of the self is the active constitution of oneself, the ongoing struggle, in order to transform oneself into the ethical subject of one's own behavior (Foucault, 1985). Finally, fourth telos, is not only who we want to become; it also relates to the world we hope to create. This harks to the ancient aesthetics of existence, which Foucault describes as:

“[A] way of life whose moral value did not depend either on one's being in conformity with a code of behavior, or on an effort of purification, but on certain formal principles in the use of pleasures, in the way one distributed them, in the limits one observed, in the hierarchy one respected.” (Foucault, 1986, p. 89).

Ethical internationalization practices might also turn their attention to the ancient practices of *epimeleia heautou* and *parrhesia* as the cultivation of the self and ethical work as an ongoing practice of self-formation: To take care of oneself encapsulates the notion of knowing oneself (Foucault, 1988). The cultivation and practice of the self, therefore consists of permanent training as a way of life throughout one's life. Yet, unlike the modern notion of lifelong learning, which is linked together with skill development for political and economic reasons, the ancient care of the self was associated with the study of philosophy and was considered a permanent exercise of one's own existence. In *The Care of the Self*, Foucault (1986) quotes Epicurus (“It is never too early or too late to care for the well-being of the soul”) and Plutarch (“He who wishes to come through life safe and sound must continue throughout his life to take care of himself”) to

draw attention to the ancient practice of care of the self, which places oneself “as the object of all our diligence” and which acts to “ensure our freedom” (pp. 46, 47). Therefore, we should not perceive the cultivation of the self as the extension or even extreme version of neoliberal *homo economicus*. Rather, the cultivation of the self includes regulatory elements, limits on self-ambitions, and controlling one’s thoughts and desires. Above all, it requires a constant questioning of oneself, what one is, and what one intends to become (McGushin, 2007).

Despite this paper’s contribution to knowledge, I also recognize its limitations: Foucauldian approaches to truth, power, subjectivity, and ethics, for one, are grounded in Western epistemological and ontological philosophical traditions. Young (2016) argues that there is almost complete silence on colonialism and race, most notably after Foucault briefly discussed the discourse of race in his 1975-1976 lectures, *Society Must Be Defended*. As such, it is incumbent upon scholars working with Foucault’s methods to attend to and to discuss issues of decoloniality, inequalities, and social justice in their research.

Furthermore, to engage with obvious political, cultural, and social enactments of decolonization requires ethical action that must include elements of social justice to address persistent forms of coloniality (Adefila et al., 2021). For example, the topic of global citizenship education (GCE) has prompted discussions surrounding democratic and decolonizing approaches to international education and internationalization practices (Abdi et al., 2015). These include recognizing the colonial past, racism, and patriarchal state power while promoting social justice at the global level (Coulthard, 2014; Pashby, 2011). It includes deconstructing taken-for-granted concepts of identity based on nation, sexuality, ethnicity, race, and class (Pashby, 2018). A GCE approach challenges and disrupts the instrumental and dominant discourses that shape internationalization practices, including ISM: “GCE moves beyond an exclusively national

perspective of world affairs and seeks to avoid a social-studies approach that tends to tokenize and exoticize foreign places and peoples” (Pashby, 2011, p. 9). To realize the goals of GCE and pedagogical approaches that disrupt instrumentalist knowledges and practices, it becomes necessary for scholars and practitioners to discuss the ethical elements of international education while also remaining critical of the coercive elements associated with neoliberal globalization, increasing global inequalities, and cultural hegemony. Foucault’s genealogy of ethics might contribute to these critical discussions of international student agency and identity in relation to truth, power, and subjectivity.

5.5 Conclusion

Viewing tertiary student mobility as the result of a multiplicity of complex factors and events, including agential decision-making, allows for the linking together of various critical relationships that occur through the production of truth, governmentality, and technologies of the self as well as the ethics of a cultivation and care of the self. While structural forces including economic push-pull factors (Mazzarol & Soutar, 2002) and the reproduction of neo-colonial power relations (Sidhu et al., 2020) continue to shape and influence various mobility trends, recognizing international students as strong agents capable of making their own decisions and who have the reflexive capacity for the care and cultivation of the self allows for an extension of ethics into discussions of international education pedagogy. International students must be encouraged to develop strong and positive attitudes about themselves, their cultural backgrounds, and how their contributions to knowledge may challenge power in education and society (Skrefsrud, 2021).

Utilizing the lens of Foucauldian ethics, critical scholars drawing from various epistemological and ontological traditions as well as practitioners working in the field of

international education may begin to re-imagine and re-consider student mobility as a practice of self-formation. This starts by situating international students as active agents capable of constructing their own knowledge rather than merely passive individuals whose conduct is structured through a possible field of governable actions. This does not deny or ignore the various coercive elements or precarities associated with ISM. In effect, Foucault (1982) argued that the subject is both subject to someone else by control and dependence while also tied to his own identity by conscience or self-knowledge.

Employing the works of Foucault, therefore, means analyzing power relations through resistance and struggle against the privilege of knowledge (Foucault, 1980b). First, this shifts focus away from the individual as the subject of experience and moves toward cultivating a relation of oneself to oneself (Foucault, 1986). Second, rather than appointing global economic interests over individuals, it promotes ethical actions with which the subject is encouraged to care for oneself, and it allows for new subjectivities that eschew market values in favor of human values. Third, it strengthens the importance of the care for and the relationship that one has to oneself rather than merely to knowledge, power, and techniques of subjugation.

A framework that allows for the analysis of internationalization policies and practices through the lens of ethics complements agency-centered research by not only focusing on practices of domination but also focusing on practices of resistance as the site of identity formation. It complements cultural studies literature by shining light on spaces that continue to be policed and regulated and which “remain the site of constant contestation” (Hall, 1996b, p. 472). It engages with postcolonial literature to help deconstruct dominant Western discourses and hegemonic colonial practices in international education. Finally, it augments various

governmentality studies research in order to suggest policies and practices that aim to reduce international student precarity while increasing inclusivity and reducing inequity.

Chapter 6: Discussion and Conclusion

6.1 Discussion

This manuscript-based dissertation — which situates globalized higher education within the Foucauldian triangle of truth, power, and subjectivity — offers two primary contributions to the knowledge of globalized higher education. It conceptualizes globalized higher education as both a technology of power and a technology of government, and it offers a Foucauldian *critique* of globalized higher education at three levels of analysis.

First, this study positions globalized higher education within a general technology of power, what otherwise might signify a form, or model, of governmentality. In this way, higher education may be conceived as a technology of government, forming an assemblage of practical knowledge and including practices of calculation which aim to shape the direction of populations in specific ways while using indirect forms of intervention (Miller & Rose, 1990; Rose, 1999). This includes (re)structuring the ways in which higher education is imagined within policy discourses; transforming the discourse of internationalization to reflect particular regimes of practices at a particular point in time; and, enticing individuals to assume market-like values in their own lives. Rather than tracing the historical continuation of processes previously set in motion decades earlier, the genealogies in Chapters 3 and 4 and the analytical framework proposed in Chapter 5 offer an effective history that, through the search for descent and emergence, aim to disrupt normative and instrumentalist discourses, which often situate international higher education as operating within and alongside neoliberal economic and political rationality. These three chapters, instead, seek the reversals and discontinuities in knowledge encompassing international higher education and trace the lines of transformation in

discourse that have come to inform global higher education policy, internationalization practices, and international student subjectivity.

Second, this dissertation offers an overall critique into the ways in which globalized higher education has been critically positioned and analyzed at the macro-, meso-, and micro-levels. This study does not dismiss existing critical analysis and, in fact, draws several important understandings and conceptualizations from their significant contributions, especially in relation to what might be termed education for democratic citizenship (Olssen et al., 2004) or global citizenship education (GCE) (Abdi et al., 2015). This study does, however, call into question the often normative ways in which global higher education policy, internationalization discourse and practices, and international student subjectivity are taken up in critical literature as negative practices often characterized by dispersion, dependency, deficit, and distance (Foucault, 1996; Lemke, 2011). I will discuss each of these contributions separately below.

6.2 Globalized Higher Education as a Technology of Power

When discussing the practice of globalized higher education as a technology of power, I do not necessarily focus on the disciplining aspects of education that Foucault discusses in *Discipline and Punish*, for example, which focus on the individualizing techniques of examination, classification, and correction. Rather, I conceive of higher education operating as a technology of power, similar to the way Foucault included education in his governmentality lectures as a mode of governmental intervention in the public sphere (Gordon, 2009). In this way, globalized higher education relates more to a bio-power operating in the sphere of economic processes (Foucault, 1978) and the government of populations through the constitution and practice of particular regimes of truth (Foucault, 2008) rather than, say, the production of docile bodies. That said, one could certainly argue that internationalization practices such as

tertiary student mobility rely heavily upon individualizing and disciplining practices, such as the issuance of temporary visas, controls on health requirements, restrictions and surveillance on entry and exit, the marginalization of international students' rights, and so on.

As discussed in Chapter 2, Foucault's genealogy of governmentality traces the emergence of a liberal form of rule in Western societies, which has populations as its target and political economy as its major form of knowledge (Foucault, 2007). As a liberal mode of governing, freedom is intricately tied together with individual choice making. Under a neoliberal political philosophy, which emerged in the mid- and late-20th-century, hyper-individualism becomes an extreme form of freedom, where individuals may compete, possess, and be liberated from state interference (Peters, 2009). The event that gives rise to *homo economicus* as the entrepreneur of oneself also gives rise to individuals becoming the correlate of neoliberal governing rationality.

Governmentality as an analytical framework also extends analysis beyond relations of individuals and nation-states in order to provide an interpretive analytics of non-state policy networks, while also conceptualizing the linkage between domination and people's capacity for self-control (Merlingen, 2006). Even more intriguing, I find, is the analysis of strategic and reciprocal power relations, whereby individuals both attempt to shape the conduct of others while simultaneously resisting institutionalized networks of control and systems of domination such as coloniality, cultural identity, and gender roles. This is an important concept when considering critique as the possibility for illustrating the reversibility of relations of power.

When analyzing global higher education practices at the macro-level through the lens of governmentality, it becomes possible to trace the lines of transformation in higher education discourses and practices that parallel the emergence of a neoliberal governing rationality in Western societies. The discourse of knowledge economy, for example, strongly represents the

linkage between higher education and the political economy of neoliberalism. Knowledge has been viewed by neoliberal economists, including the likes of Hayek (Hayek, 1945), Schultz (1961), and Becker (1964), as the engine of economic and human capital growth (Peters, 2009, 2021). However, educating the knowledge worker for the knowledge economy became a policy focus of IOs only after the 1987 Washington consensus, as evidenced in the OECD's (1996) "The Knowledge-Based Economy."

Yet, as Chapter 3 demonstrates, IOs have seemingly moved knowledge economy discourse to the exterior of global higher education policy in the late-2010s. The linear progression of education from primary through tertiary in policy discourses — by the OECD's own admission — is "being gradually replaced by a more holistic vision of lifelong learning" (OECD, 2019, p. 9). Thus, rather than situating higher education as a technology of government that mobilizes populations to serve the demands of the knowledge economy, global education policies now situate lifelong learning, vocational and educational training (VET), and skill development as governing technologies for meeting the 21st-century's changing economic demands. While residing outside of the institution of higher education, IO policy discourse propagates lifelong learning and skill development as acceptable, if not desirable, post-secondary practices at this particular historical moment and operationalizes these technologies of education as new instruments of power.

Turning attention to the meso-level, internationalization has been promoted since its emergence as a discourse in higher education in the late 1980s and early 1990s as a practice of scholarship and exchange toward reducing ethnocentrism (Engberg & Green, 2002). This essentially acted in opposition to the neoliberal notion of *homo economicus*, the entrepreneur of oneself, even if situated within normative Western educational practices. Thus, while situated

within the growing dominant discourse of neoliberal globalization, internationalization discourse in higher education served as a particular regime of truth that was focused non-economically, on transformative learning, and on the free-exchange of ideas (Knight, 2004).

However, as the findings in Chapter 4 demonstrate, HEPAs, as higher education policy influencers in the United States, pivoted rather suddenly in the early 2010s toward a neoliberal rationality, pushing HEIs toward greater independence and greater competition for international students. Even though the financial crisis of 2008 staged a significant challenge to neoliberal governance — as nation-state governments were called upon to bailout, overhaul, and regulate the West's financial systems (Peck et al., 2010) — HEPAs essentially abandoned their previous calls for state and federal support and instead turned toward practices of growing competition across the U.S. higher education sector. This transformation represented a fracture in the continuity and ways in which internationalization was being conceived of and practiced in the context of U.S. higher education. The so-called globalization of higher education was purported by ACE and NAFSA as a new regime of truth, and U.S. institutions of higher education were called upon to increase their global engagement in order to remain competitive in the expanding global higher education marketplace (ACE, 2011; Hudzik, 2011). Outside of the United States, Canada and the United Kingdom joined Australia in developing international student recruitment targets (Global Affairs Canada, 2012). In turn, international students increasingly became viewed as a lucrative economic commodity for national and regional economies, while policy makers and policy influencers aimed to develop new strategies for mobilizing international students toward their national borders.

At the micro-level, international students were not frequently discussed as an object for policy makers and policy influencers until the late 1990s. Australia first set its international

student recruitment targets in 1998, resulting in a three-fold increase in international students within ten years (Parliament of Australia, 2016). International student mobility (ISM), as discussed above, increased precipitously from 2000 to just before the outbreak of Covid-19, coinciding with a neoliberal ideal of individuals seeking various forms of credentialing in order to acquire and compete for social capital. As global rankings of universities increased demand among students for coveted seats at top-tier institutions, higher education assumed the characteristics of a quasi-scarce resource (Jöns & Hoyler, 2013). Within a neoliberal imaginary, where discourses and social conditions have given rise to *homo economicus*, the mobilization of international students has come to serve as a governing technology as individuals assume market-like decision-making practices.

It is also at the local level where the effects of counter-knowledge, or counter-conduct (Foucault, 2007), are most likely to resist the attraction of mobilization or to mobilize — spatially or virtually — with terms that differ from the accepted knowledge of, say, international students as economic resource. Evidence points to students themselves shifting the patterns of international mobility (Cairns, 2021; Riaño et al., 2018). For example, international student numbers in the U.S. plateaued in the late 2010s, while Canada surpassed its own recruitment targets. Certainly, one might argue that recent mobility trends have responded to changing political landscapes, the role of recruiting agents (Saul, 2016), aggressive marketing tactics conducted by governments and HEIs (Bamberger et al., 2020), and global university rankings (Dowling-Hetherington, 2020). Yet, the international student must also be seen as an agent in one's own decision-making and in determining their destination of choice (Fakunle, 2020). For example, evidence has indicated that gun violence and growing political instability in the United States have contributed to major safety concerns for prospective international students

(Gelzhiser, 2019; McKivigan, 2020). Moreover, Covid-19 has not only disrupted ISM, it may have permanently altered student flows in ways that are not yet readily apparent. Even as policymakers and HEIs anticipate international student flows to return to pre-Covid levels (Brown & Hamilton, 2021; Hudzik, 2020), international students are finding new ways to express themselves and their agency, especially through the use of social media (Rekhter & Hossler, 2020) as well as through their mobility.

The practice of globalized higher education can, thus, be viewed as a set of intrincating strategies. First is the discursive production of truth around a neoliberal economic and political governing rationality through global policymaking. Second is the discursive production of internationalization discourse and practices, which have come to govern both a regime of truth and a regime of practice in higher education — even as internationalization discourse and practices have transformed over time. Third is the constitution of the international student subject, who is both a subject of truth and power as well as an agent of one’s own subjectivity. Taken together, it becomes possible to conceptualize, deconstruct, and critique the phenomena of globalized higher education as a technology of power and as a technology of government at these multiple levels of analysis.

6.3 A Critique of Globalized Higher Education

In his 1978 lecture, “What is Critique,” Foucault begins by situating critique within a discussion of government, in that there is the art of governing and there is the art of being governed less (Foucault, 1996). While the art of being governed less informs the “critical attitude” (p. 382) of questioning the limits of the rights to govern as well as the right of “desubjectification” in relation to power (p. 386), Western critique, Foucault argues, tends to

focus “negatively” on the positivism of the Enlightenment. This could be considered his obvious criticism of a neo-Marxist dialectical approach (Foucault, 1997b).

On the one hand, critique aims to expose unrecognized forms of power and limits of discursive practices, its boundaries, its impositions on reason. On the other hand, critique is a matter of pointing out what kinds of assumptions, familiar, unchallenged, and unconsidered modes of thought exist in order to show that things are not as evident as we believe (Olssen et al., 2004). While critical theory justifies the normative guidelines in which societies ought to be criticized, critical critique often depicts a negative practice, which specifies “dispersion, deficit, dependency, and distance” (Lemke, 2011, p. 59). Foucault proposes an opposite procedure, giving critique “a more positive content.” Lemke (2011) identifies Foucault’s four positive aspects of critique as: 1) ethos, or an ethical-political gesture which turns toward the practices and the cultivation and care of the self; 2) problematization, or rarity, which focuses on the limits of truth regimes rather than the lack of knowledge; 3) the art of voluntary insubordination, which dismisses dependency in favor of relationality and seeks to expose the limits of existing institutions in order to explore ways to transgress it, and; 4) the audacity to expose one’s own status as a subject, which includes a desubjectivation of the subject and a rejection of the strategies that isolate and separate individuals from community.

While this concluding chapter does not allow for a complete discussion of Foucauldian critique, it is important to note that the three manuscript chapters in this dissertation do not attempt to create new truths regarding globalized higher education, nor do they attempt to situate the examined discursive formations and practices negatively or dialectically. Rather, these chapters demonstrate the discontinuities between specific knowledges that were deemed acceptable at different periods over the last three decades. The genealogies of Chapter 3 and 4

illustrate these acceptable knowledges following the ruptures in global policymaking and internationalization practices. While acknowledging the precarities associated with ISM, Chapter 5 proposes an analytical framework that allows for the reversal of power relations and of conceptualizations of international education as the potential site of democratized educational practices. This proposed framework aims to shift the discourse away from the instrumental, competitive, and financial focus of internationalization reflected in national and global higher education policies and toward an ethical internationalization for human development, decoloniality, and knowledge production that includes voices of the subaltern, practices of democracy, and mutual understanding.

Answering the question as to why 5.6 million tertiary students have decided to become internationally mobile is not as simple as finding a singularity of causes related to, for example, postcolonial power imbalances that have resulted in south-to-north flows of international students; that tertiary students have been transformed into 21st-century *homo economici* (Fridman, 2014) shaped by the discourse of neoliberal globalization; or, that they have been driven by the allure of acquiring global cultural capital. This study certainly does deny any of these critical rationalizations either. Foucault states (1997a): “Critique does not consist of saying that things aren’t good the way they are. It consists in seeing on what type of assumptions, of familiar notions, of established, unexamined ways of thinking the accepted practices are based” (p. 456). While political, social, and even environmental precarities surrounding the practice of global higher education certainly remain, a poststructural critique should look for openings in the reversal of power relations that allow for ethico-political approaches that go beyond the negative critique (Lemke, 2011).

Regardless of the transformations that take place in international higher education in a post-pandemic, post-neoliberal (or post-neo-neoliberal world), the poststructural analysis presented in these manuscripts deconstructs accepted truths of globalized higher education policies, normalized internationalization practices, and widely-held — even critical — notions of subjectivity. Foucault's work emphasizes that technologies of power are not immobile, rigid structures; rather, technologies of power are endlessly modified by the action of numerous factors. This is why — for me at least — Foucault's works remain extremely relevant to education and sociology research today. It demonstrates how one might apply an interpretive analytics, which combines archaeology with genealogy in order to identify regimes of power and regimes of practices and multiple levels of analysis and in order to diagnose a particular historical event, even if that event is the historical present. His works also demonstrate how we might critique contemporary societal conditions by not only problematizing our current condition and identifying the limits imposed upon individuals but also by moving toward a positive critique that aims to transform limitations into possibilities and that aims to contribute to more ethical subjectivities (Foucault, 1997b).

It is, however, also incumbent upon scholars utilizing Foucault's toolbox to critique Foucault, especially the rather glaring void in his writings in regard to colonialism. Young (2016) argues that there is almost complete silence on the issues of colonialism and race, most notably after Foucault briefly discussed the discourse of race in his 1975-1976 lectures *Society Must Be Defended*. While Mezzadra et al. (2013) argue that Foucault's works have had a massive influence on postcolonial literatures and are indispensable for recovering and affirming an understanding of the precise preconditions for political subjectivity, Revel (2013) also argues

that Foucault never directly confronted the colonial question – much less expressed himself the kinds of analysis that postcolonial and subaltern studies later developed.

Nonetheless, problematizing and challenging various critical comparative international education and internationalization studies to move beyond negative attitudes and toward positive critiques allow for differing conceptualizations of the ways in which global policy making, internationalization practices, and international student subjectivity connect up, produce their objects, and “enables an individual to fashion [themselves] into a subject of ethical conduct” (Foucault, 1985, p. 251).

6.4 Conclusion

During the course of conceptualizing, researching, and writing this dissertation, the coronavirus (Covid-19) pandemic has upended — even if temporarily — the higher education model, including drops in student enrollments (Lorin, 2020) and cuts in public funding to university budgets (Hubler, 2020) not only in Canada and the U.S. but also in countries around the world (Marinoni et al., 2020). Covid-19 has also disrupted the international student supply chain upon which many Western nations have come to financially rely. At the time of writing, estimates that up to one-fourth of international students may not travel to the destined higher education institution, with a direct financial impact in the United States alone measuring \$4.5 billion (ICEF Monitor, 2020). While signs do indicate sharp increases in student mobility in 2021 from 2020 levels (Martel, 2021), some have estimated that it may take up to five years or more before a return to pre-pandemic mobility levels (Stacey, 2020).

One result of the Covid-19 pandemic has been to shine light on the precarity of international students around the globe, as briefly discussed in Chapter 5. International students, however, might also leverage the pandemic to reclaim some agency, or, to keep in line with

Foucauldian critique, reverse the set of power relations that has governed global higher education for more than three decades. Surveys of international students point to consequential changes in study abroad patterns for the 2020-21 academic year (Mitchell, 2020). There have also been examples of international students claiming their own identity and exerting their own agency by discussing their own precarities (Dickerson, 2020; Kang, 2020) and changing their future study plans (Mitchell, 2020). By exercising their choice *not* to become spatially mobile, international students are actively responding to what Clayton et al. (2009) described as restricted choices and risky situations by using the resources that are available to them, namely their own agency and ability to make their own decisions.

Policy makers and policy influencers also have responsibility to amplify GCE and democratic education pedagogy, particularly in light of the UN's Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). The UN's SDG 4.3, which aims to ensure equal access for all women and men to affordable and quality technical, vocational and tertiary education, including university (United Nations, 2015), suggests that ... "education is the key that will allow many other Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) to be achieved" (United Nations, n.d.). UNESCO, which has helped to shape the discourse of GCE at the global policy making level, also has adopted the Global Convention on the Recognition of Qualifications concerning Higher Education, a legally binding UN treaty which aims to facilitate recognition of foreign qualifications worldwide (UNESCO, 2019). The challenge posed to those analyzing these global higher education policies is to critique the application of UN and UNESCO policies promoting democracy in education in relation to global policies promulgated by the OECD, World Bank, and WTO, which often remain rooted in the neoliberal imaginary of greater individualism and mobility or which devalue higher education altogether.

6.4.1 Future Research

Projecting forward to my own post-doctorate research, I will continue to seek opportunities to critique both instrumentalist as well as critical and even poststructural approaches to analyzing global higher education at various levels of analysis. I also aim to contribute to higher education literature, as well as international development and sociology of education literature, through the analysis of regional, national, and global education policies; through analysis of governing higher educational practices, particularly those related to international student migration and mobility; and, through the continued development of theoretical and analytical frameworks that views international students as active agents of identity-making and self-formation through practices of the care of the self.

At the macro-level, there remains the need to further analyze global policies targeting higher education practices at the local level. For example, how is higher education (and its value, which is increasingly up for debate) positioned alongside, or in contradiction to, VET and lifelong learning agendas? How does UNESCO's Global Convention on Higher Education complement or contradict the UN's SDGs, other IO policy frameworks on higher education, and even its own GCE initiatives?

At the meso-level, there remains the need to analyze the governing practices of HEPAs as regional and national policy influencers as well as HEI practice influencers. As ACE and NAFSA continue to promote comprehensive internationalization programs to its member institutions, questions should be raised as to how these programs have shifted and transformed discursively since ACE's 2011 Blue Ribbon Panel and NAFSA's 2011 "Comprehensive Internationalization" reports. Also, how have regional and federal policies on internationalization shifted as a result of HEPA policy influence? How do recent reports, such as ACE's recent report

“Toward greater inclusion and success: A new compact for international students” (Glass et al., 2021), align or diverge from other internationalization programs, including those proposed by the Canadian Bureau for International Education, the European Association for International Education, or the International Association of Universities, among others? How are HEPAs influenced by various IO global policymaking efforts? And, what might international education practices look like — or what practices could be imagined — in what some critical internationalization scholars have called an emerging “post-internationalization” movement in which international education becomes the site for resistance and action (Beck, 2021)?

At the micro-level, there is a tremendous need to listen to and to learn from international students themselves. Further studies situated within a framework of governmentality and ethics are necessary to demarcate the lines between subjectivity, coercion, and domination in the international higher education sphere. Studies might also follow and analyze innovative international experiential programs that aim to empower international students, challenge the established lines and of coloniality, and democratize curricular practices through knowledge sharing and exchange. There also remains the need for further studies on virtual learning environments, such as collaborative online international learning (COIL) and globally networked learning environments (GNLE) as well as dual-degree partnerships that go beyond the too-familiar neo-colonial branch-campus. Furthermore, there is a pressing need to examine the ways in which new media and social media are influencing international student decision-making, and there is an increasing exigence to develop questions related to the integration of bioinformatics into higher education administrative practices and the role of artificial intelligence (AI) in informing policies and practices at multiple levels. To date, these developments have received

very little attention in the fields of higher education studies, comparative international education, and sociology of education, among many others.

Lastly, while Foucauldian analysis of knowledge, governmentality, and subjectivity through the lens of ethics provides a range of theoretical and methodological tools from which to choose, there remain various opportunities to go *beyond* Foucault in order to enhance these conceptualizations of globalized higher education rather than to merely supplement them. I am not only interested — as is hopefully evidenced throughout this dissertation — in continuing to apply Foucault’s interpretive analytics of discourse, power, and government as well as his positive notion of critique to developing critical societal questions that apply to the fields of higher education studies, comparative international education, and sociology of education. I also aim to explore various theoretical and methodological approaches as well as conceptual and analytical frameworks that reside outside of a strictly Foucauldian approach to analyzing power, practices, and subjectivities. This might include problematizing the development and application of governing higher education policies at multiple levels (from the local to the global), human migration, cultural (mis)appropriation, racial and economic equity, and democratizing educational practices that align global policy making with institutional administrative practices in an effort to reduce precarities, particularly but not limited to international students and their mobility, and in an effort to further develop ethical pedagogical practices for agential subjectivities not only for international students but for society as a whole.

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Appendix

The Use of Foucault's Methods in the Three Manuscript Chapters

This appendix aims to provide an overview of the methodological approaches taken in each of the three manuscript chapters of this dissertation, followed by an overview of the specific methods utilized in each manuscript chapter.

Methodological Approach

The methodological approach I take in chapters 3 and 4 takes up and combines Foucault's archaeology and genealogy in order to undertake an analytics of discourse together with an analytics of government. My analysis focuses on policies produced by intergovernmental organizations (IOs) that specifically aim to shape higher education practices, and positioning texts produced by higher education professional associations (HEPAs) that aim to influence both governmental policies and higher education practices.

As discussed in Chapter 2, Foucault's archaeological method explicates statements that function to place a discursive frame around a particular position and form rhetorical constructions that presents a particular reading, in this case, of policy texts. A discursive analytic that also draws from Foucault's genealogy aims to question the intelligibility of truths that have come to be taken for granted in a particular society (Graham, 2011). Genealogy is not an ideological critique, nor is it a linguistic analysis, nor does it aim to create new truths about a particular topic or discourse. Rather, genealogy operates as the analysis of connections between discourse and power, and it analyzes how power historically is exercised and practiced in society (Foucault, 1980). Furthermore, genealogy aims to explain the transformations of knowledge by

situating it within historical power structures and governing rationalities by tracing its descent and emergence (Olssen, 2004).

Policy as text, Ball (1993) argues, are the actual textual interventions into specific practices. In the case of this study, policies that problematize particular issues related to higher education may aim to shape various higher education practices. This may include recommendations for funding, the mobility of students, or policies that target trade in educational services. As a discourse, policies exercise power through a production of truth and knowledge, while discourses are the practices that form the very objects of which they speak. Thus, policy ensembles operate as regimes of truth through which people govern themselves and others. As such, the general effects of policies “become evident when specific aspects of change and specific sets of responses (within practice) are related together” (p. 15).

While I was not interested in conducting a linguistic analysis that is emblematic of critical discourse analysis (CDA), I did draw insights from the methodological approaches of analyzing discourse by Fairclough (1992, 2013), van Dijk (2008), Wodak & Meyer (2015), and other critical discourse studies scholars. One such insight was drawing relationships between texts, processes, and social practices as well as the signifying ways in which discourse constitutes social conditions and subject positions (Fairclough, 1992).

However, I was not interested in focusing on the dialectic of what policy texts say as much as what policy texts actually do (Graham, 2011). That is, I was particularly interested in the constitutive and political effects of various policy discourse and the truths in higher education that have come to be taken for granted. For example, “knowledge economy” is often viewed in higher education studies as a constant policy approach of national governments and IOs. Yet, a close reading of IO policy texts demonstrates a discontinuity of knowledge economy discourse

and a move toward skill development, as reported in Chapter 3. Thus, textual specificity, reversal, discontinuity, and exteriority (discussed below) does provide for an archaeological analytics of discourse that demonstrates the relationship between language and social practices. However, Foucauldian discourse analysis which includes an analytics of government “directs us to examine the different and particular contexts in which governing is called into question; in which actors and agents of all sorts must pose the question of how to govern” (Dean, 2010, p. 38). Therefore, utilizing Foucault’s four discursive principles of reversal, discontinuity, specificity, and exteriority, (Foucault, 1971) together with the genealogical search for descent and emergence takes the analysis of policy and practices beyond merely an analysis of discourse in order to detail the operation of power (Hook, 2007).

Additionally, as poststructuralism eschews developing new truths about particular situations, the analysis of discourse using Foucault’s toolbox will always be interpretive and contingent based upon the analyst’s own theoretical and epistemological points of view: “It is for this reason that those using discourse analysis with Foucault shy away from prescribing method, for no matter how standardized the process, the analysis of language by different people will seldom yield the same result” (Graham, 2011, p. 666).

Chapter 5 proposes an analytical framework that views international student mobility (ISM) through the lens of Foucault’s forms of problematization and genealogy of ethical practices (Foucault, 1985). What Foucault calls the form — or an archaeology — of problematizations accounts for the ways in which certain activities have been discursively problematized at various historical points in time. Meanwhile, the so-called “genealogy of ethics” (Dreyfus & Rabinow, 1983) examines how the individual *as subject* is engaged in a constant struggle in the constitution and the cultivation of oneself (Foucault, 1986) both through

power relations and through a care of the self (Davidson, 1986). Foucault argued that the cultivation of the self is observable within empirically analyzable practices, such as those practices that take place within educational institutions (Dreyfus & Rabinow, 1983). A genealogy of ethics should, therefore, investigate power relations through forms of resistance and various oppositions as its starting point (Foucault, 1982). Concomitantly, because individuals govern their own actions through various practices of the self, a genealogy of ethics should pay close attention to both ascetic practices of self-regulation as well as the ethical work that one performs in order to transform oneself into an ethical subject defined as the relationship one has with oneself (Foucault, 2005).

Methods

Chapter 3

The corpus of IO texts analyzed in Chapter 3 includes policy texts produced by the OECD, World Bank, and WTO that relate specifically to the practice of higher education. The corpus of texts analyzed serves as a useful representation of IO discursive production in the sphere of global higher education policymaking. Texts were located and identified by conducting a thorough search of OECD, World Bank, and WTO websites utilizing key search terms, including [but not limited to] higher education, tertiary education, post-secondary education, international student(s), public good/public funding/public sector, knowledge economy, economic growth, governance, globalization (globalisation), and internationalization (internationalisation). These terms represent common themes and topics of analysis in both higher education and comparative education studies literature.

Once the policy texts were selected, I conducted a discursive analysis consisting of a close reading (Buckner & Stein, 2020) and a winding approach (Aaltio & Heilmann, 2010) in

order to grasp the discursive components and similarities that ran across the corpus of materials and to identify the discursive transformations over time. Utilizing an analytics of discourse viewed through the lens of governmentality, I identified the discursive formations that subvert assumptions of origin (reversal), that constitute diverse components (discontinuity), that indicate regularity of practices and materiality (specificity), and that enable and limit discourses (exteriority). In the genealogical search of descent and emergence, I identified minute deviations and reversals while searching for the singularity of events outside the continuity of historical development in the selected policy texts. In addition to analytics of discourse, my analysis also employed an analytics of government in order to demonstrate how IO policies aim to govern various regimes of practices within the higher education sector. Dean (2010) identifies four dimensions for conducting an analytics of government along the axes of visibility, techniques of government, forms of knowledge, and forms of identification. Chapter 3 applies Dean's grid in order to demonstrate how IO policies aim to govern various regimes of practices within the higher education sector.

For example, searching for descent illustrates that the timelessness of higher education—as a constant, state-directed, continuation of formal post-secondary education—has come under intense scrutiny. IOs now challenge the notion of higher education as the culminating site of formal education, reconstituting post-secondary education as *merely* another means for developing skills necessary for maximizing productivity and economic growth. Searching for emergence also demonstrates a reversal within IO policies over several decades, shifting the burden of financing higher education away from nation-states and toward individual actors. With greater autonomy from state-controls comes the need for new governance strategies, including setting performance goals and assessing learning outcomes.

Chapter 4

Chapter 4 concentrates on a series of surveys, reports, and working papers developed by ACE and NAFSA between the period 1988 and 2017. I selected ACE due to its historical position as the “association for associations” (Hawkins, 1992) and for its mission to shape public policy related to the U.S. higher education sector. I selected NAFSA for its dedicated mission to advocate on behalf of international higher education practices in the United States. The temporal frame correlates with the emergence of a “discourse of internationalization” in higher education that took shape in the late 1980s.

I first began my genealogical analysis with a thorough review of ACE and NAFSA websites in an effort to locate landing pages, working papers, and communications with its member institutions that discuss internationalization in various contexts. Working backward, I traced the use of internationalization to its earliest usage among ACE and NAFSA, bringing me to ACE’s (1989) report, titled “International studies and the undergraduate.” From there, I identified several ACE and NAFSA positioning papers that specifically took up area studies, international studies, and international education including study abroad.

Utilizing a genealogical approach, the search for descent identifies the reversals, discontinuities, specificities, and exteriorities that are found within discourse and aims to disturb what was previously considered immobile (Foucault, 1984) The search for reversal is used to subvert, or invert, notions of a single origin or a creation and instead look to discourse as event (Hook, 2001). The search for discontinuity pays attention to the competing and changing constructions of discursive formations (Bowman et al., 2019). Specificity extends beyond text in order to identify the conditions that allowed for the formation of discourse, while exteriority looks for the elements which both enable and limit discourse. Second, reading for emergence

locates the historical conditions that allowed for the formation of new objects and struggles within discourse (Bowman et al., 2019; Hook, 2005). Chapter 4 also employs an analytics of government, which helps draw attention to the organised regimes of practices through which collectives are governed through the production of truth (Dean, 2010). Viewed through the lens of governmentality, Chapter 4 demonstrates the ways in which internationalization has been conceptualized, discussed, shaped, and promulgated to ACE and NAFSA members up to the time my analysis concluded.

The genealogy of HEPA working papers and reports published since the late 1980s reveals how ACE and NAFSA first problematized American higher education as falling behind its OECD peers in the new world order of globalization. While calling for public investments and comprehensive internationalization in the 1990s and early 2000s, ACE and NAFSA by the early 2010s referred to the “globalization of higher education” and called upon institutions to do more with their own resources. This resulted in indirect governance solutions that have been characterized by competition, privatization, and self-sustaining approaches to internationalization, such as the revenue-generating practice of international student recruitment.

Chapter 5

Chapter 5 of this dissertation does not analyze policy texts as in chapters 4 and 5. Rather, it conceptualizes the practice of ISM within the Foucauldian notions of problematization, critique, and ethics, and it proposes a novel analytical approach to examining the phenomenon of ISM as a practice of the cultivation of the self. This includes Foucault’s four aspects of ethics, or the relationship one has to oneself, which includes ethical substance, mode of subjection, ethical work (self-formation), and telos (discussed in further detail in Chapter 5)

I began by conducting a close reading Foucault's (Foucault, 1988, 2010) concepts of the technologies of the self, which relate to forms of self-subjugation and self-regulation; forms of problematization, as the domain of acts, practices, and thoughts which pose problems for politics (Foucault, 1997) and, his conceptualization of ethical work, notably the practices of care and cultivation of the self. While techniques of the self and the care of the self often seem diametrically opposed, these ethical practices often interact, overlap, and even may inform one another. However, the various technologies of the self are difficult to analyze because "they are often invisible techniques" (Dreyfus & Rabinow, 1983). Thus, I aimed to focus my discussion of globalized higher education at the micro-level through the material practice of ISM, which is quite observable.

I began with a thorough review of ISM literature from the theoretical perspectives of neo-Marxism, postcolonial studies, cultural studies, and governmentality studies. These theoretical approaches tend to problematize ISM as a deficit-centered practice based on difference, coloniality, and subjugation. Following this review of literature, I offer an interpretation of Foucault's concept of ethical work as the cultivation of the self, which offers the possibility of re-orienting the view of ISM toward an agency-centered practice. The concept of the care of the self (*epimeleia heautou*), which includes the practice of speaking one's own truth (*parrhesia*), are necessary for reversing power relations from the political toward the ethical. In this way, it becomes possible to (re)conceive ISM as moving international higher education further toward various critical internationalization goals, which include global citizenship education, decoloniality, and democratization.

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