A Praxiography of the Transnationalization of the Stockholm School of Economics

by

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Abstract

The internationalization of higher education is as old as the university itself. Recently, however, there has been a growing interest in transnational higher education, a specific form of internationalization which considers education as a product which can be packaged and sold abroad. The result of this interest is a large transnational higher education literature.

This research critiques this transnational higher education literature, suggesting that it is plagued by a number of issues. It then aims to address these issues by developing a more essential and dynamic theoretical account of transnational higher education as a practice. The research explores the transnationalization of the Stockholm School of Economics, with an emphasis on its foreign branch campus in Riga, Latvia. It adopts the philosophy and methods of praxiology, and it follows the abductive logic of Grounded Theory. The research results include a modeling of the transnationalization of the Stockholm School of Economics as an activity system.

This research contributes to the transnational higher education literature by adding to the discourse on the phenomenon of transnational higher education. The theoretical account of transnationalization which was developed furnishes an alternative perspective on transnational higher education. In combination with activity system analysis, it offers a

novel approach to understanding transnational higher education as a practice. And it reveals the constitutive relationship between an institution and its transnationalization, thereby affording a richer understanding of the process by which an institution transnationalizes, and, in turn, of the process by which this transnationalization helps to re-shape the institution.

Keywords: transnationalization, higher education, praxiology, grounded theory

Chapter 1. Introduction

Overview

Chapter 1 introduces the research and the dissertation. It begins by tracing the history of the internationalization of higher education. It then defines transnational higher education, and outlines it rationales. Chapter 1 continues by underlining the significance of transnational higher education, and identifies its importance to various stakeholders. It then states the research purpose, and summarizes the research. Finally, Chapter 1 outlines the dissertation structure.

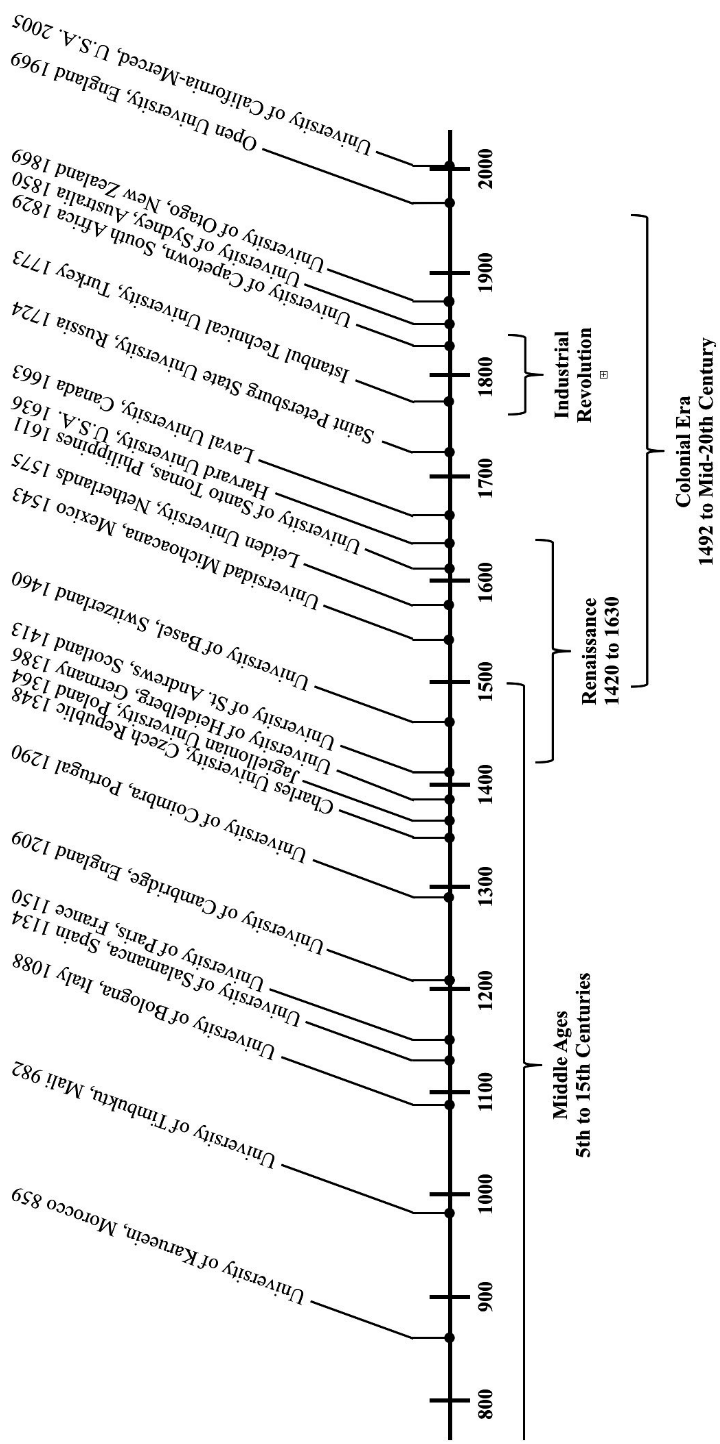
The Internationalization of Higher Education

According to the Institute of International Education (2015), the 2014/2015 academic year set a record year for both international students studying in the U.S.A. and Americans studying abroad—974,926 and 304,467 students respectively. But the internationalization of students is nothing new. Indeed, international student mobility dates back to the 4th century BCE (Chadee & Naidoo, 2009). The University of Oxford welcomed its first international student, Emo of Friesland, in 1190 (University of Oxford, 2014). And Sultan Ulug Beg, the 14th century ruler of a vast area of Central Asia from Kyrghyzstan to Afghanistan, built one of the world's first observatories in Samarkand along the Silk Road, thereby attracting scholars from far and wide to study astronomy and geometry (Golden, 2011).

Viewed more broadly, the internationalization of higher education as a whole might be considered as old as the university itself (See Figure 1 for a timeline of university foundings.). In medieval Europe, scholars often spent their sabbaticals abroad, enjoying time in “Oxford, Tübingen or the Sorbonne to pursue their scholarly activities and access the vast resources of the university libraries” (Harris, 2008, p. 352). Latin, which was the lingua franca of higher education until the Renaissance, facilitated the itinerant scholar’s rambling from studium to studium (de Ridder-Symeons, 1992). It is not surprising, therefore, that the European Union chose the name ERASMUS (European Community Action Scheme for the Mobility of University Students) for its student exchange program, a nod to one of the most famous academic wandering minstrels.

At the end of the Middle Ages, however, the university lost its academic universalism, becoming an instrument of the state. Indeed, its newfound purpose was to serve the ideological and professional needs of the emerging nation-states of Europe (Scott, 2000). Kerr (1994) characterized this period as the ‘convergence model’ in which “education, and higher education, not only came to serve the administrative and economic interests of the nation-state but became an essential aspect of the development of national identity” (p. 27). It was during this period that the university also gained its new identification with science and technology.

Figure 1. Timeline of University Foundings



Source: Author

As these emerging nation-states gained power, national systems of higher education also began to emerge, and these systems were subsequently exported. Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore, for example, adopted the German discovery-oriented approach to higher education, and became the model for the modern American research university (Johns Hopkins University, 2014). The export of national systems of higher education, however, was more often another facet of the European colonization of Africa, Asia, and Latin America (Knight & de Wit, 1995). Although primarily in service of national interests, it also led to the sharing of scientific ideas, and reignited academic exchanges.

The years immediately following World War II triggered an explosion in higher education (Seidel, 1991). Indeed, half of the world's universities have been established since 1945. In the U.S.A. in particular, higher education was linked to a broader social equity agenda which aimed to expand educational opportunity and access. Spurred by the GI Bill and the civil rights movement (Newfield, 2011), this agenda led to the massification of higher education and correspondingly an almost Fordist assembly-line approach to teaching and research (Scott, 1995). But as highlighted by Scott (2000), the golden age of universities also coincided with the height of the Cold War and consequently a kind of nationalism, which, he argued, resulted in (using Kerr's language) a re-convergence.

The 1960s and 1970s, however, saw a rekindling of the internationalization of higher education, despite—or perhaps because of—the Cold War. Both the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. began to support international exchange for economic and political motives, resulting in a new form of educational imperialism. The Chicago School of Economics, for example, had a profound impact on the macro-economic policies of Chile, the effects of which can still be felt today. Or consider the legions of African engineers, doctors, and scientists who were educated in universities and institutes across the U.S.S.R. The People's Friendship University (now of Russia), for example, was founded in 1960, with the express purpose of educating citizens of developing nations.

The internationalization of higher education in the 1960s and 1970s was also spurred by the de-colonization of the developing world, the rapid expansion of higher education globally, and the changing role of the university from a center of intellectual pursuit to a training facility for human resources (Knight & de Wit, 1995). This internationalization took on a decidedly north-south geographical axis, with students moving (usually one-way) from south to north, and staff and technical assistance in the opposite direction. The consequences were both positive (the spread of scientific development to the south, for example) and negative (brain drain from the south, for example).

The forces of globalization which erupted in the 1980s prompted a new twist on the internationalization of higher education. Indeed, the sense of urgency which accompanied these forces resulted in more internally-oriented international activities at higher education institutions—cross-cultural training and new area studies programs, for example—which were intended to nurture the international-ness of staff and students (See Gacel-Ávila, 2005, for example.). This urgency was captured concisely in *A Nation at Risk*, the landmark federal evaluation of American public elementary and secondary education which was commissioned by then-President Ronald Reagan: “Our unchallenged preeminence in commerce, industry, science, and technological innovation is being overtaken by competitors throughout the world” (National Commission on Excellence in Education, 1983, p. 1). In higher education more specifically, the concern over America’s global competitiveness led directly to the Centers for International Business Education (CIBE) program, “created under the Omnibus Trade and Competitiveness Act of 1988 to increase and promote the nation’s capacity for international understanding and economic enterprise” (U.S. Department of Education, 2016).

The 1990s, however, ushered in the latest era in the internationalization of higher education—an era in which education itself is considered a product which can be packaged and sold internationally (Cudmore, 2005). Now known most commonly as transnational higher education, this international trade of higher education was triggered in the United Kingdom, for example, by Tony Blair, who launched a worldwide campaign to increase the number of foreign students in British universities (Ayoubi & Massoud, 2007). Likewise, government changes in higher education funding encouraged Australian universities to begin offering their degrees internationally (Currie & Newson, 1998; Smart & Ang, 1993), especially in the markets of Southeast Asia. The inclusion of education as a tradable product in the World Trade Organization’s (WTO) 1995 General Agreement on Trade in

Services (GATS)—the culmination of the Uruguay Round of negotiations which began in 1986—gave “additional momentum to the process” (Anandakrishnan, 2008, p. 199).

Transnational higher education is now a multi-billion dollar industry (Alderman, 2001); trade in higher education accounts for 3% of global services exports (Vincent-Lancrin, 2005). Recent decades have witnessed an explosion in the number of universities going abroad. Weill Cornell Medical College, for example, was opened in Qatar by U.S.-based Cornell University in 2001. The Open University Business School of the United Kingdom now has more than 30,000 students in more than 100 countries studying by distance education (Open University, 2014). And higher education ranks as Australia’s fourth largest export behind coal, iron ore, and gold (Group of Eight, 2014).

Transnational Higher Education

According to the Council of Europe (2002), transnational higher education—sometimes also called cross-border higher education or borderless higher education (Lourtie, 2001)—includes “all types of higher education study programmes, or sets of courses of study, or educational services (including those of distance education) in which the learners are located in a country different from the one where the awarding institution is based” (Council of Europe, 2002). It is “education provision from one country offered in another” (ACA, 2008, p. 57). For some experts, it also includes foreign student mobility (Naidoo, 2009a). But in short, transnational higher education is about the international trade of higher education, and it is now a widely-recognized concept and a fast growing global phenomenon (Chen, 2015). Its magnitude is evidenced by the number of students studying internationally (Husain, 2007) which the OECD (2013) predicts will reach 6.7 million by 2020.

For Yang (2008), the emergence of transnational higher education signaled a dramatic change in the nature of higher education. Indeed, it switched in emphasis from the internationalization of *higher education* to the *internationalization* of higher education. It moved from *making* higher education international to *taking* higher education international.

Knight and de Wit (1995), for example, noted that the internationalization of higher education has historically followed four different approaches:

1. activity—the addition of curricular and extra-curricular offerings such as international exchanges and joint research,
2. ethos—the creation of an international culture in an institution,
3. competency—the development of international skills and attitudes among students and staff, and
4. process—the integration of an international dimension in all university programs, policies, and procedures.

Similarly, Hamrick (1999) suggested that the internationalization of higher education has historically focused on:

1. international studies—the establishment of internationalization as an academic subject (area studies or cultural studies, for example),

2. facilitation of interaction—the furnishing of opportunities for shared experiences (study abroad and foreign student recruitment, for example),
3. international assistance—the provision of foreign aid (instructor exchanges, for example), and
4. preparation of students—the promotion of the 'global citizen' (internationally-themed dormitories, for example).

Transnational higher education, on the contrary, views the internationalization of higher education through a product lens. Indeed, in contrast to the historical view of the internationalization of higher education in which an international dimension is injected into university teaching/training, research, or service functions (Knight, 1997), transnational higher education considers higher education as a product which "can be manufactured, bought, and sold" (Muller, 1995)—that which globa (2000) called the commodification of higher education. It acknowledges that commercial forces have a legitimate, if not dominant, role in higher education (Altbach & Knight, 2007).

This new product lens is mirrored in the significant, if subtle, semantic shift of terminology. The historical view of the internationalization of higher education resulted in various descriptors of higher education, including international, comparative, cross-cultural, global, and multi-cultural, all of which allude to the potential international-ness of higher education. Transnational higher education instead takes the nation as its defining unit, which, when combined with the Latin prefix *trans* which means across or beyond, intimates the very tangible movement of higher education across national boundaries.

The Rationales of Transnational Higher Education

It is evident that transnational higher education also follows a different logic for internationalization. Knight and de Wit (1995) argued that the internationalization of higher education has historically been driven by economic and political rationales, and by cultural and educational rationales. Economic and political rationales include:

1. economic growth and investment in the future economy—the internationalization of higher education has a positive effect on international trade, bilateral economic relations, national competitiveness, and technological development;
2. human resources globalization—the internationalization of higher education is necessary, to equip students for a global labor market;
3. foreign policy—the internationalization of higher education is a form of soft diplomacy, improving a nation's brand image;
4. revenue generation—the internationalization of higher education earns additional income, especially with full fee-paying foreign students; and
5. educational demand—the internationalization of higher education serves students from nations which have limited capacity.

Cultural and educational rationales include:

1. cultural function—the internationalization of education spreads social values;
2. development of the individual—the internationalization of higher education is necessary, in order for students to learn about themselves by confronting alternative world-views;
3. research and teaching—the internationalization of higher education reflects the universal human enterprise of advancing knowledge and understanding;
4. institution-building—the internationalization of higher education strengthens the structures and systems of an institution; and
5. quality improvement—the internationalization of higher education can enhance the content and delivery of teaching and can increase the rigor of research.

The aims of the internationalization of higher education appear to be principally altruistic and humanistic in nature, and reflect a genuine concern for student welfare, human development, institutional capacity-building, and national economic development. Even the revenue generation rationale, which at first glance seems to be motivated more by money, ought to considered relatively benign—and perhaps even benevolent—in origin.

Transnational higher education, on the contrary, is premised on a different set of rationales. Indeed, transnational higher education is most often associated with marketization, neo-liberalism, and globalization (Moutsios, 2008). As summarized by

Sidhu and Christie (2014a), higher education has now embraced “neo-liberal funding regimes, marketisation, cross-border movements of students as well as institutions, the centrality of information and communications technology and the challenges of a knowledge economy more generally” (p. 182).

Marketization. Starting with the marketization of higher education, it is clear that transnational higher education has embraced—perhaps even accelerated—the paradigmatic shift from government-controlled systems of higher education in which higher education is for the public good, to a market-based system in which higher education is a good for the public (Jongbloed, 2003; Kehm, 2003; Altbach & Knight, 2007). It exploits the commodification of higher education (ESIB, 2011), spurring universities to market their wares (Alexander & Rizvi, 1993). It is certainly not isolated to the Western World; indeed there is evidence of the marketization of higher education in Russia (Hare & Lugachev, 1999), Eastern and Central Europe (Czarniawska & Genell, 2002), Israel (Oplatka, 2002), Asia (Gray, Fam, & Llanes., 2003), and Africa (Ivy, 2001; Maringe, 2004; Maringe & Foskett, 2002). In summary, it re-defines the economic narrative of higher education. “Instrumental reasoning, new regimes of accountability, and strict adherence to the economic imperative are the defining features of the contemporary university. Competitiveness, excellence and performance are central to its survival” (Harris, 2008, p. 347).

TRANSNATIONALIZATION

Stromquist (2002) argued that this marketization of higher education can be explained partly from a social equity perspective. State-funded higher education, he contested, typically benefits the upper and middle classes of society, and consequently, it is intrinsically unfair. Similarly, Altbach and Davis (1999) observed that governments have increasingly viewed higher education as an individual not social benefit, and held, therefore, that individuals ought to bear the cost of higher education. Healey (2008) interpreted the rising commercial activity among universities in developed countries as a consequence of supply- and demand-side factors in emerging markets. Drawing on institutional theory, Kerlin and Pollak (2011) proposed that broader exogenous environmental forces influence all not-for-profit organizations. And Carroll and Stater (2009) suggested that revenue diversification in not-for-profits can lead to greater financial stability.

Viewed through a policy lens, the marketization of higher education (and the transnational higher education which parallels it) appears to be more the result of pro-active decisions made by governments in recent decades. Consider the Australian case, for example. As mentioned previously, the conservative government in Australia deregulated and de-funded education in the late 1980s and early 1990s, opening the way for full fee-paying foreign students (Alexander & Rizvi, 1993; Smart & Ang, 1993). The total number of foreign students increased from 17,248 in 1987 to 39,490 in 1992, with full fee-paying foreign students rising from 1,109 to 30,296, most coming from Hong Kong, Malaysia, and

Singapore (Department of Employment, Education and Training Higher Education Division, 1993). By 2013, however, almost 300,000 foreign students were enrolling annually at Australian universities, contributing $15 billion to the Australian economy (Group of Eight, 2014).

Cudmore (2005) reported on the marketization of the Colleges of Applied Arts and Technology (CAATs) in Canada, which were created in the 1960s to support economic development of the province of Ontario. He noted that in 2002 the government rewrote the mandate for the CAATs in order “to meet local, regional, and global *marketplace* demand” (Cudmore, 2005, p. 38, my emphasis). Subsequently, the CAATs have attempted to internationalize, with the recruitment of foreign students, the internationalization of the curriculum through foreign languages, overseas academic programs, faculty exchanges, and technical assistance to other countries.

Several nations have initiated policies (often accompanied by government-led incentives) with the explicit intention of becoming educational hubs within a global educational market (Chen, 2015). Malaysia (Gill, 2009) and Singapore (Mok, 2008), for example, have both been highlighted because of their national higher education strategies which aim not only to attract foreign students but also to lure foreign universities to set up branch campuses (St. George, 2006). The United Arab Emirates and Qatar, which now boast forty and nine foreign branch campuses respectively, are also much discussed, particularly due to the generous financial and infrastructure support from their governments

(Becker, 2010). Twenty-two of the forty foreign branch campuses in the United Arab Emirates are located in Dubai, specifically within the so-called Dubai International Academic City, which offers 100 percent foreign ownership, tax exemption, and repatriation of profits. In Qatar, the government bears all infrastructure development costs for foreign branch campuses.

Perhaps the most obvious examples of a government's pro-active decisions to marketize higher education can be found within the European Union. In 1987, the ERASMUS program was developed by the European Union to support student exchanges with the European Union (Enders, 1998). In the 20 years since its inception, more than two million students have participated. In 1999, however, the European Union undertook an even bolder initiative. Named the Bologna Process after the Italian city in which the founding declaration was signed into effect, it aimed to create a single transparent and competitive higher education market out of the diverse higher education systems of 46 nations by adopting a standardized 3-cycle bachelor-master-doctoral progression and a common credit transfer system (Bennett, Bergan, Cassar, Hamilton, Soinila, Sursock, Uvalic-Trumbic, & Williams, 2010). The result has been the emergence of the European Area of Higher Education, the educational equivalent of Europe's currency-based Eurozone (EHEA, 1998). The marketization of higher education indeed.

Neo-Liberalism. Continuing with neo-liberalism, the marketization of higher education which transnational higher education has embraced appears to have grown in tandem with a broader neo-liberal economic agenda, which likewise has left an imprint on transnational higher education. Neo-liberalism is an economic philosophy which advocates consumer agency, free markets, and private property. It eschews government participation and market interference. And it underpins modern views of economic growth and globalization (WHO, 2014). As summarized by Dudley (1998),

> [t]he claim of globalization is that national economies are being increasingly subsumed into a global economy and that the discipline of international markets and money markets, rather than national, social, and/or political priorities, should determine public policy. These policies, almost without exception, require states to reduce public spending, deregulate capital and labour markets, minimize welfare provision, and either eliminate or privatize as much as possible of the welfare state. (p. 25)

Neo-liberalism is evidenced in higher education at the general level in a number of ways. Chen (2015), for example, suggested that entrepreneurship has become an important activity of the modern university—a method for generating funding for research and teaching support, student services, and infrastructure maintenance and growth. Van Vught, van der Wende, and Westerneijden (2002) contended that neo-liberalism has caused a shift in higher education from cooperation to competition. Harris (2008) noted that neo-liberalism is also reflected in the mission statements of today's universities, and in the aggressive promotion which they perform. And Kauppinen (2012) proposed that higher education has become part of a much larger global academic capitalism which is an outcome of the increasingly global circuits of economic activity. Slaughter and Rhoades (1997) even proposed that this academic capitalism can explicate the global dominance of the American university.

With respect to transnational higher education specifically, neo-liberalism is manifest in the policy of the World Trade Organization which promotes trade liberalization, including in educational services (Naidoo, 2010b). Rikowski (2002) characterized this "as the facilitation of the business takeover of education through its commercialization, privatization, and capitalization" (p. 3) and which has led to a kind of invisible hand of education (Chen, 2015), and to a "single global marketplace of ideas, data, and communication" (Knight & de Wit, 1995, p. 8).

Neo-liberalism has also ushered in a new level of competition in higher education. As summarized by Lowrie and Hemsley-Brown (2011), "competition will define higher education and its being in the world" (p. 1081). This competition, however, consists not only of other universities but also of non-university education providers (Lourtie, 2001) and corporate universities (Husain, 2007). According to Lorange (2002), higher education has always had competition—universities competed for resources including money, faculty, facilities, and students. But with globalization, he continued, they are now also competing globally for students, with foreign institutions, and with commercial education providers. In its 2008 report, for example, the US Council of Graduate Schools underlined the efforts which Europe was making to retain its students and to recruit more international students.

Chen (2015) maintained that transnational higher education is also a response to the growing global demand for higher education (and education in general), especially from emerging economies. According to UNESCO (2009), student numbers rose 125% from 1990 to 2007. This growth is due, Chen hinted, to rising incomes, changing demographics both domestically and internationally, and labor shortages. Bloom (2002) added that higher education has simply become a necessity—higher education is to today's knowledge economy as secondary education was to the industrial economy.

Many national higher education systems, however, are simply unable to meet this new demand. The leading providers of technical, medical, and commercial training in India, for example, can only serve about 1% of the market (Anastasios, 2011). To exacerbate the issue, according to Colucci, Van Rooijen, and Uekeral (2009), demand for higher education is outpacing (traditional) supply. They quoted Sir John Daniel who, in 1996, claimed that a sizable new university would need to be created every week merely to sustain the participation rates in higher education at the time. This excess demand—in India and elsewhere—argued Alam, Chowdhury, and Steiner (2013), can only be met by transnational higher education.

Consequently, many higher education institutions have shifted their financial support for emerging economies, and begun to serve full fee-paying foreign students—they have shifted from aid to trade. And for many of these institutions, these students have become an important source of income, especially as public budgets have withered (Altbach & Knight, 2007).

In the neo-liberal competitive global market for higher education, reputation has also become increasingly salient, a reflection of neo-liberalism's emphasis on consumer agency. Consider the importance which is now ascribed to university league tables, such as the Shanghai Academic Ranking of World Universities (See www.shanghairanking.com.). From a transnational higher education perspective, the level of a university's internationalization has also become a measure of its excellence (Harris, 2008). Indeed, both students and sponsors alike consider it to be a contributing factor in a university's brand image (Naidoo, 2010b).

Globalization. Complementing marketization and neo-liberalism, is the notion of globalization. It is evident that the emergence of transnational higher education has also mirrored the acceleration of globalization which was triggered in the 1980s with the opening of the global economy (Eggins, 2003). To be fair, different higher education institutions respond differently to the forces of globalization (Luitjen-Lub, 2007; Maringe & Foskett, 2002). But from a macro perspective, one of the most important effects of globalization "has been to crack open existing territorialities to enable different local actors to participate in international arenas that were once open only to nation-states" (Sidhu & Christie, 2014a, p. 182). Indeed, as articulated by Kwiek (2001), globalization has caused a major redefinition of the general responsibilities of the nation state, and a rethinking of the role of the nation-state in politics and economics. Simultaneously, higher education has de-monopolized, de-institutionalized, and de-nationalized (Kampf, 2002). It is impossible to understand transnational higher education, therefore, without understanding it in the context of the forces of globalization (Singh, Rizvi, & Shrestha, 2007).

According to the International Monetary Fund (2008), globalization is primarily an economic phenomenon, involving the increasing integration of national economies through the growth of international trade, investment, and capital flows. It implies the reduction or elimination of national barriers, temporal limits, and spatial boundaries. In the words of Thomas Friedman, author of bestsellers *The Lexus and the Olive Tree: Understanding Globalization* (1999) and *The World is Flat: A Brief History of the 21st Century* (2005), globalization is the "inexorable integration of markets, nation-states, and technologies to a degree never witnessed before—in a way that is enabling individuals, corporations, and nation-states to reach round the world farther, faster, deeper, and cheaper than ever before" (1999, p. 14).

In the context of transnational higher education, Haug (2000) emphasized that "what is genuinely new and explains the growth of transnational education is that students are less and less restricted to what their national system is prepared to offer" (par. 3). This reduction of restrictions is due, in part, to the new opportunities for transnational higher education which are afforded to students by information technologies (Husain, 2007). Indeed, the internet has completely transformed the notion (and reputation) of distance learning from the days during which it meant correspondence school. The University of London International Programmes, for example, which was chartered by Queen Victoria in 1858, now has more than 54,000 students in 180 nations who follow courses on their own time and in their own locations (University of London, 2014). The reduction in temporal limits and spatial boundaries has been accelerated further by the "emergence of 'global English' as an alternative to the national language for the acquisition of higher education qualifications" (Haug, 2000, par. 5), as the lingua franca of modern higher education (Altbach, 1989)

The impact of globalization on higher education is most pronounced in emerging economies, which often have unmet demand (Naidoo, 2010b) or which face other distinctive challenges (Husain, 2007), including:

- the inability to offer degrees in certain scientific disciplines,
- a lack of curricula and teaching materials in local languages,
- limited domestic expertise, and
- restrictive social customs (access to higher education for women, for example).

As summarized by Lourtie (2001), the growth of transnational higher education to emerging economies is "a sign that the national systems are not responding to the needs of potential students" (p. 6).

The Significance of Transnational Higher Education

It ought to be obvious from the preceding outline of the rationales of transnational higher education that the aims of transnational higher education are consistent with the rationales of marketization, neo-liberalism, and globalization. Indeed, transnational higher education follows the precepts of laissez-faire and self-interested capitalism, subscribing to the belief in the power of the market to improve both the efficiency and effectiveness of higher education globally. The logic is straightforward: emancipate higher education from government participation and interference, furnish students with the dignity of economic choice, and allow the invisible hand of economics to work its magic (Chan & Mok, 2011). The result will be a common global market of higher education, which provides students with services more effectively, which diffuses knowledge more equitably, which holds higher education institutions more accountable, and which uses scarce resources more efficiently. In other words, higher education is now subject to, and supportive of, a kind of economic Darwinism.

Although this economic narrative has come to dominate discussions of transnational higher education, other rationales with less soul-less aims have been proffered. Universities are, by their nature, committed to the advancement of human knowledge. Kerr (1994) argued that this academic universalism was usurped by the nation states of 19th and 20th century Europe when they co-opted universities to serve their national agenda. But according to Brown (1950), “the universities of the world are today aspiring to return to one of the basic concepts of their origin—the universality of knowledge" (p. 12), thereby increasing access to students worldwide, and subsequently strengthening mutual understanding (Naidoo, 2010b).

Whichever rationales (and corresponding aims) have indeed underpinned transnational higher education, it is anticipated that it will continue to grow, and consequently change the nature and scope of higher education. Husain (2007) suggested that student exchanges will eventually be eclipsed by student mobility. Adam (2001) predicted that in the long-term, more and more programs will be offered by universities in foreign nations; the capital investment of a foreign entity might be high, he admitted, but after it is recuperated, he reasoned, marginal costs are relatively low and profits, therefore, are attractive. Wood, Tapsall, and Soutar (2005) were even more dramatic, envisaging the death of the traditional university and the birth of a global and most likely virtual higher education industry.

Whatever the precise future of higher education, the economic, societal, and scientific benefits of transnational higher education have frequently been cited (See Adam, 2001; Alam et al., 2013; Husain, 2007; Naidoo, 2010b; Shams & Huisman, 2012; and Wildavsky, 2010.). These include:

- local skill development,
- higher standards of living,
- knowledge and technology transfer,

- increased access to education,
- increased competitiveness of local institutions,
- higher national education level,
- reduction of skills migration and brain drain,
- capacity-building,
- new research opportunities,
- more innovation,
- less capital outflow,
- less pressure on local education systems, and
- higher quality.

Writing about transitional economies broadly and about Russia specifically, Saginova and Belyansky (2008) suggested that transnational higher education can facilitate the development of the university sector in nations which are in transition, which in turn can make positive contributions to society.

Transnational higher education, however, has not been without its critics. The first and perhaps most passionate critique of transnational higher education mirrors the more general critique of the marketization of higher education overall (See de Vita & Case, 2003; Levidow, 2002; and Lynch, 2006.). Indeed, to purists, "education is a public good and never a commodity, let alone a free trade" (Cheung, 2006). Harris (2008) conceded that great universities must internationalize, but she argued that this internationalization must "be a cultural rather than economic internationalisation because such an internationalisation degenerates into instrumentalism, and this robs higher education of what should be essential to it" (p. 356). As in the case of public versus private elementary and secondary education in the U.S.A., this instrumentalism could also lead to educational haves and have-nots.

At a more operational level, critics of transnational higher education also lambaste universities for simply losing sight of their primary purpose—for pursuing profits instead of progress. In 2007, Hodges chronicled the number of British universities which appeared to be chasing Chinese students with "pound signs in their eyes" (p. 1), neglecting, she charged, their domestic responsibilities of teaching and research. Critics contend, therefore, that universities ought to "stick to their knitting" (Hodges, 2007, p. 1). Other criticisms (See Adam, 2001; and Alam et al., 2013.) include the over-Westernization of local culture and unfair competition.

The Stakeholders of Transnational Higher Education

Despite—perhaps because of—these criticisms, and considering both its growth and cited benefits, transnational higher education is unquestionably a subject of importance (and concern) for a number of stakeholders (Adam, 2001). Transnational higher education is big business (Healey, 2012) which is both an enormous opportunity (Wood et al., 2005) and a risky venture (Wilkins & Huisman, 2012). Consequently, it has the potential to have a great impact on governments, accreditation bodies, institutions, funders, instructors, and, of course, students.

From a public policy perspective, governments must be watching transnational higher education with a mixture of trepidation and jubilation. How does transnational higher education, for example, affect the economy? Which influences will it have on society? And more pragmatically, what does it mean for taxes and spending? For the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, for example, a relatively young nation with a conservative domestic political and social climate, the theory of comparative advantage would suggest that the Kingdom ought to have foregone its own higher education system, focusing its efforts instead on the petroleum industry in which it performs comparatively better. To educate its citizens, therefore, the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia ought to have engaged in the international trade of higher education as it does with petroleum, perhaps by providing educational credits for students to study abroad with a kind of higher education ‘voucher’ program.

And indeed, since the founding of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, tens of thousands of Saudi students have studied at international universities, most recently under the King Abdullah Foreign Scholarship Program (Ministry of Higher Education, 2014). Granted, the Kingdom has developed its own universities and colleges, three of which rank among the top 500 universities globally (www.shanghairanking.com). But today the petroleum industry (and the Kingdom overall) is doubtless more industrially- and scientifically-advanced as a result of these students…if less culturally homogeneous.

Governments must also be concerned about the loss of educational sovereignty and control over traditional educational values and national identity. Consider, for example, the potency of courses such as *History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union* and *Marxist/Leninist Philosophy*, which were required of all university students in the U.S.S.R. (Cunningham, 2002). The academic capitalism of transnational higher education also raises fundamental questions about regulatory issues, including standards and consumer rights. Governments will certainly want to protect the public by eradicating degree mills and bogus institutions, malpractice, and fraud (Adam, 2001).

In a similar way, transnational higher education also calls into question the role of accreditation bodies, whose traditional purview has been to "scrutinize colleges, universities and programs for quality assurance and quality improvement" (Eaton, 2012, p. 1). Perhaps presaging the global competition which is now experienced by many business schools, the American Association of Collegiate Schools of Business (AACSB) changed its name (but not its acronym) in 2001 to the Association to Advance Collegiate Schools of Business (AACSB, 2014). More pertinently, it has itself internationalized, accrediting 716 business schools in 48 countries. It is now commonly referred to as AACSB International, and its slogan reads *Advancing Quality Management Education Worldwide*.

The global competition which is now experienced by many business schools as a result of transnational higher education has also been realized at the institutional level. Administrators (at all levels) now face not only fundamental questions about the purpose of their institutions, but also serious strategic management decisions about such competitive issues as positioning, branding, product offerings, and pricing (Taylor, 2004). As summarized by Naidoo (2010a), transnational higher education mandates that "universities operating in a changing international education landscape be more market oriented for them to be successful" (p. 20).

Transnational higher education, as intimated in the previous discussion of governmental concerns, also challenges traditional views of higher education funding. If a global marketplace for students is indeed emerging, then who is responsible for financing higher education? Perhaps a sign of the times is the recent announcement of the Schwarzman Scholars program, a $350 million endowment which was created by Stephen Schwarzman, CEO and co-founder of one of the world's largest private-equity firms, and which threatens the long-established and prestigious Rhodes Scholarships to the University of Oxford. Billed as A Landmark Scholarship for the Defining Challenge of Our Time, the program "will give the world's best and brightest students the opportunity to develop their leadership skills through a one-year Master's Degree at Tsinghua University in Beijing" (Schwarzman Scholars, 2014).

The Schwarzman Scholars program also hints at the concerns which transnational higher education raises for instructors. Competition for university posts, for example, could increase, with candidates coming from all four corners of the world, and, paralleling changes in labor-intensive industries, reduce instructor salaries. The new types of programs and forms of delivery which transnational higher education fuels could be threatening to many instructors, requiring them to re-tool or become obsolete. And, like Latin in the Middles Ages, English has become the lingua franca of modern higher education teaching and research, in effect shutting out those instructors who have not mastered it.

Finally, transnational higher education has many implications for students. Adherents to the neo-liberal rationale which was described previously would argue that transnational higher education will benefit students, at the most basic level, via the increased access which it brings. But extending the argument points to more choice in institutions and a broader range of subjects which are of higher quality and with lower prices. The logical conclusion for students is an increase in their competitiveness, with commensurate increases in mobility, salaries, and livings standards.

Students ought to be wary of this argument, however. They might first reflect on the claim of subject breadth. Transnational higher education has occurred most commonly in subjects like business and information technology which are easiest to sell (Naidoo, 2009b). Most courses and programs which are offered internationally are also fee-based, and are almost always more expensive than government-funded local options. Students could easily fall prey to unscrupulous institutions if program quality goes un-checked, and because quality is difficult for students to evaluate accurately. If English does become the lingua franca of modern higher education, some students might be left behind. And students ought to know that the qualifications which they earn might not be recognized internationally.

An Emerging Transnational Higher Education Literature

Considering both the significance of transnational higher education and its importance to stakeholders, it ought to be surprising that no single scientist has come to dominate transnational higher education research. This stands in contrast to the phenomenon of emotional intelligence, for example, which conjures up almost immediately the names Howard Gardner, Peter Salovey, and Daniel Goleman, or to systems thinking which has come to be almost synonymous with Peter Senge. Accordingly, it is also difficult —if not impossible—to identify any 'seminal' conclusions about transnational higher education. That is to say, there are no $E=mc^2$ or Force=mass×acceleration equivalents for transnational higher education.

Several authors, however, have written extensively on transnational higher education. The moniker 'author' is used instead of scientist purposefully, intimating that their work is more editorial than empirical. And instead of findings, a more apt term might be writings, because their work has been more about advancing the idea of transnational higher education than advancing knowledge of the transnational higher education phenomenon.

Philip Altbach is Professor of Education at the Lynch School of Education at Boston College. He also serves as the director of the Center for International Higher Education which, in addition to "advancing knowledge about the complex realities of higher education in the contemporary world" (Center for International Higher Education, 2015), manages the Cross-Border Higher Education project in conjunction with Cross-Border Education

Research Team (C-BERT) at the State University of New York-Albany. Altbach has been a prolific author within higher education, but especially within international higher education. He has received numerous awards for his pioneering work, and in 2013 a symposium entitled *At the Forefront of International Higher Education* was held at Boston College to honor him, and to celebrate his career.

Altbach has served as a kind of barometer on the state of international (and transnational) higher education. As early as 1989 he was documenting the rise of foreign students and scholars who were making American higher education institutions their academic home. In a series of articles at the beginning of the millennium (See 2003, 2004, and 2007a, for example.), he wrote about globalization and higher education, attempting to " 'unpack' the realities of globalization and the related concept of internationalization in higher education and highlight some of the impact on the university" (2007a, p. 121). More recently, he has commented on the challenges of attracting top-quality faculty members to foreign branch campuses (2007b), the un-sustainability of foreign branch campuses (2010), and the globalization of higher education rankings (2012).

Jane Knight, Professor of Education at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education at the University of Toronto, has likewise made a career around international higher education, with numerous articles, chapters, and reports published over the past two decades. Her most significant contribution is with respect to the definition of international (and subsequently transnational) higher education, the evolution of which traces the evolution of transnational higher education itself. She has also been a keen observer of GATS. Most recently, she has documented the rise of education hubs as a new development in higher education.

Knight's frequent co-author Hans de Wit, Professor of Internationalization of Higher Education at the School of Economics and Management of the Amsterdam University of Applied Sciences in the Netherlands, has also become a well-known author on transnational higher education, but more often under the general rubric of international higher education. With Knight (Knight & de Wit, 1995), for example, he outlined the various strategies for the internationalization of higher education. In a 2000 article, he identified the changing rationales for the internationalization of higher education. De Wit detailed the internationalization of higher education in the U.S.A. in a 2002 book. He co-edited a report in 2007 which explored the internationalization of higher education in the South Pacific (Knight & de Wit, 2007). In two recent articles, he underlined the misconceptions about the internationalization of higher education (de Wit, 2011a, 2011b), and subsequently called for a new paradigm which moves away from internationalization and globalization (Brandenburg & de Wit, 2011). And with *The Sage Handbook of International Higher Education* (Deardorff, de Wit, Heyl, & Adams, 2012), he provided a kind of manual for the internationalization of higher education.

Grant McBurnie and Christopher Ziguras also figure prominently in the field of transnational higher education. The geographical focus of their writings has been Australia, and also by extension Southeast Asia, due to both the provenance of most full-fee paying foreign students in Australia, and the location of most Australian foreign branch campuses. Their articles tend to be case-based, cataloging the regulation of transnational higher education of Hong Kong, Malaysia, and Australia (McBurnie & Ziguras, 2001), for example; chronicling the changes in Australian higher education trade policy (McBurnie & Ziguras, 2003); or recording the growth of foreign branch campuses in the Asia-Pacific region (Ziguras & McBurnie, 2011).

Also noteworthy is Nigel Healey, Pro-Vice-Chancellor (International) of Nottingham Trent University (See Table 1.). Healey has been making the rounds recently, presenting at numerous conferences and seminars on the topic of transnational higher education, with a particular focus on the United Kingdom, and often with reference to the transnationalization of Nottingham Trent University. His op-ed articles about transnational higher education have also appeared in various outlets. I include him among the prominent authors in the transnational higher education literature more because of volume rather than considerable contribution, with one noteworthy exception.

Table 1. Recent Output of Nigel Healey

Year	Title	Type
2012	Overview of the Global Market in Transnational Education	Presentation
2014	Transnational Education Strategies: What Works, What Doesn't?	Presentation
2014	When Is An International Branch Campus?	Op-Ed Article
2015	Establishing a Greater UK TNE Presence—Best Practice, Challenges and Safeguards	Presentation
2015	HEI Approaches to Transnational Education: The View From Nottingham	Presentation

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Year	Title	Type
2015	Managing An International Branch Campus: Dispatches From the Frontline	Presentation
2015	Managing International Branch Campuses: What Do We Know?	Op-Ed Article
2015	The Challenges of Leading An International Branch Campus: The 'Lived Experience' of In-Country Senior Managers	Presentation
2015	The Changing Global Landscape of Transnational Education	Op-Ed Article
2015	The Key Components That Shape a Positive International Student Experience	Presentation
2015	Transnational Education: Why It Is Important and What the Future Holds	Presentation
2015	Universities That Set Up Brand Campuses in Other Countries are Not Colonisers	Op-Ed Article
2015	Why Do English Universities Really Franchise Degrees to Overseas Providers?	Presentation
2016	A TNE Provider View of Value: The View from Nottingham Trent University	Presentation
2016	Beyond "Export Education": Putting Students at the Heart of a University's Internationalization Strategy	Presentation
2016	Bridging the Gap: Research and Practice in Transnational Higher Education	Presentation
2016	Enhancing the Value of Transnational Education	Presentation
2016	Getting to Grips with eh Scale and Scope of UK HE TNE Data	Op-Ed Article
2016	International Students and the Internationalisation of UK Universities	Presentation
2016	Making Global Campuses Sustainable for Hosts and Institutions: Balancing Global Integration and Local Adaption	Presentation
2016	Overcoming the Challenge of Outbound Student Mobility: Lessons from the South Pacific	Presentation
2016	The Future of TNE "With Chinese Characteristics"	Presentation
2016	The Internationlisation of Higher Education: Trends, Motivations and Models	Presentation
2016	The Role of Transnational Education in Enhancing Productivity of the Higher Education Sector in Host Countries: The Case of Asia	Presentation
2016	Transnational Education Business Models: A UK Perspective	Presentation
2016	Transnational Education: Growth at the Expense of Quality?	Presentation
2016	Transnational Education: What Is It and Why Should UCAS Care?	Presentation
2016	The Ties That Bind: An Overview of the Relationship Between Home and Branch Campus	Presentation
2017	Managing Internationalisation: The New International branch Campus Manager	Op-Ed Article

Source: Author

Healey (2012) identified an abnormality in the data concerning transnational higher education in the United Kingdom. Indeed, the number of students participating in transnational higher education jumped from 196,670 to 388,045 from academic year 2007/2008 to academic year 2008/2009. Healey attributed this jump to a phenomenon which he dubbed the Oxford Brookes Effect, referring to Oxford Brookes University which had signed a validation agreement with the Association of Certified Chartered Accountants (ACCA) in the United Kingdom. The agreement allows ACCA to offer accounting courses to students worldwide, ultimately leading to the Oxford Brookes University BSc in applied accounting for those students who fulfill the degree requirements. As a result, Oxford Brookes University enrolled 163,295 students on the degree in academic year 2009/2009, up from 870 in the previous year, with almost all of them residing outside the United Kingdom.

Despite the lack of dominant scientist in transnational higher education research, and the corresponding absence of seminal conclusions about transnational higher education, a large transnational higher education literature has emerged (See Chapter 2.). Indeed, the literature collection phase of the literature review uncovered more than 250 documents, primarily from educational studies, but also from mass media and from non-academic sources—the so-called gray literature. Because transnational higher education is still in its youth, this literature can be considered as being situated within the broader internationalization of higher education literature. References to transnational higher education also appear frequently in debates about globalization, especially concerning GATS, whose ratification in 1995 applied the precepts of free trade to services, including higher education.

At the core of the transnational higher education literature is a discussion around the meaning and types of transnational higher education. Stemming from this discussion are many reports of transnational higher education. The emergent nature of the transnational higher education means that there are also various perspectives on transnational higher education in the transnational higher education literature, and accordingly many guidelines for the appropriate conduct of transnational higher education. Finally, the transnational higher education literature contains a number of empirical studies of transnational higher education.

The Research

A critique of this transnational higher education literature (See Chapter 2.), however, revealed several plaguing issues. The first issue concerns the definition of transnational higher education. Indeed, a consensus on the exact meaning of transnational higher education has not materialized in the transnational higher education literature, and in many instances the definitions of transnational higher education conflict. Second, the transnational higher education literature presents the dynamic activity of transnational higher education as a static thing. It disregards the notion of transnationalizing, neglecting the mechanisms, the processes, the workings of transnationalization, and thereby rendering transnational higher education void of action or agency. Third, the transnational higher education literature is predominantly atheoretical—the majority of articles are descriptive (reports of transnational higher education), speculative (perspectives on transnational higher education), or prescriptive (guidelines for the appropriate conduct of transnational higher education). And fourth, the transnational higher education literature has developed chiefly within the disciplinary silo of educational studies, with scant reference to concepts or theories of internationalization in other scientific disciplines.

These issues which plague the transnational higher education literature imply the need for a new research agenda on transnational higher education which:

- aims to uncover the essence of transnational higher education;
- focuses on transnationalizing;
- moves beyond the descriptive, speculative, and prescriptive; and
- extends its disciplinary boundaries.

The purpose of this research, therefore, was to develop a more essential and dynamic theoretical account of transnational higher education as a practice. Although cross-disciplinary research—comparative research, for example—is doubtless of value, it was considered beyond the scope of this research.

Specifically, the research explored the transnationalization of the Stockholm School of Economics, with an emphasis on its foreign branch campus in Riga, Latvia. The research adopted the philosophy and methods of praxiology—more precisely, activity theory which views practice as activity, and activity system analysis which provides a framework for analyzing practices. And it followed the abductive logic of Grounded Theory. Fourteen research participants were interviewed during the period June 2015 to December 2015. The interviews followed the qualitative interviewing method, and allowed research participants to articulate the motivations, contributors, tools, regulations, context, actors and their roles, and consequences which constitute the transnationalization of the Stockholm School of Economics. Documents about the Stockholm School of Economics and its transnationalization were also collected. Verbatim transcriptions of the interviews, the documents, and other qualitative data were entered into a computer-aided qualitative data analysis software package.

Analysis of the data occurred in two separate but inter-related phases. First, the data were analyzed at the individual—or emic—level, the purpose of which was to explore the transnationalization of the Stockholm School of Economics as it was understood by the research participants in the contexts of their lifeworlds. The second phase of data analysis moved up to the micro-cultural level, the purpose of which was to explore the transnationalization of the Stockholm School of Economics as an activity system. The research results include a modeling of the transnationalization of the Stockholm School of Economics as an activity system.

This research contributes to the transnational higher education literature by adding to the discourse on the phenomenon of transnational higher education. The theoretical account of transnationalization which was developed furnishes an alternative perspective on transnational higher education. In combination with activity system analysis, it offers a novel approach to understanding transnational higher education as a practice. And it reveals the constitutive relationship between an institution and its transnationalization, thereby affording a richer understanding of the process by which an institution transnationalizes, and, in turn, of the process by which this transnationalization helps to re-shape the institution.

The Dissertation

The dissertation consists of five chapters, including this introduction. Chapter 2 reviews the transnational higher education literature. It begins by establishing the ways in which transnational higher education has been defined and categorized. It then enumerates the many reports of transnational higher education. Chapter 2 continues by considering the diverse perspectives on transnational higher education, and by presenting the many guidelines for the appropriate conduct of transnational higher education. It then examines the empirical studies of transnational higher education. Finally, Chapter 2 critiques the transnational higher education literature.

Chapter 3 documents the research design. It begins by laying out the research approach. It then recounts the choice of both the research context and the research site. Chapter 3 continues by specifying the sampling procedures. It then describes the data collection procedures, and the data analysis procedures. Finally, Chapter 3 details the verification procedures.

Chapter 4 presents the research results. It begins by overviewing the management education industry. It then traces the history of the Stockholm School of Economics. Chapter 4 continues by summarizing the research participants' perspectives on the transnationalization of the Stockholm School of Economics. Finally, it models the transnationalization of the Stockholm School of Economics as an activity system.

Chapter 5 concludes the research and the dissertation. It begins by discussing the research and the research results. It then identifies the research limitations. Chapter 5 continues by suggesting directions for future research. Finally, it offers some closing thoughts on transnational higher education.

Summary

Chapter 1 introduced the research and the dissertation. It began by tracing the history of the internationalization of higher education. It then defined transnational higher education, and outlined its rationales. Chapter 1 continued by underlining the significance of transnational higher education, and identifying its importance to various stakeholders. It then stated the research purpose, and summarized the research. Finally, Chapter 1 outlined the dissertation structure. Next, Chapter 2 reviews the transnational higher education literature.

Chapter 2. Literature Review

Overview

Chapter 2 reviews the transnational higher education literature. It begins by establishing the ways in which transnational higher education has been defined and categorized. It then enumerates the many reports of transnational higher education. Chapter 2 continues by considering the diverse perspectives on transnational higher education, and by presenting the many guidelines for the appropriate conduct of transnational higher education. It then examines the empirical studies of transnational higher education. Finally, Chapter 2 critiques the transnational higher education literature.

The Transnational Higher Education Literature

Adam Smith (1976), often considered the father of modern economics, claimed that humans have an intrinsic propensity to “truck, barter, and exchange one thing for another” (p. 17)—that is to say, to trade. This propensity to trade is so basic, he continued, that it probably developed in concert with the ability to speak. As summarized by Bernstein (2008), “[w]hile other animals, particularly primates, groom and share food with each other, systematic exchanges of goods and services, particularly over great distances, have not been observed in any species besides *Home Sapiens*” (p. 8).

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Trade among humans has occurred for thousands of years. Indeed, documents from present-day Turkey allude to a 19th century BCE Assyrian merchant colony near Capadoccia (Stearns & Langer, 2001). International trade—defined here as the voluntary exchange of products (goods or services) which occurs between two countries—has likewise existed for millennia. Evidence "of the exchange of shells, arrowheads, and other goods over long distances…goes back well before any written record" (Pomeranz & Topik, 2013, p. 3). Perhaps the most famous manifestation of this international trade is the Silk Road, which was established during the Han Dynasty (206 BCE to 220 CE) to facilitate the exchange of spices and other exotic goods from the Far East in Europe.

Today, international trade accounts for more than 25% of the gross world product, according to the World Trade Organization, whose members imported and exported US$17.3 trillion in merchandise in 2012 (WTO, 2014). More than 50,000 merchant ships ply the oceans with bulk cargo (Hellenic Shipping News, 2013). And many small countries lacking resources of their own—Singapore, for example—punch well above their weight because of international trade (Ministry of Trade and Industry Singapore, 2014). Channeling both Bernstein (2008) and Pomeranz and Topik (2013), international trade and the history of the world economy go hand in hand.

It ought not to be surprising, therefore, that higher education has also come to be traded internationally. Full fee-paying foreign students play an important role in higher education, triggered to a large degree by countries such as the U.S.A., the United Kingdom, and Australia, all of which deregulated and restructured their economies in the 1980s (Chadee and Naidoo, 2009). But in recent decades other forms of transnational higher education have come to the fore. Between 2006 and 2009, for example, the number of foreign branch campuses increased by 43% to 162 (Altbach, 2010; Morgan, 2010).

As a consequence of this increase in the international trade of higher education, a large transnational higher education literature has emerged. Indeed, the literature collection phase of the literature review uncovered more than 250 documents, primarily from educational studies, but also from mass media and from non-academic sources—the so-called gray literature. Because transnational higher education is still in its youth, this literature must be considered within the broader internationalization of higher education literature. References to transnational higher education also appear frequently in debates about globalization, especially concerning GATS, whose ratification in 1995 applied the precepts of free trade to services, including higher education.

At the core of the transnational higher education literature is a discussion around the meaning and types of transnational higher education. Stemming from this discussion are many reports of transnational higher education. The emergent nature of transnational higher education means that there are also various perspectives on transnational higher education in the transnational higher education literature, and accordingly many guidelines for the appropriate conduct of transnational higher education. Finally, the transnational higher education literature contains a number of empirical studies of transnational higher education. This section reviews the transnational higher education literature according to these five aspects.

Definitions and Types of Transnational Higher Education. The word university is derived from the Latin word *universitas*, which referred to a medieval guild or corporation of masters and scholars (Encyclopædia Brittanica, 2016). The *universitas magistrorum et scholarium* at first had no physical campus, unlike modern universities (Giesysztor, 1992), but instead was simply a collection of teachers and students whose *raison d'être* was the study—in Latin, of course—of the seven liberal arts of classical antiquity: the foundational subjects of grammar, logic, and rhetoric (the *trivium*); and the more advanced subjects of arithmetic, geometry, music, and astronomy (the *quadrivium*) (Rait, 1912).

According to Campbell, Cameron, Klein, McCormack, and Wilson (2000), however, "at the university of today, a new force has supplanted Latin texts, classical scholarship and nobility of thought and deed. It is, quite simply, the philosophy that universities offer a product which can be exported to a global marketplace" (p. 1). In practical terms, this philosophy has translated into various international and often commercial manifestations of the university, including franchise agreements, online degrees, and, more recently, foreign branch campuses. As suggested by Wilson and Vlăsceanu (2000),

> [t]hese new developments in higher education share certain common characteristics and similarities, mainly in terms of the ways they cross the borders of national higher education systems. It is for this reason that they are

> usually identified by the generic phrase of transnational [higher] education. (p. 75)

The origins of the modifier transnational are uncertain. Australia has been employing it since the early 1990s, and consequently as a nation it is often considered to be both a terminological and executional pioneer (ACA, 2008). Knight (2005) suggested that the term transnational was used initially in Australia to distinguish off-shoring (any activities which crossed Australia's borders) from on-shoring (full fee-paying foreign students who had moved to Australia for their education). Whatever its origins, the term has "entered the literature to describe various aspects of 'international education' and the internationalisation of education" (Sanderson, 2005).

According to de Wit (2011b), however, "in the literature and in practice, it is still quite common to use terms that only apply to a small part of internationalisation and/or emphasize a specific rationale for internationalisation" (de Wit, 2011b, pp. 242-243). And using "these terms without explaining what they mean…is sloppy practice" (Sanderson, 2005, par. 8). The terms cross-border and borderless, for example, have often been used synonymously in the literature to describe the transnational phenomenon (ACA, 2008). Bennett et al. (2010) provided the following definitions:

> [c]ross-border education literally means that education provision crosses borders. Both cross-border education and transnational education geographically denote provision based in one country but delivered in another

> country. Instead of classical student mobility, we have mobility of provision, although one does not exclude the other. A third term, borderless education, emphasises that national borders are irrelevant to this kind of education, which is not necessarily based in any specific country. (p. 8)

But by no means is there agreement on the meanings of transnational, cross-border, or borderless.

The distinction between globalization, internationalization, and transnationalization has likewise been fuzzy in the literature (de Wit, 2000). Mitchell and Nielsen (2012) brought some clarification, arguing that "internationalization is seen as something which higher education institutions **do** while globalization is something that is **happening to them"** (par. 2). Indeed, internationalization can be viewed as a process of innovation (van der Wende, 2002) in which a higher education institution engages; globalization is a set of environmental forces within which the internationalization occurs. Transnationalization, therefore, is not equal to but instead a "component of the wider phenomenon of the internationalization of higher education" (British Council, 2013, p. 6).

This hierarchical relationship between internationalization and transnationalization is most conspicuous in the evolution of work by Jane Knight, who, as mentioned previously, is a prominent scholar in the international higher education discipline. Callan (2000) noted that the changing nature of higher education since WWII led her to her first formulation of internationalization—"the process of integrating an international dimension into the teaching, research, and service functions of the institution" (Knight, 1997, p. 8). Recognizing the importance of culture in internationalization, and homing in on higher education, she then offered a slightly revised version. The "internationalization of higher education is the process of integrating an international/intercultural dimension into the teaching, research, and service functions of the institution" (Knight, 1999, p. 16).

It was Knight's (2003a) definition, however, which, with the addition of delivery, recognized transnational higher education as a component of the internationalization of higher education. Accordingly, the internationalization of higher education "at the national, sector, and institutional levels is defined as the process of integrating an international, intercultural, or global dimension into the purpose, functions or *delivery* of postsecondary education" (p. 2, my emphasis). Also noteworthy in this new definition are the possibility of internationalization at different educational levels, and the concept of global.

In 2007, Knight called out 'delivery' explicitly, defining cross-border tertiary education as…

> …the movement of people, knowledge, programs, providers, ideas, curricula, projects, research and services across national or regional jurisdictional borders. Cross-border education is a subset of internationalisation and can be part of development cooperation projects, academic exchange programs and commercial initiatives. Cross-border is a term that is often used interchangeably with other terms such as transnational, offshore, and borderless education.

> There are some conceptual differences among these terms, they usually refer to similar types of activities. (p. 24)

The evolution of work by Jane Knight also parallels the evolution of transnational higher education itself. Indeed, that which began earnestly in the 1970s as the passive receipt of foreign students who were on exchange or part of aid programs, moved systematically to a direct export model in the 1980s in which universities pushed aggressively to recruit full fee-paying students, then through a period of strategic growth into the new millennium as big countries set out to become global leaders in transnational higher education with more sophisticated forms of transnationalization, and finally to the present situation in which liberalization and deregulation of higher education allow any and all institutions to play the game (Chadee & Naidoo, 2009). In essence, this evolution represents a transition from aid to trade (Naidoo, 2006).

In a similar way, Chen (2015) identified three distinct historical phases of transnational higher education: 1. student recruitment, 2. twinning agreements, and 3. overseas campuses. Distance education could possibly be considered the newest phase, and as suggested by Wilson and Vlăsceanu (2000), "there seems to be no limit to the proliferation of such modalities or arrangements, as long as the demand for higher education is still growing, and the possibilities for a global market continue to emerge" (p. 78).

For de Wit (2011b), however, the year 2000 was a kind of watershed moment for higher education. He contended that the Bologna Process of 1999, whose central features underscore the cooperation of European nations, was overshadowed by the Lisbon Strategy of 2000, thereby shifting the focus almost entirely to competition. The "increasing competition in higher education and the commercialization and cross-border delivery of higher education have challenged the value traditionally attached to cooperation" (de Wit, 2011b, p. 242).

Whatever the exact origins of the modifier transnational, the literature is replete with definitions of transnational higher education. Beginning at the national level (See Table 2.), China, as one of the most significant targets of transnational higher education (and now a player in its own right), established a definition for transnational higher education early on. Unsurprisingly, three of the major national players in transnational higher education (Australia, the United Kingdom, and New Zealand) have their own official definitions. And Germany, a relative newcomer to transnational higher education, has its own (rather loose) definition. Absent is a definition from the U.S.A., which is understandable, considering that both American higher education policy and transnational higher education have historically rested at the institutional rather than government level.

Multi-lateral institutions, trade associations, and other organizations have also weighed in on transnational higher education (See Table 3.). One of the first organizations to do so was GATE, which, incidentally, was transferred to the United States Distance

Learning Association in 2003, but whose emphasis on transnational higher education has since then disappeared under its new parent. The AVCC offered up its own definition, which is also understandable, considering the pioneering role of Australia in transnational higher education. One of the most oft-cited definitions in the literature arose out of meetings which were held by the Council of Europe in service of the development of codes of good practice for the provision of transnational higher education. The OECD and INQAAHE definitions followed suit, spurred by the "more and more people taking university degrees from foreign providers" (OECD, 2005).

Table 2. National Definitions of Transnational Higher Education

Nation	Definition
China Ministry of Education (1995)	Those foreign corporate, individuals, and related international organizations in cooperating with educational institutions or other social organization with corporate status in China, jointly establish education institutions in China, recruit Chinese citizens as major educational objectives, and undertake education and teaching activities.
Australian Department of Education and Science (2005)	Australian transnational education and training, also known as offshore or cross-border education and training, refers to the delivery and/or assessment of programmes/courses by an accredited Australian provider in a country other than Australia, where delivery includes a face-to-face component…as distinct from education and training provided in a purely distance mode, transitional education and training includes a physical presence of instructors offshore either directly by the Australian provider, or indirectly through a formal agreement with a local institution/ organisation.
British Council (2006)	Transnational education refers to education provision from one country offered in another. It does not include the traditional international student recruitment market where students travel to another country for their studies. Transnational education includes a wide variety of delivery modes including distance and e-learning; validation and franchising agreements; twinning and other collaborative provision.
Education New Zealand Trust (2007)	The delivery of New Zealand formal education qualifications by New Zealand providers outside New Zealand shores.

Nation	Definition
German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD) (2012)	In German transnational higher education projects, the German university acts as education provider and sets the standards for curricula and academic quality benchmarks, within an otherwise mutually cooperative framework.

Adapted from: British Council (2013)

Paralleling the numerous definitions of transnational higher education in the literature are various transnational higher education types—usually referred to as transnationalization modes—which characterize the organizational and legal vehicle by which an institution transnationalizes (See Table 4 for some definitions of less obvious transnationalization modes.). Many documents in the literature—perhaps because of the lack of definitional consensus—provide only a cursory treatment of the meaning of transnational higher education, and instead make a significant effort to identify these different transnationalization modes.

Table 3. Organizational Definitions of Transnational Higher Education

Organization	Definition
Global Alliance for Transnational Education (GATE) (1997)	Transnational Education denotes any teaching or learning activity in which the students are in a different country (the host country) to that in which the institution providing the education is based (the home country). This situation requires that national boundaries be crossed by information about the education, and by staff and/or educational material.
Australian Vice-Chancellors' Committee (AVCC) (2001)	The program is conducted in accordance with a formal agreement between the Australian university and an overseas institution or organization; the program offered is taught partly or wholly offshore…; the completed program results in a recognized higher education qualification; the Australian university has developed the program and has a responsibility for overseeing the academic standards. (p. iv)
Council of Europe (2002)	All types of higher education study programmes, or sets of courses of study, or educational services (including those of distance education) in which the learners are located in a country different from the one where the awarding institution is based.

Organization	Definition
Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) (2005)	Cross-border education includes higher education that takes place in situations where the teacher, student, programme, institution/provider or course materials cross national jurisdictional borders. Cross-border higher education may include higher education by public/private and not-for-profit/for-profit providers. It encompasses a wide range of modalities, in a continuum from face-to-face (taking various forms such as students traveling abroad and campuses abroad) to distance learning (using a range of technologies and including e-learning).
International Network for Quality Assurance Agencies in Higher Education (INQAAHE) (2010)	Transnational higher education includes distance education courses offered by higher education providers located in another country, joint programs offered between a local provider and a foreign institution, franchised courses offered with or without involvement or staff members from the parent institution, and foreign campuses of institutions developed with or without local partnerships.

Adapted from: British Council (2013)

According to Alam et al. (2013), there are six widely-used modes: 1. foreign branch campus, 2. franchising, 3. articulation, 4. distance/virtual education, 5. study abroad, and 6. double/dual degree. I add two others—validation and twinning. But the transnational higher education literature reveals a profusion of other terminology:

Table 4. Definitions of Less Obvious Transnationalization Modes

Mode	Definition
Double/Dual Degree	An agreement which awards a student credentials from two different education providers—one local and one foreign—for the completed course of study.
Foreign Branch Campus	An entity which is owned in whole or in part by a foreign education provider; which is operated in the name of the foreign education provider; which engages in some face-to-face teaching; and which provides access to an entire course of study which subsequently leads to a credential by the foreign education provider.
Twinning	An agreement which allows a student to follow a defined course of study which is comprised of both local and foreign delivery. The local education provider delivers content which is specified and developed by the foreign education provider. For example, a student might spend two years studying at a Malaysian institute before completing the degree in an Australian university.
Articulation	An agreement in which a foreign education provider recognizes academic work which is completed at a local education provider. It is a kind of academic ‘feeder’. It is similar to twinning, but does not require the partnering education providers to collaborate on content.

Mode	Definition
Validation	An agreement in which the foreign education provider validates or certifies the course of study which is delivered by the local education provider. It is common in situations in which the local education provider lacks power to award credentials itself.

Adapted from: ACA (2008), Clark (2012), McBurnie & Pollock (1998)

- access/feeder program,
- credit transfer/study abroad program,
- short-term or partial credit program,
- distance learning program,
- virtual university,
- tuition provider,
- teaching center,
- bi-national campus,
- independent campus,
- off-shore institution,
- international institution,
- joint award,
- dual award,
- joint degree,
- dual degree,
- partial credit,
- in-country flying faculty,

- blended delivery, and
- on-campus provision overseas.

Considering this profusion of terminology, it is no surprise that categorization schemes have also surfaced in the transnational higher education literature, as a means for discriminating between the different transnationalization modes. Drew, McCaig, Marsden, Haughton, McBride, McBride, Willis, and Wolstenholme (2008), for example, argued that the various transnationalization modes can be reduced to two dimensions: 1. the nature of the contractual agreements, and 2. the nature of the learning, teaching, and assessment provision. Healey and Bordogna (2014) regarded the differences among the transnationalization modes as simply a trade-off between the risk and the control of the transnational activity. For Choudaha, Healey, Sebastian, and Coelen (2014), the transnationalization modes can be arrayed on a continuum, from low to high with respect to resource requirements, control, and complexity. And according to Wilson and Vlăsceanu (2000), the various transnationalization modes can be grasped according to: 1. the delivery mechanisms, 2. the institutional and organizational arrangements, or 3. the nature and quality of qualifications. Consequently, they held, some of the transnationalization modes actually refer to the vehicle for "delivering an educational programme (i.e. distance education), others to ways of establishing a programme/institution (i.e. franchising or twinning, branch campus), and others again to ways of offering primarily continuing education to certain new groups of students" (Wilson & Vlăsceanu, 2000, p. 78).

TRANSNATIONALIZATION

If viewed strictly from an international trade perspective, then categorization turns squarely to the ‘across or beyond’ meaning of the Latin prefix *trans*. Indeed, ESIB (2011) maintained that transnational higher education can take three forms: international people mobility, program mobility, or institutional mobility. Likewise for Chen (2015), transnational higher education comes down to international students (students moving abroad), institutional partnerships (programs moving abroad), or offshore delivery (institutions moving abroad). And Knight (2003a) proposed a similar framework which is based on the thing which moves (but not limiting transnational higher education to only commercial ventures): people, providers, programs, and projects.

The Quality Assurance Agency of the United Kingdom, an independent body whose mandate is to monitor, and advise on, standards of higher education in the United Kingdom, recognizes four distinct transnationalization modes: 1. distance learning, 2. international branch campus, 3. franchising, and 4. validation. Healey (2015h) took issue with this categorization, proposing a risk-based typology which draws on partnership theory and transaction cost analysis. His typology attempts to measure the degree of risk of market failure along six dimensions:

1. composition—the nature of the transnational higher education partnership,
2. structure—the nature of the transnational higher education partnership agreement,

3. scope—the range of activities in the transnational higher education partnership,
4. function—the goals of the transnational higher education partnership,
5. process—the means by which the goals of the transnational higher education partnership are to be achieved, and
6. outcome—the nature of the outcome of the transnational higher education partnership.

It appears to be the GATS framework for international trade, however, which is emerging as the categorization winner in the transnational higher education literature. GATS defines four different possibilities for international trade of services: cross-border supply, consumption abroad, commercial presence abroad, and presence of natural persons abroad. Applying the GATS framework to transnational higher education results in four distinct categories of transnationalization modes (OECD, 2004), each of which represents a different entity moving across or beyond (See Table 5.).

Note that consumption abroad here means the delivery of products locally to foreigners. This jibes with the definition of export by the U.S. Department of Commerce, which regulates the export of dual-use items such as nuclear materials, avionics, and computer software. An export is:

- any oral, written, electronic, or visual disclosure, shipment, transfer, or transmission of any commodity, technology (information, technical data, assistance) or software code;
- outside the U.S. to anyone, including U.S. citizens; or
- to a non-U.S. entity or individual, wherever located.

Table 5. The GATS Framework for International Trade

GATS	Mobility	Modes
Cross-Border Supply	Program Mobility	Distance Learning Licensing Franchising
Consumption Abroad	Student Mobility	Students Studying Abroad
Commercial Presence Abroad	Institution Mobility	Foreign Branch Campus Joint Venture
Presence of Natural Persons Abroad	Academic Mobility	Instructors Teaching Abroad

Adapted from: Czinkota (2006)

Accordingly, services which are delivered to foreign nationals in-country, including tourism services and, more apropos, higher education, are indeed considered exports by the American government. It is this logic which also justifies the inclusion of student studying abroad as a transnationalization mode.

Reports of Transnational Higher Education. Stemming from the previous discussion around the meaning and types of transnational higher education are many reports of transnational higher education. At the most basic level are media reports which, in effect, documented the evolution of transnational higher education itself. A 1996 article by Prystay, for example, revealed the growth of twinning programs in Asia which allowed students to study at local universities, but receive awards from foreign (mostly Australian) universities. Pohl (2003) noted the expansion of internet-based American MBA programs; Yeung (2003), at a more general level, highlighted the attempts by American universities to launch feeder programs in mainland China. And more recent articles have examined the development of foreign branch campuses (See Shepherd, 2007; Swan, 2013; and Thompson, 2006.).

There are also many media reports in the transnational higher education literature which simply publicized the transnationalization (or not) of a specific institution, especially in instances of foreign branch campuses. In 2005, for example, Hodges detailed a contentious debate over the University of Warwick's consideration of a foreign branch campus in Singapore. Likewise, a 2008 article in *GlobalHigherEd* reported the decision at both Yale University and the University of Pennsylvania to not open a foreign branch campus, citing reputational risks (GlobalHigherEd, 2008). Similarly, Olson (2011) made the claim that Tufts University had benefitted by not moving overseas.

And there are those media reports in the transnational higher education literature which—not unlike newspaper baby announcements or obituaries—chronicled important stages in the lifecycle of the transnationalization of an institution. Examples include:

- the planning of Carnegie Mellon University's campus in Rwanda (Li, 2011),
- the launch of Imperial College's medical school in Singapore (Vasagar, 2010),
- the opening of Nyenrode Business School's branch in Nigeria (OBHE, 2004),

- the establishment of University College London's branch in Qatar (Gill, 2010),
- the debut of Bocconi University's programs in India (Ramsay & Li, 2011),
- the creation of New York University's campus in Abu Dhabi (Krieger, 2008; Witte, 2010),
- the signing of Laureate University's partnership with Istanbul Bilgi University in Turkey (Blumenstyk, 2006), and
- the closing of Middlesex University's campus in Delhi (McGettigan, 2011).

More common than these media reports in the transnational higher education literature, however, are more substantive reports which attempted to get a handle on the scope of transnational higher education. Indeed, they can be considered more as cases—contemporaneous profiles—which provided a kind of state of the state of transnational higher education. Some of these cases were very global in nature, while others were situated at the national level, a few of which focused specifically on the so-called education hubs. Several cases reported on the transnationalization of individual higher education institutions. And there are cases in the transnational higher education literature which concentrated narrowly on mode.

Beginning at the global level, there are cases in the transnational higher education literature (See Böhm, Davis, Meares, & Pearce, 2002; Lane & Kinser, 2011; Larsen, Momii, & Vincent-Lancrin, 2004; and OECD, 2009.) which took a decidedly descriptive approach, simply reporting on the size of transnational higher education around the world. Alam et al. (2013), for example, noted that worldwide demand for higher education had been growing dramatically. Indeed, there was a 128% increase in participation from 1990 to 2007. Concurrently, student mobility had quadrupled, with an estimated 6.7 million students studying abroad by 2020. At the time, the U.S.A., the United Kingdom, and Australia received more than half of all study abroad students, and three countries in Asia—China, India, and South Korea—accounted for more than half of all foreign students. With excess demand in emerging economies, they concluded, transnational higher education was the only solution.

A very exhaustive study was conducted in 2009 by Naidoo (2009b). Mirroring the article's sub-title (A Stock Take of Current Activity), the study attempted to provide a contemporary snap-shot of the level of transnational higher education activity globally. It drew on available secondary statistics, and, using a triangulation method, detailed various dimensions of transnational higher education, including the level of international student participation, the number of wholly-owned foreign branch campuses, and the extent of cross-border joint ventures.

In a less descriptive vein, there are also cases of transnational higher education at the global level which explored its basic nature. Early in the evolution of the phenomenon, for example, Neave (1992a) identified the higher education trade routes (as he called them) which were developing at the time. More recently, Adam (2001), Bjarnson (2006), Lasanowski (2010), and Olcott (2008) all underlined the major transnational higher education hosts and sources of students. The case by Adam (2001) also revealed the factors which determined the supply and demand of transnational higher education, and additionally the regulatory approaches which were being used by national governments to corral transnational higher education. And the case by Bjarnson (2006) spotted six emerging transnational higher education host models (See Table 6.), and six national regulatory frameworks for transnational higher education (See Table 7.).

Table 6. Transnational Higher Education Host Models

Model	Example Countries
1. Bankroll Model	Qatar, Singapore
2. Economic Hub Model	Mauritius, UAE
3. Education hub Model	Malaysia, Thailand
4. Capacity Model	China, Hong Kong
5. 'Control' Model	South Africa
6. Random Initiatives Model	Most Countries

Adapted from: Bjarnason (2006)

One very large-scale global case is particularly noteworthy. It was conducted by the British Council, and aimed to "assess the environmental factors that are most conducive to the successful delivery of transnational education" (2013, p. 3). Data were collected for twelve Asian countries (China, Hong Kong, India, Indonesia, Malaysia, Nepal, Pakistan, Singapore, South Korea, Sri Lanka, and Vietnam), four European countries (Poland, Russia, Spain, and Turkey), four Middle Easter/Gulf countries (Bahrain, Oman, Qatar, and the UAE), 3 African countries (Botswana, Mauritius, and Nigeria), and two American countries (Brazil and Mexico), along three dimensions: 1. the policy environment, 2. the market environment, and 3. the mobility environment. Countries were rated on a 1-5 scale for each dimension, leading to national transnational higher education opportunity groupings. The case also led to conclusions about the potential impact and benefits of transnational higher education for host nations.

Table 7. National Regulatory Frameworks for Transnational Higher Education

Framework	Example Countries
1. No Regulations	Austria, Denmark, Malta, Russia
2. Liberal Regulations	The Netherlands, Peru, United Kingdom, Canada, U.S.A.
3. Moderately Liberal	Singapore, Hong Kong, Israel
4. Transitional, Moving from Liberal to More Restrictive	India
5. Transnational, Moving from Restrictive to More Liberal	Japan, South Korea
6. Very Restrictive	South Africa, UAE, Greece, Belgium

Adapted from: Bjarnason (2006)

It ought to be mentioned that the OECD has been actively engaged in research on transnational higher education since the emergence of the phenomenon. In 2002, for example, researchers Larsen and Vincent-Lancrin conducted a case study which documented the worldwide growth of transnational higher education, and which speculated on the impact of different modes on different types of countries. They concluded with calls for policy discussions around the form and function of transnational higher education. A

2007 report by Marginson and van der Wende explored the impact of globalization on higher education, outlining in particular the responses of national higher education systems and specific institutions, with a view to policy-making. In 2009, the OECD also published the second in the four-volume Higher Education to 2030 series. Weighing in at more than 350 pages, "Globalisation" (The first volume is entitled "Demography".) contains chapters which reported trends, perspectives, and future scenarios for transnational higher education in a globalizing world. And a 2012 report by Vincent-Lancrin and Pfotenhauer monitored the extent to which OECD member states have complied with the Organization's guidelines for quality provision in higher education.

Switching to the national level, it is unsurprising that the majority of cases of transnational higher education are indeed situated at the national level (See Table 8 for a summary.). Many of these cases, paralleling the descriptive global cases, simply attempted to report the size of transnational higher education in specific countries, at specific moments in time. A few cases focused on specific transnational higher education activities in national higher education systems. Some cases sought to compare the state of transnational higher education in different countries…commonly the countries of the Europe Union. And other cases were less pointed, profiling higher education in general but with some mention of transnational higher education. Also unsurprising is that Australia, the United Kingdom, and the U.S.A., as the chief instigators of transnational higher education, and the countries of Southeast Asia, as the primary targets of transnational higher education, were the subjects of many of the cases at the national level.

Table 8. Cases of Transnational Higher Education at the National Level

Author (Year)	Nation(s)	Purpose
ACA (2008)	Australia, France, Germany, The Netherlands, Spain, United Kingdom, U.S.A.	Report on the size of transnational higher education in each nation
Adam (2001)	Austria, Belgium (both Flemish and French), Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, The Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, United Kingdom	Report the size of transnational higher education in each nation; identify patterns, supply and demand factors, and national approaches
Altbach & Knight (2007)	Africa, Asia Pacific, Europe, Middle East, Latin America, North America	Survey the landscape of transnational developments in different regions
Baron (1993)	Europe	Overview the politics of academic mobility in Europe
Bennell & Pearce (2003)	Australia, United Kingdom, U.S.A.	Compare the growth in foreign students
Berchem (1991)	Germany	Describe the internationalization of German higher education
British Council (2013)	United Kingdom	Research the scale and scope of transnational higher education
CVCP (2000)	United Kingdom	Report on transnational higher education developments
de Wit (2002)	European Union, U.S.A.	Compare the internationalization of higher education in the European Union and the U.S.A.
de Wit, Agarwal, Said, Sehoole, & Sirozi (2008)	Egypt, India, Indonesia, South Africa, European Union, U.S.A.	Identify patterns of student circulation in higher education
Donn & Al Manthri (2010)	Bahrain, Kuwait, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, United Arab Emirates	Profile higher education systems in each of the Gulf States, and the influence of globalization
Douglass (2005)	U.S.A.	Overview the impact of globalization on institutional behavior

Drew et al. (2008)	United Kingdom	Explore patterns of transnational higher education in the United Kingdom
El-Khawas (1994)	U.S.A.	Review international activities by four-year institutions
Gift, Leo-Rhynie, & Moniquette (2006)	Barbados, Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago	Examine national and regional quality assurance and accreditation systems
Hahn & Teichler (2005)	Germany	Profile the internationalization of the German higher education system
Harman (2004)	Australia, United Kingdom, U.S.A.	Review Australia's efforts and achievements as an exporter of higher education services
Huang (2003, 2007)	China	Explore transnational higher education in China
Huisman & van der Wende (2005)	Austria, Germany, Greece, The Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, United Kingdom,	Compare national responses to internationalization, Europeanization, and globalization
Knight & de Wit (2007)	Australia, Hong Kong, Indonesia, Japan, Malaysia, New Zealand, Singapore, Thailand	Profile the internationalization efforts in the Asia Pacific
Marginson (2006)	Australia	Analyze the dynamics of national and global competition
Maringe (2009)	United Kingdom	Study the strategies and challenges of internationalization of higher education in the United Kingdom
Mazzarol & Hosie (1996)	Australia	Examine the future of Australian higher education industry
Mazzarol, Hosie, & Jacobs (1998)	Australia	Explore the use of information technology as a competitive advantage in international education
McBurnie & Ziguras (2001)	Australia, Hong Kong, Malaysia	Examine governmental approaches to the regulation of transnational higher education
McBurnie & Ziguras (2003)	Australia	Describe trade liberalization of higher education

Middlehurst (2002)	United Kingdom	Explore the information and communications technologies of higher education institutions vis-à-vis their internationalization strategies
Mok & Chan (2002)	Hong Kong	Analyze Hong Kong's quest for quality education
Mok (2007)	Japan, Malaysia, Singapore, Taiwan,	Reflect on the internationalization of higher education in Asia
Naidoo (2009a)	New Zealand	Study higher education regulatory frameworks in New Zealand
OECD (2004)	Asia-Pacific, Europe, North America	Document the history, policies, rationales, and developments of transnational higher education
Prince (2004)	United Kingdom	Measure the commercial activities in business schools in the United Kingdom
Slaughter & Cantrell (2012)	European Union, U.S.A.	Compare the marketization trajectories of higher education
Smart (1988)	Malaysia	Investigate recruitment and financing of overseas candidates
Soboleva (2011)	Europe	Audit the existing quality assurance practices
Sutrisno & Pillay (2014)	Pacific countries (Fiji, Samoa, and Solomon Islands, for example)	Explore knowledge transfer to the Pacific countries in transnational higher education
Take (2013)	Sweden	Examine the implementation status of quality assurance framework
Tang & Nollent (2007)	China, Hong Kong, United Kingdom	Report opportunities and challenges of transnational higher education for the United Kingdom with China and Hong Kong
Tsiligiris (2013)	Greece	Profile Greece as provider of students to overseas institutions, and as host of transnational higher education providers
Tsiligiris (2014b)	Greece	Examine transnational higher education in the context of Greek economic recovery

UKCISA (2011)	United Kingdom	Rate foreign student experience at higher education institutions in the United Kingdom
Vossenteyn, Deen, van Adrichem, Dekker, Mesker, Verkroost, & de Weert (2007)	The Netherlands	Study transnational higher education provision by Dutch higher education institutions
Willis (1999)	China	Explore the agreements between Chinese and foreign universities
Witte, van der Wende, & Huisman (2008)	France, Germany, The Netherlands	Examine the changes in the relationship between university and non-university institutions as a result of the Bologna process
Ziguras (2003)	Australia, Malaysia, New Zealand, Singapore	Examine the impact of GATS on transnational higher education
Ziguras & McBurnie (2011)	Asia-Pacific region	Chronicle the development of transnational higher education in Asia-Pacific region

Source: Author

As mentioned in Chapter 1, Jane Knight has recently documented the rise of education hubs as a new development in international higher education. She first raised the topic in her aptly-titled article *Education Hubs: A Fad, a Brand, an Innovation?* (2011a), suggesting that education hubs constitute the third generation in cross-border activity in higher education—the first generation was movement of people, and the second generation was the movement of programs and providers (transnational higher education). But earlier in the decade, Mok (2002) presaged the emergence of education hubs with a case study of Singapore's national policy of education decentralization and marketization, the aim of which was to maintain and improve its national competitiveness. In keeping with Mok, I also argue that education hubs do not constitute a new generation in cross-border activity in higher education. Instead, education hubs ought to be viewed as a national strategic policy for higher education in general. Indeed, education hubs need not have any foreign branch campuses, although the education hubs which have emerged to date all appear to be dominated by foreign universities.

The rise of education hubs, however, has resulted in a number of cases on various national education hubs. Knight (2011a) profiled three education hubs in Southeast Asia (Hong Kong, Malaysia, and Singapore) and three education hubs in the Middle East (Bahrain, Qater, and UAE). Knight and Morshidi (2011) then profiled the six education hubs again, but expanded on the case of Malaysia, highlighting in particular the creation of Educity near Singapore and Kuala Lumpur Education City (KLEC) in the capital city. In a 2013 article, Knight profiled five of the six countries once more (Barhain was omitted), and added Botswana, the self-proclaimed first education hub in Africa. And in 2014, she edited an anthology on education hubs which had individual chapter-length cases on Bahrain, Botswana, Hong Kong, Malaysia, Qatar, Singapore, and UAE, plus a chapter on the emerging education hubs in Mauritius, Sri Lanka, and South Korea.

Continuing with cases which reported on the transnationalization of individual higher education institutions, these cases tended to be either general in nature, providing a simple profile of the transnationalization of the institution, or very specific, examining a single dimension of transnationalization. Institutions from Australia and United Kingdom were overwhelmingly the most common case subjects. And there was a leaning toward a focus on the home institution rather than the transnationalization host.

At the general level, Taylor (2004), for example, studied the internationalization of four higher education institutions from around the world: the University of British Columbia, the University of Chicago, Uppsala University, and the University of Western Australia. Berquist and Fuller (2006) and Bostrom (2010) followed suit, with a case of Western Michigan University and cases of two Turkish universities respectively. And more recently, Healey (2014a) profiled the transnationalization of Nottingham Trent University.

With respect to single dimensions of transnationalization, Coleman (2003), Connelly and Garton (2005), and Gift et al. (2006) all documented the transnationalization quality assurance procedures of the University of the West Indies, the Swinburne University of Technology, and an undisclosed Australian higher education institution respectively. McBurnie (2000) traced the process which Monash University from Australia followed when it applied for certification by GATE. Sidhu, Ho, and Yeoh (2010) described the collaboration between the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and the National University of Singapore. And Purves (2007) commented on the development impact (capacity-building, retention of workers, and capital in-flow, for example) which Northumbria University's transnationalization activities had on its host countries.

Lastly, there are those cases in the transnational higher education literature which concentrated narrowly on mode. Using the GATS framework for international trade, and beginning with presence of natural persons abroad (instructors teaching abroad), Clarke and Flaherty (2003), for example, explored the challenges which marketing instructors faced when they taught in newly emerging markets, as part of their institutions' transnational efforts. In summary, teaching abroad was viewed by the marketing instructors in the case study as a valuable experience for both the students in the newly emerging markets and themselves, but adaptation of both instructional materials and methods was necessary for maximum impact on the students.

With respect to consumption abroad (students studying abroad), Danaher, Gale, and Erben (2000) suggested that the marketization of knowledge, combined with the reduction in government resources, had led to universities "peddling within lucrative (established and emerging) markets" (p. 57). Indeed, according to Harris (2008), international students represented an important income stream for many institutions. In the case of Ontario Colleges of Applied Arts and Technology specifically, the three top motivators for recruiting foreign students in order of importance were 1. revenue, 2. foreign perspectives for local students, and 3. trade links (Galway, 2000).

According to an OECD report (Throsby, 1998), however, student mobility was more complex and nuanced. Indeed, a large-scale case study of student mobility in five countries found that there were several benefits of international student flows for institutions, but also many costs. For example, foreign students brought net value to a university's research output, diversified its revenue, and broadened its alumni base. But there were often unforeseen increases in both infrastructure and program delivery costs. The report also concluded that there were costs and benefits for both the host and sending countries.

Foreign students, for example, added value to a host country through economic work and spending, but also increased traffic congestion, affected housing prices, and burdened government services. For sending countries, these students added economic value through their increased productivity, but simultaneously delayed educational self-sufficiency.

Switching to commercial presence abroad (foreign branch campus, joint venture), Altbach (2011) defined a foreign branch campus as an "entity pertaining to a university whose primary location is in one country, which operates in another country, and offers its own degree in that country" (p. 7). It resembles a traditional university, with academic and student facilities, research and teaching opportunities, and extracurricular activities (Becker, 2010). Due to the notion of ownership which is intrinsic to a foreign branch campus, it is distinct from twinning arrangements, from overseas study centers which serve home university students, and from franchising agreements.

Czinkota (2006) also considered foreign branch campuses and joint ventures as distinct modes within the commercial presence abroad category. But this distinction is false —the difference between the two is simply a degree of ownership. Indeed, each is designated as a foreign direct investment (or FDI) according to the OECD, which defines FDI as an investment of 10% or more in a company by an investor in another nation, over which the investor has control. Consequently, a foreign branch campus (as a wholly-owned entity or as a joint venture) is "an off-shore entity of a higher education institution operated by the institution or through a joint venture in which the institution is a partner (some countries require foreign providers to partner with a local organization) in the name of the foreign institution. Upon successful completion of the course program, which is fully undertaken at the unit abroad, students are awarded a degree from the foreign institution" (OBHE, 2004, p. 34).

Reports by Becker (2010) and Lasanowski (2010) both underlined the American domination in commercial presence abroad—seventy-eight of the 162 recorded foreign branch campuses at the time hailed from the U.S.A. Distant runners-up included Australia and the United Kingdom with fourteen and thirteen foreign branch campus respectively, and France and India, both with eleven foreign branch campuses. The United Arab Emirates led with respect to destinations, hosting forty foreign branch campuses, twenty-two of which were located in Dubai International Academic City. China, Singapore, and Qatar were also popular sites for foreign branch campuses.

Shams and Huisman (2012) suggested that countries like Singapore and Malaysia were identified early on as profitable targets for foreign branch campuses, because of their national strategies for boosting their knowledge-based economies. In a similar vein, Witte's 2010 study of the Gulf Arab States noted their need to diversify away from oil-based economies by both educating local populations and attracting foreign students to the region. Interestingly, the Minister of Education in Qatar set quotas for the number of Qataris in the six foreign branch campuses which operated in the Education City. Abu Dhabi, on the contrary, set no quotas, combining stringent admissions standards with generous financial aid, the aim of which was to attract high-quality foreign students. Witte's case study also revealed a tension between the foreign branch campuses and the ruling families, concerning the cultural conflict which large numbers of foreign students might bring to the region.

The report by Becker (2010) also observed that many of these foreign branch campuses were not always instigated by the institutional investor. Indeed, in several instances, foreign branch campuses were invited and supported by the host nation. As mentioned previously, Dubai offered these institutions 100 percent foreign ownership, tax exemption, and repatriation of profits. South Korea, he speculated, would also get in the game by offering tax incentives and financial support to institutions which would invest in the Incheon Free Economic Zone.

Foreign branch campuses, however, are seemingly not without their challenges. A study of Monash University's campus in Malaysia identified several planning problems, institutional risks, and managerial issues from which it suffered (McBurnie & Pollack, 2000). Likewise, Shams and Huisman (2012) pinpointed curriculum and staffing troubles, cultural distance complications, and regulatory worries. And Becker (2010) found that foreign branch campuses were facing more competition, thereby leading to closures. She warned that higher education institutions ought to think carefully about the long-term costs and risks of a foreign branch campus, and consequently must conduct rigorous market research in preparation for transnationalization.

Ending with cross-border supply (distance learning, licensing, and franchising), the literature collection phase of the literature review uncovered a sizable distance learning literature. This literature, however, focuses on various aspects of distance learning itself, rather than on distance learning as a transnationalization mode. Similarly, no specific cases of licensing as transnationalization modes were uncovered in the literature, although Bennell and Pearce (2003), in their comparative study of the growth in foreign student numbers in Australia, the United Kingdom, and the U.S.A., noted that “for most universities, the primary motivation for establishing OVCs (overseas validated centres) has clearly been financial” (p. 224).

As for franchising, Healey (2015j) interviewed eight senior administrators from four English universities, all of whom had managed overseas franchises. The participants were adamant that the decision to franchise was motivated at first by a kind of quasi-development aid, and by the desire to increase the universities’ international profiles; financial gain, they emphasized, was not part of the decision calculus. The participants also stressed that the success of a franchise relied heavily on the relationship with the foreign franchise-holder, and that, longer-term, a legion of technocrats was required to perpetuate the activity, especially with respect to quality assessment. Lastly, the participants intimated that the development of the franchises was not part of some grander transnationalization plan, and that franchising was not a baby step on the path to a foreign branch campus.

Perspectives on Transnational Higher Education. The emergent nature of transnational higher education means that there are also various perspectives on transnational higher education in the transnational higher education literature. These perspectives range from the relatively innocuous—general comments on transnational higher education in an almost op-ed style—to the vitriolic—ardent criticisms of transnational higher education and its basic tenets. Many of the most recent perspectives focus specifically on foreign branch campuses.

Beginning with general commentary on transnational higher education, it has been claimed that there is widespread misunderstanding of the internationalization of higher education (and by extension, the transnationalization of higher education). The consequence is that a myriad of myths and misconceptions has circulated within higher education (de Wit, 2011a; Knight, 2011b). These myths and misconceptions include:

1. more foreign students produces a more internationalized institution,
2. international reputation is a proxy for quality,
3. more international agreements makes an institution more reputable,
4. more international accreditation stars means more international,
5. an international promotional is an internationalization plan,
6. internationalization means teaching in English,
7. internationalization equals study abroad,
8. internationalization is teaching an international subject,

9. internationalization requires only a few international students in the classroom,
10. intercultural competencies need not be assessed,
11. higher education is international by its nature, and
12. internationalization is an objective in itself.

According to Brandenburg (2011), however, internationalization ought to be viewed not as the destination, but as the journey. That is to say, internationalization is not an objective in itself, but instead an instrument in service of the objective. The key, therefore, is to identify the rationale for using the instrument. And for many commentators, the rationale is clear…globalization. According to Scherer, Javalgi, Bryant, and Tukel (2005), for example, globalization has diminished the hegemony of American higher education. Writing about the field of management education specifically, they declared that "business schools in the U.S.A. have gained a reputation and global dominance in the higher education marketplace" (p. 652), but that the gloss is now off. Consequently, American business schools are not the only option, with competitors popping up all over the world. For Ryan (2001), this competition is a good thing, shaking up the entire higher education system.

Douglass (2005) provided a more detailed and nuanced version of the argument, enumerating eight mega-forces which coincide with globalization, and which, he predicted, would cause a paradigm shift in higher education: 1. student and instructor recruiting, 2.

international networks of research, 3. international collaborations, 4. organizational convergence, 5. information and communication technologies, 6. non-traditional and alternative competitors, 7. institutional mergers and acquisitions, and 8. international frameworks. He also cited four organizational forces which, he warned, could be trouble for some higher education institutions as they are forced to compete: 1. supply and capacity imbalance, 2. unpredictability of the market, 3. the need for flexibility and creativity, and 4. academic conservatism. In fairness, he also suggested that there are six countervailing forces to globalization which could temper its effects: 1. economic wealth and political stability, 2. local market demand, 3. national regulations, 4. cultural pride, 5. academic culture, and 6. incumbent advantage.

To many commentators, however, the nature of the new paradigm of higher education which globalization is driving is obvious. Higher education will be a commodity, with the production of knowledge, the dissemination of knowledge, and, most importantly, access to knowledge, all going global (Naidoo, 2003). The result will be a multinational or global university (Van Rooijen, 2003; Wildavsky, 2010), and "as with a multinational company, this institution will have branches or campuses in several countries in the world…but treasures in its profile the geographical base of its headquarters" (p. 4). This new multinational or global university will have different organizational forms compared to the traditional institution (Hanna & Latchem, 2002). And transnational higher education will be one component in a mix of an institution's activities (Skidmore & Longbottom, 2011).

It is important to note, however, that this new paradigm of higher education need not lead to the homogenization of higher education. Indeed, as suggested by Pease (2001), globalization is often associated with homogenization, but the "integration of markets, a global market, does not inevitably lead to cultural 'mud' " (p. 12). On the contrary, culture still matters, despite—perhaps even because of—globalization.

This new paradigm of higher education, however, does have implications for higher education institutions. Indeed, it calls for a doubling down on internationalization, or running the risk of falling behind (Teekens, 2011). It necessitates strong leaders with strategic vision (Mestenhauser, 2000). And it points squarely to a market rationalization via mergers, acquisitions, and global networks in higher education (de Wit, 2000). According to Mazzarol and Souter (2012), "many of the world's leading institutions appear to have recognized this and started building strong global networks, such as those seen in Singapore and Qatar examples. However, others have undifferentiated marketing strategies, despite seeking to operate in this highly competitive international market" (p. 731).

This new paradigm of higher education also means the need for a new focus on international students (Jones & Brown, 2007), especially with respect to teaching and learning. Issues such as plagiarism, international communication, and groupwork, for example, will come to the fore (Dunn & Wallace, 2008). It will undoubtedly have impact on curriculum and instructional design, assessment, and administration (Wood et al., 2005).

And it will lead to questions about reputation, quality assurance, and accreditation (Vignoli, 2004).

This new paradigm of higher education, however, is not immune to the risks from unforeseen circumstances. Indeed, Naidoo (2010a) stated that a “debate needs to be highlighted to consider the impacts of transnational higher education” (p. 7). Starting in the early 1990s, worries about Australia’s pioneering transnational higher education activity were voiced: racism, xenophobia, brain drain, McDonaldsization, ethnocentrism, and neo-colonialism, for example (Alexander & Rizvi, 1993). Maslen (2009) warned that higher education is particularly susceptible to exogenous shocks, citing the changes which were made in the mid-2000s to the work eligibility for foreign students who were studying in Australia. Consider the significance of the tightening of VISA requirements for foreign students who were hoping to study in the U.S.A., following the 9-11 attacks. And Altbach and Knight (2007a) speculated about the possible impact of market uncontrollables such as politics, the rise of the English language as the lingua franca of education, European policies, national security, domestic capacity, and private sector players.

Switching to the criticisms of transnational higher education, first and foremost among these harsher perspectives on transnational higher education is a broader critique of globalization itself. Rizvi (2007), for example, railed against the reification and assumed inevitability of globalization. In turn, he also questioned the taken-for-grantedness of the internationalization of higher education. Sursock (in CRE, 2001) did not dispute globalization outright, but instead reasoned that globalization constitutes a threat to higher education systems everywhere, and especially those "in the more protected and homogeneous national systems which do not offer sufficient choices to students and cannot integrate (and therefore regulate) non-official institutions" (p. 7). Likewise, Yang (2003) maintained that because globalization is based on the notion of free markets, it brings with it the dangers from which free markets suffer, including a lack of quality control, under-regulation, and restrictions on academic values. In summary, it is a bad idea "to permit caveat emptor to dominate in higher education" (p. 284).

Continuing with the free market theme, Bone (2008) worried that American universities, Oxbridge, and a handful of other higher education institutions around the world have historical and performance-related reputations, thereby allowing them to dominate the 'prestige goods' category. This jibes with Mestenhauser's (2000) claim that higher education is not a commodity, but instead must be considered a prestige good. Viewing higher education as a product also has its limitations. Indeed, Standish (2005) censured the notion of higher education as the focus of an economic exchange. Doing so, he argued, impoverishes the value of education. Robertson (2006) also decried the view, avowing that education is a basic human right. And Baldwin and James (2000) thought that treating students who entered into the supposed economic exchange as well-informed consumers was dubious.

Campbell (2012) condemned the secular neo-liberal underpinnings of globalization, insisting that it inhibits human development. Writing of developing nations specifically, he claimed that…

> [d]eveloping nations face the need to develop the capacities and capabilities of their citizens in the broadest possible way and education is widely considered as a key institutional conduit through which this occurs. However your capabilities and capacities as human beings are deeply connected to our ability to realize and maintain a sense of dignity and moral balance in a world increasingly beset by the values of instrumental reasons competitive rationality and consumerism. (par. 1)

Similarly, Collins (2007) wrote scathingly of GATS, arguing that its neo-liberal ideology creates a new imperialism of intellectual superiority. Rutherford (2001) worried that "GATS could destroy the public interest in policy making in services such as education and end the ideal of a democratic education system run by accountable public authorities" (p. 1). Academia, according to CHEA (2005), is special, and by rights, therefore, deserves a privileged position. "Trade frameworks are not designed to deal with the academic, research, or broad social and cultural purposes of higher education…Trade policy and national educational policy may conflict with each other and jeopardize higher education's capacity to carry out its social and cultural mission" (p. 5).

Czinkota (2006) demurred. “While education may see itself exempt from international service industry rules, it certainly is not immune from the rules of economics, particularly when it comes to issues of supply, demand, and money” (p. 151). Pease (2001) was less conciliatory, alleging that GATS is both welcome and necessary because higher education has for too long been riddled with unfair and distorting trading barriers. For example,

> [n]ational legislation and policy often serve as inhibitors, singling out foreign education providers delivering services. Examples include: acquiring licenses, registering as private businesses, forcing students to pay a consumption tax, not affording the same benefits to students attending foreign institutions, or restricting accreditation or the granting of degrees entirely. (par. 3)

With respect to transnational higher education specifically, Alderman (2001) cited several fundamental problems, including a threat to national culture, quality control, and cultural imperialism. Custer (2016) voiced concerns over the finances, quality, and outcomes of transnational higher education. Adam (2001) was particularly worried about consumer protection in an age of transnational higher education. National regulatory frameworks are notoriously inflexible, he mentioned, degree-mills sell services to ill-informed students, and many transnational entities have poor or non-existent quality control. Altbach (2003) was likewise concerned, noting the neo-colonial overtones of transnational higher education, especially considering the rise of English as its lingua franca. Altbach and Knight (2007) raised concerns about quality assurance and recognition of awards. And Danaher et al. (2000) pointed to the changing nature of instructor professionalisms which have resulted from transnational higher education.

Ending with perspectives on foreign branch campuses, the growth of this transnationalization mode in recent years has garnered it much attention, and consequently, has also generated many claims and likewise many criticisms. Speaking at a 2013 conference at the Emirates Centre for Strategic Studies and Research, Dr. Warren Fox, head of higher education at the Knowledge and Human Development Authority of Dubai, summarized the positive claims succinctly:

> [b]ranch campuses are an expanding and important part of transnational education. They provide access to meet rising demand, they bring certified quality programmes, they offer international degrees recognised around the world, they often have faculty from the home campus, they have experience and expertise, and they expand cross cultural experiences. (as cited in Swan, 2013, Par. 23)

According to Altbach (2010), however, governments and accreditors have started to question the truth in these claims. According to Hussain (2007), for example, foreign branch campuses tend to concentrate on the subjects of business and technology which are more marketable in developing countries. Rumble and Altbach (2007) charged higher education institutions with underestimating the risks of financial loss, operational challenges, market fluctuations, and the potential for damage to institutional reputation. Altbach (2010) even argued that the term foreign branch campus is a misnomer. It is often difficult to lure instructors from the home institution. Courses are frequently taught as intensive modules. And in many cases these modules are taught by local temp workers. Is it really a foreign branch, therefore?

Similarly, Altbach (2010) also suggested that foreign branch campuses are usually not very campus-like. “Except where generous hosts—such as in the Arabian Gulf, Singapore, and a few other places—provide facilities and infrastructure, branch campuses become rather spartan places, resembling office complexes rather than academic institutions” (p. 2). The student body, he added, never replicates that of the home institution. And the academic experience and culture are rarely, if ever, reproduced at the foreign branch campus.

In 2011, Altbach continued his assault on foreign branch campuses, observing that student demand is difficult to predict. The University of New South Wales, for example, closed its operation in Singapore after only one year of operation, citing low enrollment. Administrators in higher education institutions, he insisted, have not considered the long-term implications of foreign branch campuses: pitfalls, financial losses, and poor service quality, for example. And he alleged that the decision to open foreign branch campuses—which is often commercially-motivated—causes higher education institutions to stray too far from their academic mission.

Guidelines for Transnational Higher Education. Considering the various perspectives on transnational higher education—both the comments and the criticisms—it is understandable that there are also many guidelines for the appropriate conduct of transnational higher education in the transnational higher education literature. At the most general level is advice about the internationalization of higher education institutions. Brandenburg and de Wit (2011), for example, made four high level suggestions for moving forward:

1. move away from dogmatic and idealist concepts of internationalization,
2. understand internationalization as a means to an end, not as an end in itself,
3. regard mobility and other internationalization activities as instruments, and
4. focus less on the instruments and more on their rationales and outcomes.

Somewhat less abstractly, Davies (1995) suggested that "universities need a reasonably robust framework to develop their international activities, comprehensive strategies appropriate to that mission, adequate resources and effective management (p. 5). Likewise, Yang and Hsiao (2006), writing about Asian universities specifically, linked the success of internationalization to a mindful marketing approach. And Garton (2010) pointed to the need for a strong strategic focus, the management of intellectual capital on a global basis, and the organization of necessary logistics across borders.

Keeping with this management theme, van der Wende (1999) proposed that internationalization can be viewed as an innovation process which consists of four phases:

1. recognizing the need for change, 2. planning and formulating a solution, 3. initiating and implement the solution, and 4. institutionalizing (or terminating) the solution. She continued by arguing that the institutionalization phase is most critical. Consequently, she concluded, institutionalization is also the key to success of internationalization.

Knight (2001) insisted that internationalization must be monitored closely, with respect to both progress and, more importantly, quality. Indeed, for Adam (2001), quality ought to be the most important aim of an institution, and a precondition for internationalization. Consequently, quality assurance in internationalization, including audits, evaluation, accreditation, registration, licensing, recognition, and other review processes and elements, is cardinal (Knight, 2003a). The Committee of Vice-Chancellors and Principals of the Universities of the United Kingdom (CVCP) concurred in their 2012 report—

> [w]e suggest that the main elements of a quality framework for borderless education should include: currency and security of qualifications; audit of the system for the design and approval of curricula or appropriate learning contracts; an internationally-recognised system of education audit; licensing of staff; security of assessment; an internationally-recognised approach to recording and certifying attainment; adequate public information about learning opportunities; approved guidance and complaints systems for learnings; transparent quality management processes for each agent in the

> educational supply chain; access to learning resources assured by the provider; and publication of guidance relevant to different modes of provision. (p. 30)

Czinkota (2006) added that some form of an international league table would also help, the workings of which ought to be managed by an international association such as INQAAHE, the International Network for Quality Assurance Agencies in Higher Education (Cheung, 2006). But to date, “academic institutions have typically been unwelcoming to any comparative rating system, even though such a system would be a key prerequisite for greater sector transparency for both institutions and individuals” (Czinkota, 2006, p. 151).

Several national and international associations have committed to the prospect of greater transparency, however, by publishing formal policy statements on the internationalization of higher education. In 2001, for example, UNESCO developed a policy statement which highlighted the need for new regulation, recognition, quality assurance, and accreditation of international education (van Damme, 2001). The International Association of Universities (2000) has continually affirmed its stance on academic values with respect to internationalization, through its policy statements. And the Union of Students’ Unions in Europe (ESIB), the European Students’ Union (ESU), and the National Unions of Students in Europe have published policy statements which delimit their views on internationalization (ESIB 2011; ESU, 2013; National Unions of Students of Europe, 2011).

Even more concrete than these policy statements, however, are the numerous codes of practice which have been developed by different national and international associations (See Table 9 for some examples.). Their purpose is to define very tangibly the appropriate conduct of transnational higher education. To some degree, accreditation agencies have already begun to use their own codes of practice for accrediting foreign branch campuses (CRE, 2001). In the context of business education specifically, accreditation agencies such as the European Foundation for Management Development (EFMD), the association for the Advancement of Collegiate Schools of Business (AACSB), and the Association of MBAs (AMBA) now include transnational higher education in their accreditation requirements.

Table 9. Codes of Practice

Association	Title
Quality Assurance Agency for Higher Education (QAA)	The UK Quality Code for Higher Education: Overview and Expectations
Tertiary Education Quality and Standards Agency (Formerly Australian Universities Quality Agency)	Higher Education Standards Framework
European Association for Quality Assurance in Higher Education (ENQA)	Standards and Guidelines for Quality Assurance in the European Higher Education Area
European Association for Quality Assurance in Higher Education (ENQA)	Quality Assurance in Transnational Higher Education
UNESCO/Council of Europe (COE)	Code of Good Practice in the Provision of Transnational Higher Education
European National Information Centres and National Academic Recognition and Information Centre (ENIC-NARIC)	European Area of Recognition Manual
European Consortium for Accreditation in Higher Education (ECA)	Code of Good Practice for the Members of the European Consortium for Accreditation in Higher Education
National Council for Higher Education of Rwanda	Code of Practice: Cross-border/Transnational Provision

Association	Title
New Zealand Qualifications Authority	Code of Practice for the Pastoral Care of International Students
European Association for International Education (EAIE)	Code of Good Practice for Students Abroad
Middle States Commission on Higher Education	Code of Good Practice in Accrediting Higher Education
Universities Australia (formerly Australian Vice-Chancellors' Committee)	Provision of Education to International Students: Codes of Practice and Guidelines for Australian Universities

Source: Author

Less formally, Lenn (2000, 2002) provided a check-list of sorts for implementing quality assurance in transnational higher education. Tsiligiris (2014a) proposed a step-by-step model which he called prospective quality, and which emphasizes the comprehension and appreciation of student factors prior to the design and delivery of transnational higher education. And Adam (2001) suggested that diploma supplements could also add transparency, and provide information about both the content of the award, and the status and qualifications of the diploma provider.

Similar to these codes of practice is a discussion in the translational higher education literature about GATS, which provides a kind of manual for understanding its principles, its functions, and its impact on higher education. As a reminder, GATS, or the General Agreement on Trade in Services, is the result of the WTO negotiations which were held in Uruguay. It entered into force in January 1995, and shapes the rules for world trade and investment in services. It compels member countries, for example, to afford each other market entry conditions which are equal to or better than the nation which enjoys the most favorable conditions. And it stipulates that foreign companies must be subjected to equal regulatory treatment as domestic companies. According to Czinkota (2006), "the resulting reduction of risk is likely to substantially encourage trade and investment [in services]" (p. 150).

In 2002, Knight (2002a, 2002b) authored reports which commented on the impact of trade liberalization on higher education. She followed it with a 2003 update which provided a where-are-we-now on the GATS ratification status in various countries. Her 2006 (Knight, 2006) report which was commissioned by UNESCO outlined the changes, challenges, opportunities, and risks of GATS, in the context of higher education. Robertson (2006) also provided a similar GATS overview, enumerating its corresponding controversies for higher education. And a 2010 book by Verger dove headlong into the politics of GATS and higher education.

Empirical Studies of Transnational Higher Education. Finally, the transnational higher education literature contains a number of empirical studies of transnational higher education. Generally, these empirical studies focused on either the students of transnational higher education, or the institutions of transnational higher education. Although somewhat less empirical in nature, a few articles were also uncovered in the transnational higher education literature which explored transnational higher education using various theoretical frameworks.

Primary among the empirical studies which focused on the students of transnational higher education are those studies which examined the drivers of transnational higher education choice. Mazzarol and Soutar (2002), for example, surveyed 2,585 students from China, India, Indonesia, and Taiwan. The results suggested that both push factors (factors which arise in the domestic nation) and pull factors (factors about the host nation) influenced a student's choice to study abroad. Push factors included 1. the perception that overseas courses are of higher quality, 2. limited access to universities or specific degrees at home, and 3. the intention to migrate. Pull factors included 1. the ease of obtaining information about the host nation, 2. the perceived quality of education in the host nation, and 3. the international recognition of host nation qualifications.

Maringe and Carter (2007) conducted a very similar study, but used focus group interviews with twenty-eight African students who were studying at two universities in the south of England. The results likewise suggested that a range of push and pull factors influenced their choice to study in abroad. More specifically, the study found that the African students chose England in hopes of receiving a truly international educational experience…although questions remained about whether or not this goal was achieved.

In 2005, the British Council conducted a study of its own, but with an emphasis on students who had chosen branch campuses of foreign universities in their home countries. A qualitative approach was employed, with a sample of forty-seven students in Hong Kong, fifty-one students in Malaysia, sixty-five students in Singapore, fifty-one students in China, and fifty-one students in India. In all geographies, the students' first choice had been domestic higher education institutions, but they were forced—pushed, using Mazzarol and

Soutar's language—into transnational higher education because of limited access to domestic universities, stiff entry requirements, limited seats in specific degrees, or ethnic quotas. Other factors which were then significant in the students' choice to study at a foreign branch campus included:

- the perception that international education is superior to domestic education,
- the possibility of exposure to a new lifestyle,
- the benefits of an on-campus experience,
- immersion in English,
- the possibility of studying in English,
- the cost of studying overseas,
- an internationally recognized qualification,
- the flexibility and convenience of 'staying home',
- exposure to new and advanced teaching methods, and
- a match with personal or career needs.

One additional noteworthy finding was that foreign branch campuses of British universities were more respected that those from the U.S.A.

In contrast to the studies by Mazzarol and Soutar, Maringe and Carter, and the British Council, the study by Chadee and Naidoo (2009) modeled the demand for transnational higher education as:

$$ENROL_{ij,t} = \alpha + \beta_1 ACCESS_{it} + \beta_2 FEES_{jt} + \beta_3 EXRT_{ij,t} + \beta_4 INCOME_{it} + \beta_5 GLOBAL_{it} + \beta_6 D_{USA} + \varepsilon_{ij}$$

ENROL is the dependent variable and represents the number of students from nation *i* who are studying in nation *j* at a given time *t*. The independent variables are ACCESS (the degree to which students of nation *i* have access to domestic higher education), FEES (the tuition fees in nation *j*), EXRT (the bilateral exchange rate between nations *i* and *j*), INCOME (the per capita income of nation *i*), and GLOBAL (the measure of globalization of nation *i*). D_{USA} is a dummy variable. Data for the model were drawn from UNESCO, OECD, and World Bank sources, and from the International Handbook of Universities. Results from the model indicated that different factors affected students from different countries differently. For example, the tuition fees were significant for students in Hong Kong, Singapore, and South Korea; the level of globalization was only significant for China.

The notion that different factors affect students from different countries differently was also found by Tsiligiris (2011), who conducted a case study of British and Greek students who were all attending the same institution for the same degree, but with the Greek students studying at a foreign branch campus of the British university in Greece. The study demonstrated that the students' expectations and perceptions of quality of their education differed across the two nationalities—facilities and proximity to home were more important to students in the United Kingdom, and personal support and traditional teaching were more important for students in Greece. Common among all students, however, irrespective of their nationality, were reputation and ranking of both the university and degree, post graduate employability, and job placement.

The differences among students from different countries also led World Education Services (Choudaha, 2013) to develop a segmentation scheme for U.S.A.-bound international students. The segmentation scheme uses two dimensions—academic preparedness and financial resources—which emerged from survey data of nearly 1,600 prospective students from 115 countries. Based on these dimensions and the data, World Education Services suggested that U.S.A.-bound students fell into one of four distinct segments:

- Strivers: High academic preparedness but low financial resources,
- Strugglers: Low academic preparedness and low financial resources,
- Explorers: Low academic preparedness but high financial resources, and
- Highfliers: High academic preparedness and high financial resources.

According to the study, however, the size of each segment differed by region and by level of degree program which was pursued. The information-seeking behavior of each segment also differed.

Switching to the empirical studies which focused on the institutions of transnational higher education, Rudzki (1995) suggested early in the development of transnational higher education that the tenets of strategic management can be applied to the internationalization of institutions. Moreover, he held that any institution, when internationalizing, ought to follow the three inter-related stages of Johnson and Scholes' (1989) generic strategic management model: analysis, choice, and implementation. And indeed, the empirical studies on the institutions of transnational higher education mirror these three steps.

Beginning with the analysis stage, both Willis (2002) and Tayar and Jack (2013) sought to understand the rationale for internationalization, as a key component in the analysis stage. Willis (2002) conducted a multi-site case study with thiry-five Chinese universities in 1995/1996 and again in 2000/2001. Results intimated that there were several motivating factors for Chinese universities to engage in partnerships with foreign universities. Chief among these factors was the belief that partnerships would facilitate China's growth as a modern market economy, and thereby enhance its role in the global economy. Interestingly, results also revealed that these partnerships were thought to add value and prestige to the Chinese universities. This revelation was also found by Tayar and Jack (2013), whose study explored the international activities of four Australian universities; for all four universities, prestige was the key driver for internationalization. Tayar and Jack (2013) also suggested that zero-equity internationalization modes were preferred, due to the high degree of risk aversion within the universities.

With respect to the choice stage, both Czinkota, Grossman, Javalgi, and Nugent (2009) and Naidoo and Wu (2014) applied the concept of entry mode from the international business discipline—in the study by Czinkota et al. (2009), to American MBA programs, and in the study by Naidoo and Wu (2014), to universities from six nations: Australia, Canada, Ireland, New Zealand, the United Kingdom, and the U.S.A. Czinkota et al. (2009) found that neither size nor ranking of the MBA program impacted the choice of entry mode. In instances in which an MBA program differentiated itself based on some intellectual property (the development of proprietary case studies or pedagogies, for example), an entry mode which provided more control appeared to be more common. Markets with higher potential also triggered an entry mode which involved higher equity. And surprisingly, the choice of entry mode was not commensurate with investment risk. At a broader level, Naidoo and Wu (2014) found that the concept of entry mode was not well understood in the university context, and that entry mode choice did not always conform to patterns which were witnessed previously in the business context.

At the implementation stage, Li and Roberts (2012) found in their study of ten United Kingdom-based universities with activities in China, that universities did not follow a uniform market entry pattern when internationalizing. Additionally, it appeared that personal networks played a role in market entry. Similarly, research by Jiang and Carpenter (2011) on the internationalization of a single university revealed that internationalization rarely, if ever, followed a straight line, but instead proceeded in a more dynamic, context-dependent fashion. And Mazzarol (1998) identified the critical success factors for the internationalization of higher education institutions, with an emphasis on promotional activities.

Exploring foreign branch campuses specifically, Verbik (2006, 2007) and Verbik and Merkley (2006) discovered three emerging funding models for these campuses. First was the full-funding model, in which the investment was borne by the institution which was internationalizing. Second was the external-funding model, in which investment was borne either by the host government or a private company. And third was the facilities model, in which the host government or a private company provided facilities for use by the institution which was internationalizing.

A distinctively different study of the implementation stage of internationalization is that by Sidhu and Christie (2014a, 2014b), published in both sociology and human geography journals. It employed the spatial theory of LeFebvre, which argues that space is not an abstract and empty thing, but instead a socially-constructed entity which is situated in place and time, and which is represented by signs, symbols, and practices. Their study focused on the Malaysian campus of Monash University, and resulted in a rich and multi-faceted description of the various components which went into the construction of the Monash University Malaysia campus space.

Rounding out the studies at the implementation stage are three studies which explored various success factors for internationalization. Poole (2001) concluded from a multi-site case study of five Australian universities that there was a critical need for institutional managers who possessed the professional "capabilities and competencies for the pursuit of best practice and innovation in the management of international entrepreneurial activities" (p. 432). Heffernan and Poole (2004) discovered several factors which led to the deterioration of offshore partnerships. These included low levels of internal commitment, a failure to establish key roles and responsibilities, and the departure of key personnel. And in a study of universities in the Australia, New Zealand, and United Kingdom, Naidoo (2010b) found that the success of a university's recruitment of foreign students was correlated with its market orientation, as measured by the construct export readiness.

Ending with the articles which explored transnational higher education using various theoretical frameworks, McBurnie and Ziguras (2007), for example, adopted a growth framework to chart the development of transnational higher education at the national level. Nations, they argued, follow four phases. In the first phase, when a nation has demand for higher education which outstrips capacity, students tend to travel abroad. The second phase witnesses the development of capacity at home, often buoyed by foreign branch campuses and other transnational offerings. In the third phase, a kind of rationalization occurs, with domestic demand and capacity equilibrating, often as local universities, which were previously offering degrees which were validated by foreign universities, become accredited themselves. In the fourth phase, the nation transitions to being a net exporter of education.

Mazzarol, Soutar, and Seng (2003) noted a similar pattern, but instead adopted a market entry framework which situated the transnationalization with respect to mode rather than student and nation. Indeed, they suggested that the first phase of transnational higher education involved student movement. This was the "usual model throughout much of the last century and remains common today" (p. 90). The second phase saw institutions pursuing an export model, usually with validation, twinning, and other collaborative agreements. These modes were common in Asia throughout the 1990s, dominated by Australian universities. A third wave, as they called it, began to appear in the early 2000s, with the launch of foreign branch campuses and online course delivery. Both modes, they emphasized, expose institutions to much higher investment and risks.

Graf (2009) adapted the Varieties of Capitalism framework to compare the internationalization of British and German universities. Specifically, the concepts of institutional complementarity and comparative institutional advantage were "applied to analyse how the internationalisation strategies of British and German universities have been shaped by national variations in the institutional configurations of their higher education systems" (p. 569). As hypothesized, the results demonstrated that the transnational activities of the British and German universities reflected both their institutional factors and the broader education contexts within which they were situated.

In a similar vein, Wilkins and Huisman (2012) embraced institutional theory as a framework to help explain the emergence of foreign branch campuses in certain countries. Institutions can be defined as "the humanly devised constraints that structure political, economic and social interaction, which consists of informal constraints, such as customs and traditions, and formals rules, such as regulations and laws" (North, 1991, p. 97). The consequence of these constraints, according to institutional theory, is that over time organizations in a specific sphere tend to become isomorphic, as they develop similar structures, systems, and even shared beliefs. Institutional theory, therefore, provides a "valuable theoretical framework with which to examine decision-making of HEIs [higher education institutions] with regard to transnational strategy and the establishment of branch campuses overseas" (Wilkins & Huisman, 2012, p. 639), thereby helping to explain the reasons for which certain nations have been more active in foreign branch campuses.

Continuing with foreign branch campuses, Shams and Huisman (2012) focused on the I-R paradigm, which contrasts global integration versus local adaptation. The I-R paradigm sets up a dichotomy which "revolves around the question of prioritizing the homogeneity of international markets or the heterogeneity of market preferences" (p. 115), although it could be considered as a continuum, with standardization on one end of the continuum and customization on the opposite end of the continuum. As a framework, Shams and Huisman (2012) argued, the I-R paradigm provides a "means (analytical tool) to the end of finding the best set of positional strategies for [transnational] HEIs" (p. 121). They concluded with a call for empirical studies using the framework, which draw on comparisons of the strategic orientations of different higher education institutions with respect to their foreign branch campuses.

Following the I-R paradigm in spirit, Deem (2001) explored the importance of the local, in the face of globalization. Indeed, she applied three theoretical concepts which dominated discussions of globalization and higher education at the time (and still do, to a large extent): 1. new managerialism, 2. academic capitalism, and 3. entrepreneurialism. Using a kind of meta-analysis of other research findings, she concluded that social relations and human culture at the local level will continue to play a role in the ways by which universities respond to the pressures of globalization, and consequently that these dimensions ought to be encompassed in empirical studies on the internationalization of higher education institutions.

Mirroring this call, Edwards, Crosling, and Lim (2014) examined the organizational structure of foreign branch campuses, vis-à-vis their parent institutions. They adopted the global versus multi-domestic versus transnational framework from the international business discipline, which posits three different international orientations according to two dimensions: 1. need for local responsiveness, and 2. need for global integration. They concluded that as a foreign branch campus matures, so does its academic freedom. But in the interim, the lack of academic freedom can create intercollegiate tensions.

Marginson and Rhoades (2002), on the contrary, rejected the global versus local dichotomy of the I-R paradigm outright, and instead developed a glonacal heuristic which frames the impact of globalization on higher education with respect to three intersecting planes: the global, the national, and the local. The results, as suggested by Marginson (2004) pointed to the transformation of higher education into a status (or positional) good, the mediation of higher education by ability to pay, and a winner-take-all steepening of competition among universities.

Critique of the Transnational Higher Education Literature

The previous section summarized the transnational higher education literature. It began by establishing the ways in which transnational higher education has been defined and categorized. It then enumerated the many reports of transnational higher education. It continued by considering the diverse perspectives on transnational higher education, and by presenting the many guidelines for the appropriate conduct of transnational higher education. Finally, it examined the empirical studies of transnational higher education.

At first glance, the transnational higher education literature suggests few problems. Indeed, the summary of the transnational higher education literature in the previous section demonstrated that it is large and growing, increasingly global in scope, and public-spirited in its aims. It also contains a healthy debate about both the form and function of transnational higher education. But closer inspection revealed a number of issues which plague the transnational higher education literature. This section, therefore, presents a critique of the transnational higher education literature.

The first and most serious issue concerns the definition of transnational higher education. It ought to have been obvious from the previous selection of definitions that a consensus on the exact meaning of transnational higher education has not materialized. The Australian government's position on transnational higher education, for example, dismisses distance learning, "putting Australia out of step with the rest of the world" (ACA, 2008, p. 73). The ACA also suggested that although there is no official American stance on transnational higher education, transnational higher education in the U.S.A. usually includes study abroad programs and overseas campuses which are geared toward Americans, thereby also making the U.S.A. an anomaly.

Similarly, in many instances the definitions of transnational higher education conflict. If the Council of Europe definition were applied strictly, for example, student mobility would not be included. This squares with the ACA (2005) definition of transnational higher education which referred "to education provision from one country offered in another" (p. 57), but stands in contrast to that of Husain (2007), who suggested that transnational higher education means cross-border movement of students, academicians, programs of study, or institutions.

Some of the definitions of transnational higher education also include references to different transnationalization modes, the purpose of which, presumably, is to help clarify the meaning of transnational higher education. The opposite effect, however, has been the outcome. Imagine if a biologist's definition of bird contained a statement that there are different types of birds, including robins, pigeons, and chickens. At the end of the day, it would not make the meaning of bird more exact.

And exact meaning is the aim. Indeed, consider the following:

> **define** /dIˊfaIn/ v.tr. **1** give the exact meaning of (a word etc.). **2** describe or explain the scope of (*define one's position*). **3** make clear, esp. in outline (*well-defined image*). **4** mark out the boundary or limits of. (Oxford English Dictionary, 2016)

A definition, therefore, is about uncovering the essence—the core, the pith—of something, by delineating precisely that which it is and that which it is not.

Based on this entry in the Oxford English Dictionary, therefore, it is evident that the transnational higher education literature has not given the exact meaning of transnational higher education. It has not described or explained its scope, made it clear in outline, or marked out its boundary or limits. Everything considered, the transnational higher education literature has failed to uncover the essence of transnational higher education.

This issue concerning the definition of transnational higher education also extends to the transnationalization modes which were identified in the transnational higher education literature. Numerous terms have been employed to signify the different transnationalization modes, and the term mode has seemingly been applied to many different types of internationalization activities—transnational higher education or not. According to the British Council (2013), most of these transnationalization modes also divulge a directional bias, having been developed from the sending (outward) perspective, with little or no consideration of the host countries.

TRANSNATIONALIZATION

The categorization schemes which have also surfaced in the transnational higher education literature to discriminate between the different transnationalization modes likewise suffer from a high degree of ambiguity. I argue that this stems directly from the issue concerning the definition of transnational higher education. Indeed, categorization requires the use of categorization criteria—factors which allow for the discrimination between objects in a specific realm. In the realm of transnationalization modes, these categorization criteria, logically, ought to be the characteristics which give the exact meaning of transnational higher education. As suggested previously, however, the transnational higher education literature has failed to uncover the essence of transnational higher education.

To summarize, therefore, the term transnational has emerged in the literature to describe the phenomenon of transnational higher education, which itself emerged in the late 1980s/early 1990s. The origins of the term are unclear, and the literature uses a number of other terms indiscriminately to describe the phenomenon…or perhaps similar phenomena. The meaning of transnationalization, as distinct from globalization and internationalization, appears to be solidifying, as transnational higher education itself evolves as a distinct component of international higher education. But numerous definitions for transnational higher education are in use, with no consensus on its exact meaning. On the contrary, the meaning of transnational higher education remains inexact, and the extant definitions often conflict. The various transnationalization modes, and their associated categorization schemes, are likewise ill-defined.

A second issue which plagues the transnational higher education literature is its tendency to treat transnational higher education as an entity—to ascribe to it an ontological status which is independent of the transnationalization activity to which the term transnational higher education refers. Bloom (1981) pilloried psychologists and their penchant for presenting a person's psychological life-world as a collection of entities which have their own existence, independent of the person himself or herself. Consider the following sentence: I have an interest in the restoration of old sports cars. It gives me satisfaction.

From a semantic perspective, the meaning of the two sentences is obvious—I like restoring old sports cars. But the sentences also illustrate this notion of entification. Indeed, in each of the two sentences appears a concept which, under the psychologist's studious watch, has become an entity in the psychology discipline—a noun-like object which a person is assumed to possess, and which somehow exists in and of itself. I have an *interest* in the restoration of old sports cars. It gives me *satisfaction*.

As suggested by Valsiner (1992), however, the "real psychological life-world of any person is uninterruptedly dynamic" (p. 31), and the creation of entifying concepts, therefore, introduces a static moment into the irreversible flow of this psychological life-world. By entifying the phenomenon of transnational higher education, the transnational higher education literature presents the dynamic activity of transnational higher education as a static thing. It disregards the notion of transnationalizing, neglecting the mechanisms, the processes, the workings of transnationalization, and thereby rendering transnational higher education void of action or agency.

This tendency to treat transnational higher education as an entity, and the issue concerning the definition of transnational higher education, coincide with a third issue which plagues the transnational higher education literature—the immaturity of transnational higher education as a scientific concept. According to Sartori (1984), concepts are the basic units of science. First, concepts enable scientists to "… analyze the relation between [the] ordinary commonsense conception of things and the scientific understanding… critically reflect on [their] understanding and study not simply what the concepts are about but the concepts themselves" (Wartowsky, 1968, p. 6). In turn, concepts allow scientists to form "systematic linkages between and among concepts, resulting in a formal theoretic structure" (Chinn & Kramer, 1995, p. 91). In short, concepts serve science through their descriptive powers, and as the building blocks of theory.

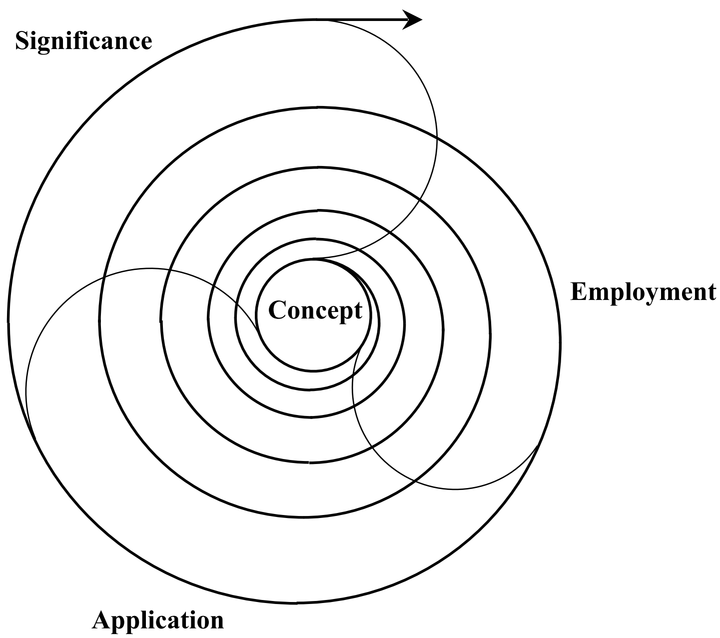
Modern philosophers such as Henry Price, Richard Rorty, and Ludwig Wittgenstein, however, suggested that concepts differ with respect to their maturity. That is to say,

> [n]ot all concepts exhibit the same level of maturity. Because knowledge is continually developing, new concepts are being introduced, and accepted concepts continually being investigated and refined, concepts exist at various levels of development. Some concepts are poorly defined with characteristics

> that have not been described, related preconditions and outcomes that are unspecified and that lack demarcation. Other concepts may be consistently defined, yet when analyzed, inconsistency between the definition and its utilization in research are revealed, so that the concept is not as mature as first thought. (Morse, Hupcey, Mitcham, & Lenz, 1996, p. 256)

The consequence of this differing maturity of concepts is that concepts also differ with respect to their scientific impact, a notion which is captured visually in the evolutionary model of concepts (See Figure 2.).

Figure 2. The Evolutionary Model of Concepts



Adapted from: Rodgers, 1989

The evolutionary model of concepts depicts scientific impact as an outward-spiraling function of conceptual maturity, manifest in a concept's inter-related application, employment, and significance. Application refers to the scope or breadth of contexts within which the concept is used. Employment means the extent of a concept's use. And the significance of a concept is indicated by its ability to resolve practical and theoretical problems.

Viewed as a scientific concept, therefore, transnational higher education remains relatively immature. As summarized by Kehm and Teichler (2007), there has been "a 'fuzziness' or multidimensional character of the topic itself that is especially characterised by unclear demarcations of concepts. This 'fuzziness' is, however, not treated with an adequate number of attempts at clarification, conceptualisation, or definition" (p. 262). The consequence of this fuzziness—of this conceptual immaturity of transnational higher education—is that the scientific impact of transnational higher education has to date been relatively meager. Indeed, the application of the concept of transnational higher education has been very loose. Subsequently, its employment has been sparse. And ultimately, therefore, its ability to resolve practical and theoretical problems has been weak.

This inability to resolve practical and theoretical problems reinforces the seriousness of the issue concerning the definition of transnational higher education. Indeed, the conceptual boundaries of transnational higher education remain blurry, thereby preventing scientists from understanding fully the transnational higher education phenomenon. In other words, the transnational higher education literature simply has not delineated that which is transnational higher education and that which it is not.

More noteworthy, however, is that the transnational higher education literature is predominantly atheoretical. It is not surprising, considering the conceptual immaturity of transnational higher education. It is striking, however, when contrasted to the broader internationalization of higher education literature which is similarly vast, but which contains several theoretical models which attempt to explicate institutional internationalization strategies (See Chan & Dimmock, 2008; Klasek, Garavalia, Kellerman, & Marx, 1992; Neave, 1992; and Rudzki, 1995.). But predominantly atheoretical it is.

To begin, the many reports of transnational higher education which were enumerated previously are chiefly descriptive in nature. Indeed, early on when transnational higher education was in its infancy, the reports in both scientific and mainstream publications were simply rapportage, intended to broadcast—albeit with great fanfare—the emergence of the phenomenon. The remainder of the reports—those which can be considered more as cases—were similarly descriptive, providing unalloyed illustrations of transnational higher education *in situ*. Although valuable in their own right, it is unlikely that any theoretical conclusions or normative lessons can be drawn from the reports.

The diverse perspectives on transnational higher education which were considered, and the guidelines for the appropriate conduct of transnational higher education which were presented, also do little to advance theory. Many of the perspectives are "policy-driven studies that are located somewhere between research and politics (e.g., evaluation of elements and instruments of internationalisation" (Kehm & Teichler, 2007, p. 261) which are speculative, discursive, or opinionated. Others raise warnings in chicken-little fashion… predictions of the demise of traditional higher education because of the rise of internet-based transnational higher education, for example, in retrospect seem ridiculous. The guidelines for the appropriate conduct of transnational higher education are rarely—if ever—based on empirical evidence, and are often hollow or blatantly obvious. Consider this aviso: "Marketing strategy is a very important step for program success" (Yang & Hsiao, 2006, p. 74).

To be fair, the empirical studies of transnational higher education which were examined make some contributions to theory. By and large, however, these studies are more about students and their actions, or about institutions and their actions, than transnational higher education itself. The articles which explored transnational higher education using various theoretical frameworks were more speculative in nature, but remain relatively powerless as prescriptive and parsimonious theories of transnational higher education, without more testing.

A final issue which plagues the transnational higher education literature is that it has developed chiefly within the disciplinary silo of educational studies, with scant reference to concepts or theories of internationalization in other scientific disciplines. In the international business discipline, for example, is the concept of entry mode (sometimes called foreign market entry mode or internationalization mode). Defined as the "organizational and contractual arrangement that defines how a firm gets its products, technologies, services, or other resources into a market" (Kennedy, Koenig, & Orloff, 2009, p. 2), entry mode characterizes the scope and nature of foreign expansion. It determines the trade-off between risk and control of the organization's international activity. And it impacts the organization's return on (international) investment. Simply stated, however, an entry mode is a company's method of internationalizing.

Entry mode is among the most researched concepts in the international business discipline. Scholarly articles have been both descriptive and prescriptive in purpose, with the latter focusing on identifying the antecedents, co-determinants, and consequences of entry mode. Olejnik and Swoboda (2012), for example, identified the internationalization drivers of small- and medium-sized enterprises (SMEs). Gomes-Carreras (1993) examined the ownership structure of foreign subsidiaries. And Yeoh (2011) studied the effect of an organization's entry mode on growth at its different stages of development.

It is obvious, therefore, that the concept of entry mode from the international business discipline might provide valuable insights into, and perhaps even a backdrop for the exploration of, transnational higher education. But it is also conceivable that concepts and theories from other scientific disciplines—in particular those scientific disciplines which concern themselves with entities which moves across or beyond—might also contribute to the study of transnational higher education. Consider foreign direct investment and remittances (money), migration and international labor (people), and international trade (goods and services).

Summary

Chapter 2 reviewed the transnational higher education literature. It began by establishing the ways in which transnational higher education has been defined and categorized. It then enumerated the many reports of transnational higher education. Chapter 2 continued by considering the diverse perspectives on transnational higher education, and by presenting the many guidelines for the appropriate conduct of transnational higher education. It then examined the empirical studies of transnational higher education. Finally, Chapter 2 critiqued the transnational higher education literature. Next, Chapter 3 documents the research design.

Chapter 3. Research Design

Overview

Chapter 3 documents the research design. It begins by laying out the research approach. It then recounts the choice of both the research context and the research site. Chapter 3 continues by specifying the sampling procedures. It then describes the data collection procedures, and the data analysis procedures. Finally, Chapter 3 details the verification procedures.

Research Approach

According to Seale (1999),

> [r]esearchers should report how they gained access to the research setting, how they presented themselves within it, including details of the roles taken…Ways in which data were collected and recorded should also be included, as well as lists of the various types of data available to researchers and coding and other analytic procedures. (p. 162)

The disclosure of research setting, methods, data types, and procedures for which Seale has made an appeal is that which, in interpretive research, is often known as reflexive accounting. Early anthropological works, for example, included a natural history of the research—a confessional tale of sorts—which engendered authorial credibility. In more postmodernist studies, reflexive accounting serves to situate claims of authenticity. In either case, however, reflexive accounting makes researchers' decisions explicit so that readers are well informed, and so that they can arrive at their own conclusions about the research (Becker, 1970). Chapter 3, therefore, documents the research design, beginning with the research approach.

The social sciences in recent decades have witnessed a profound shift in thinking about both the ontological existence of the world and the epistemological knowledge of this world. Known as the practice turn, this shift gives primacy to practice as both the focus of inquiry and the unit of analysis. As summarized by Bueger and Gadinger (2014),

> [a] broad movement of scholars across the social sciences has started to think about practice and how the investigation of doing and sayings can provide us with a better understanding of the world. Together these scholars suggest that the attention to practice requires a turn, that is, a practice turn. (p. 3)

The practice turn began primarily with the study of technology in the early 1990s (Littig, 2013). According to Golsorkhi, Rouleau, Seidl, and Vaara (2010),

> [a] focus on practice provides an opportunity to examine the micro-level of social activity and its construction in a real social context or field…Second, the practice approach breaks with methodological individualism by emphasizing that activities need to be understood as enabled or constrained by the prevailing practices in the field in question…Third, the notion of practice allows one to

> deal with one of the fundamental issues in contemporary social analysis: how social action is linked with structure and agency. (pp. 2-3)

By the turn of the century, the notion of practice had “already been employed in such diverse fields as science studies, gender studies, and organization studies” (Reckwitz, 2002, p. 257).

Today, the practice turn can be found throughout the social sciences, with analyses of such wide-ranging phenomena as:

- piracy (Bueger & Stockbrugger, 2012),
- the body (Clever & Ruberg, 2014),
- intranets (Schönian, 2011),
- information technologies (Strand, 2010),
- the tango (Littig, 2013),
- hermaphroditism (Mak, 2006),
- rhetoric of STEM (Herndl & Cutlip, 2013),
- international politics (Bueger, 2014),
- consumption (Halkier, Katz-Gerro, & Martens, 2011; Warde, 2014),
- food (Halkier, 2007; Halkier & Jensen, 2008),
- intercultural communication (Halkier & Jensen, 2008),
- sustainability (Brown, 2013; Halkier, 2013; Hargreaves, 2011),
- policy analysis (Hajer & Wagenaar, 2003),

- international relations (Bueger, 2015),
- transportation modes (Birtchnell, 2012),
- telemedicine (Nicolini, 2011), and
- diplomatic corps (Neumann, 2012).

The practice turn in the social sciences, therefore, can…

> …be demarcated as all analyses that (1) develop an account of practices, either the field of practices or some subdomain thereof (e.g., science), or (2) treat the field of practices as the place to study the nature and transformation of their subject matter. (Schatzki, 2001, p. 2)

The philosophical roots of the practice turn can be traced to the writings of such social theorists as Bourdieu, Giddens, and Ortner; philosophers Garfinkel, Heidegger, and Wittgenstein; and social philosophers Butler, Latour, and Taylor. Although disparate in their specific views, they all share the common enterprise of understanding the social world through practices. They all give "center stage to the concept of practice, rethinking how it can be theorized and empirically studied" (Bueger & Gadinger, 2014, p. 2).

The result, however, has not been a practice theory but instead practice theories (Halkier and Jensen, 2011)—multiple vocabularies (Reckwitz, 2002) which "are joined in the belief that such phenomena as knowledge, meaning, human activity, science, power, language, social institutions, and historical transformation occur within and are aspects of components of the *field of practices*" (Schatzki, 2001, p. 2). A practice theory, therefore, can be defined as “a general theory of the production of social subjects through practice in the world, and of the production of the world itself through practice” (Ortner, 2006, p. 16).

Practice theories, however, differ from other cultural theories which arose in the wake of the interpretivist movement of the 20th century (Reckwitz, 2002), and which attempt to explicate the social construction of reality (Berger & Luckmann, 1966). First, they stand in stark contrast to mentalist theories (See de Saussure or Levi-Strauss, for example.), which situate social meaning in the cognitive structures which are constructed about reality, which subscribe to “the idea that mind is a substance, place, or realm that houses a particular range of activities and attributes” (Schatzki, 1996, p. 22). Second, practice theories differ from textualist theories (See Geertz, for example.) which hold that social meaning is not situated inwardly in the mind, but instead reveals itself outwardly in the signs and symbols, in the discourse and other detritus, of society—that which is commonly referred to as the text. Social meaning, therefore, is not moored in the mind, but manifest in materiality (See Foucault, for example.). And third, practice theories diverge from intersubjectivist theories which posit that social meaning arises at the nexus of the subjects, in the language which is shared between social agents, and which serves as a kind of world 3 (Popper, 1978) which is used to convey the “oversubjective, ‘objective’ realm of meanings” (Reckwitz, 2002, p. 249).

Practice theories, by taking practice as both the ontological and epistemological starting point, reject the extra-mental and extra-corporal of both the mentalist and textualist cultural theories. Indeed, they privilege neither phenomenology nor discourse (Halkier & Jensen, 2011); meaning is not grounded in the individual nor in the text (Littig, 2013). Instead, practice theories "promulgate a distinct social ontology: the social is a field of embodied, materially interwoven practices centrally organized around shared practical understandings" (Schatzki, 2001, p. 3), which view "materiality/objects/non-humans in relation to the performing body and the meaning attributed to them and the practice itself" (Littig, 2013, p. 456). As summarized by Strand (2010), practice theories move…

> …science away from dealing only with social structures, communicative layers, symbols, and meaning, and with moving sociological theorizing into the physical realm of material objects, nature, bodies. These aims entail new ways of thinking about relations of the social and the material as 'mutually constituted' and not belonging to different ontological domains. (p. 114)

Epistemologically, therefore, practice theories do not search for "knowledge articulated in words and images and printed on paper" (Mol, 2002, p. 31). Knowledge of social "phenomena, say practice theorists, can only be analyzed via the field of practices" (Schatzki, 2001, p. 3). Indeed, "practice theories are interested far less in the views, motives or intentions of actors and more in the physical execution of activities and things used to do so" (Littig, 2013, p. 457) because social meaning "is always constituted *in* practice and only gains its existence through performative events or moments" (Feldman & Orlikowski, 2011, p. 113).

Practice theories likewise reject the intersubjectivist notion of a world 3 in which social meaning is situated. They offer the ontological alternative that objects never exist prior to their enactment through practice (Mol, 2002), thereby rebuking scientists who elevate social phenomena to their own existential form. Instead, practice theories hold that "social practices consist of elements that are integrated when practices are enacted [and] that practices emerge, persist and disappear as links between their defining elements are made and broken" (Shove, Pantzar, & Watson, 2012, p. 21).

To be fair, practice theories do not exclude the idea of interaction altogether. On the contrary, all practice theories "acknowledge the dependence of activity on shared skills" (Schatzki, 2001, p. 3). And they underline the significance of the shared meanings which are necessary to comprehend this activity (Reckwitz, 2002). A practice, therefore, ought not to "be viewed as a unit circumscribed by given boundaries and constituted by defined elements, but rather as a connection-in-action: that is, as an interweaving of elements which are shaped by being interconnected" (Gherardi, 2012, p. 3). Consequently, Shove et al. (2012) argue that practice theories must embrace the interaction between three equally important components: materiality, competences, and meaning. And any analysis of practices must include…

> …first materiality, i.e. things, objects, infrastructure that are relevant for carrying out a practice; second, bodies which enact incorporated skills and competencies referring to implicit and explicit knowledge; and third, meaning

> attributed to bodies, materiality and the practice itself. (p. 457)

Practice theories also differ from other cultural theories by eschewing the dichotomies which have plagued the social sciences (Bueger & Gadinger, 2014). Indeed, there is “no distinction between individual and society, no dualism between mind and matter and no prior distance between thought and action” (Chia & Rasche, 2010, p. 34). Drawing on post-structuralist ideas, practice theories also introduce power and the individual into the mix (Birtchnell, 2012). And they attempt to address “how agency and structure, and individual actions and institutions are linked in social systems, cultures and organizations” (Golsorkhi et al., 2010, p. 1). As summarized by Gherardi (2012), practice theories “go beyond the problematic dualisms (action/structure, human/non-human, mind/body), to see reason not as an innate mental faculty, but as a practice phenomenon, and to question individual actions and their status as building blocks of the social” (p. 3).

What is a practice? The definitions are legion, but the basic theoretical assumption is that social systems are “characterized as ongoing, self-reproducing arrays of shared practices, and structured suppositions to generate such practices have been made central to the understanding of social and cultural phenomena of every kind” (Barnes, 2001, p. 17). Practices, therefore, “constitute the horizon within which all discursive and material actions are made possible and acquire meaning” (Nicolini, 2009b, p. 1394).

Consequently, a practice can be viewed as a nexus or assemblage of verbal and non-verbal activities (Schatzki, 2001). It is a site of situated accomplishments (Lynch, 2001), the locus "in which working, organizing, innovation or reproducing occurs…an ordering principle as the institutionalization of activities and ways of doing which are sustained by both material and social relations" (Gherardi, 2012, p. 3). A practice is an infrastructure of repeated interactional patterns (Swidler, 2001), the configuration "of a number of theoretically equally important and interconnected dynamics" (Halkier & Jensen, 2011, p. 104). In summary, a practice…

> …is a routinised type of behaviour which consists of several elements, interconnected to one other: forms of bodily activities, forms of mental activities, things and their use, a background knowledge in the form of understanding, knowhow, states of emotion and motivational knowledge. A practice—a way of cooking, of consuming, of working, of investigating, of taking care of oneself or of other etc.—forms so to speak a 'block' whose existence necessarily depends on the existence and specific interconnectedness of these elements, and which cannot be reduced to any one of these single elements. (Reckwitz, 2002, pp. 249–250)

To give an illustration, consider DIY (do-it-yourself), which consists of a complex amalgam of DIY motivations; DIY tools and materials; DIY information and knowhow; DIY activities; DIY rules and norms; the house, yard, or other physical affordances for doing DIY; and the meanings of DIY to DIYers and non-DIYers alike. As a practice, therefore, DIY comes together as a kind of pattern or configuration of various elements, and consequently might be viewed as an entity which can be discussed and also summoned when doing DIY.

Complementing this practice-as-entity view is the claim that practices also exist as performances. These performances are independent, immediate, and recursive. There is also a multi-foldedness to practices (Mol, 2002) because, as a practice is performed by different people, multiplicity necessarily follows. But in these different instantiations of the performance, the pattern which is provided by the practice is found and fortified. Shove et al. (2012) provided the logic:

> [i]t is through the performance, through the immediacy of doing, that the 'pattern' provided by the practice-as-entity is filled out and reproduced. It is only through successive moments of performance that the interdependencies between elements which constitute a practice as entity are sustained over time. (p. 7)

Accordingly, DIY only exists and endures because of recurring performances, each reproducing the interdependencies between elements which make up the pattern.

Practices, however, must also be considered in a permanent state of flux. Indeed, the pattern which is provided by the practice is tentative, never fixed, because the elements of the practice change, and likewise, because the configuration of these elements change within performances. Continuing with the DIY example, as new elements (new tools, new DIY television shows, new lifestyles, new decorating fashions) change, the interdependencies between elements change—they are reconfigured—the result of which being that the practice of DIY itself, both as an entity and a performance, also changes.

Turning to methods, it was Mol (2002), in her hallmark book *The Body Multiple: Ontology in Medical Practice*, who coined the term praxiography for the approach to studying practices. As explained by Bueger (2013), “while ‘graphy’ signifies the common task of describing, recording and writing about distinct phenomena, in difference to ethnography, praxiography is less interested in *ethno* (culture) but in *praxis* (practice)” (p. 385). Praxiography veers “from understanding objects as the focus point of various perspectives to following them as they are enacted in a variety of practices” (Mol, 2002, p. 152). It “places the interwoven, supra-individual social opacities linked to materiality in the centre of the empirical and theoretical analysis” (Littig, 2013, p. 457).

Praxiography, however, does not subscribe to a specific research method (Mol, 2002), calling instead for a plurality and a degree of flexibility which are commensurate with the range of practice theories. Consequently, praxiography might be considered more of a research orientation than a definitive research method. The procedures of ethnography, however, notwithstanding Mol’s linguistic gymnastics, have provided the methodological foundation for many analyses of practices, influenced greatly by the ethnomethodology of Garfinkel (1984), who himself was influenced by phenomenology. Phenomenology claims that a person’s lifeworld (or *Lebenswelt*) is a socially-contextualized totality in which experiences interrelate coherently and meaningfully (Moss, 1989; Valle & King, 1978). But “[r]ather than being a concern for consciousness, it was, for Garfinkel, a concern with ‘embodied activity’ and the everyday ‘practical production’ of world-making ‘accounts in the detail of the concrete talk and behavior that participants co-produce” (Maynard, 2003, pp. 11-12). Praxiogaphy, therefore, “is a thoroughly empirical enterprise devoted to the discovery of social order and intelligibility (sense making) as witnessable collective achievements” (Rawls, 2000, p. 146). In recent years, however, other interpretive research traditions, including critical discourse analysis, conversational analysis, and biographical methods have also become part of the praxiographic toolbox.

For this research specifically, the philosophy and methods of praxiology respond explicitly to the first three issues which plague the transnational higher education literature. A practice-theoretical approach to transnational higher education—ontologically, epistemologically, and methodologically—obliges meaning to be the research priority. Indeed, by making transnational higher education as a practice both the focus of inquiry and the unit of analysis, it aims to uncover the essence of transnational higher education.

A practice-theoretical approach to transnational higher education also shifts the emphasis of transnational higher education from something which is, to something which is done. Paralleling Karl Weick (1969), who called for more research on organizing rather than organization, it is about transnationalizing rather than transnational. Golsorkhi et al. (2010), writing about reconceptualizing organizational strategy as practice, captured the sentiment well:

> [i]f taken seriously, this reconceptualization implies a fundamental ontological shift in several respects. First, the world of strategy is no longer taken to be something stable that can be observed, but constitutes a reality in flux. Second, the world of strategy is no longer regarded as 'located' on the organizational level; instead it is spread out across many levels from the level of the individual actions to the institutional level. Third, the world of strategy constitutes a genuinely social reality created and re-created in the interactions between various actors inside and outside the organization. (p. 6)

Likewise, a practice-theoretical approach to transnational higher education situates theory at its core. It moves beyond the descriptive, speculative, and prescriptive, and instead articulates transnational higher education as a theoretical pattern or configuration of elements which both produce and reproduce transnational higher education.

More precisely, the research adopted activity theory which views practice as activity, and activity system analysis which provides a framework for analyzing practices. Activity theory, or sometimes cultural-historical activity theory (CHAT), is a "cross-disciplinary framework for studying how humans purposefully transform natural and social reality, including themselves, as an ongoing cultural and historically situated, materially and social mediated process" (Roth, Radford, & LaCroix, 2012, p. 1).

Activity theory can be traced to the Russian psychologist Lev Vygotsky, who, following the October Revolution of 1917, was asked by the new Soviet government to reformulate psychology using the philosophical principles of Karl Marx (Yamagata-Lynch, 2010). Marx himself had attempted to break free from Cartesian dualism, to "challenge centuries of Western rationalist and mentalist tradition, and to legitimate real activity, what 'sensuous' people actually do in their everyday life, as an object of consideration and as an explanatory category" (Nicolini, 2012, p. 29). As written by Marx in *The German Ideology*,

> [i]n direct contrast to German philosophy which descended from heaven to earth, here we ascend from earth to heaven. That is to say, we do not set out from what men say, imagine, conceive, nor from mean as narrated, thought of, imagined, conceived, in order to arrive at men in the flesh. We set out from real, active men, and on the basis of their real life-process we demonstrate the development of the ideological reflexes and echoes of this life-process…men, developing their material production and their material intercourse, alter, along with their real hesitance, their thinking and the products of their thinking. Life is not determined by consciousness, but consciousness is life…Where speculation ends—in real life—the real, positive science begins; the representation of the practical activity, of the practical process of development of men. (Marx, 1845, Part 4 Par. 4)

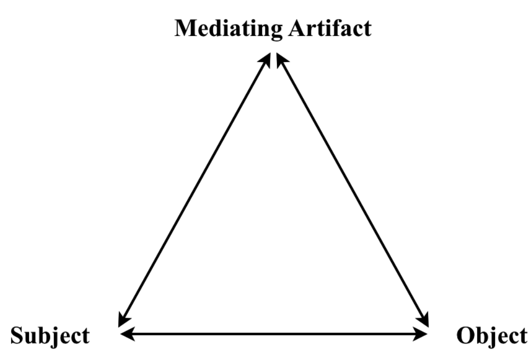
Vygotsky was also concerned with the growing popularity among psychologists at the time of the behaviorist movement which was spearheaded by his Russian contemporary Ivan Pavlov, whose classical conditioning theory had become a viable (and popular) alternative for explaining human action. Vygotsky's reformulation of psychology rejected the separation of humans and the environment, arguing instead that humans and the environment are parts of a complex system which co-create human consciousness through participation in an activity (Vygotsky, 1978). He introduced the concept of mediated action, the semiotic process by which humans develop their consciousness.

Mediated action is usually represented as a triad (See Figure 3.), and is often referred to as Vygotsky's basic mediated action triangle (Cole & Engeström, 1993). The subject in the triangle is the human who is interacting with the environment. The object is the goal of the interaction. And the mediating artifacts include the prior knowledge, social others, signs, symbols, and other cultural means which the human builds and uses at the interface with the environment. Mediated action, therefore, suggests that the…

> …relationship between humans and their environment is always mediated by some cultural means such as signs and artifacts (i.e. material devices skillfully built by humans). Mediated means here that all practices are carried out through, and are made possible by, a range of ideational and material apparatuses, devices, and 'utensils' that we draw from our cultural heritage or social milieux. (Nicolini, 2012, p. 106)

Vygotsky's student, Alexsey Leontiev, and his colleagues at the University of Kharkov in Ukraine—who collectively became known as the Kharkovites—continued the work of Vygotsky after his death in 1934. Fearing retribution from the Soviet government which had become increasingly wary of Vygotsky's focus on human consciousness and of other mentalist constructs (Kozulin, 1990), Leontiev switched the focus of his work to the study of human activity, arguing that activity breaks down the distinction between the internal world of the human and the external world of the environment (Wertsch, 1991). Leontiev's work also shifted activity beyond the individual, suggesting that an activity is a collective endeavor by nature. Indeed, as articulated by Nicolini (2012), " 'mind' and 'being' cease to be the property of the individual and become inherently social phenomena" (p. 107). In summary, Leontiev "broadened Vygotsky's mediated action by introducing human activity as the unit of analysis that is distributed among multiple individual's and objects in the environment" (Yamagata-Lynch, 2010, p. 20).

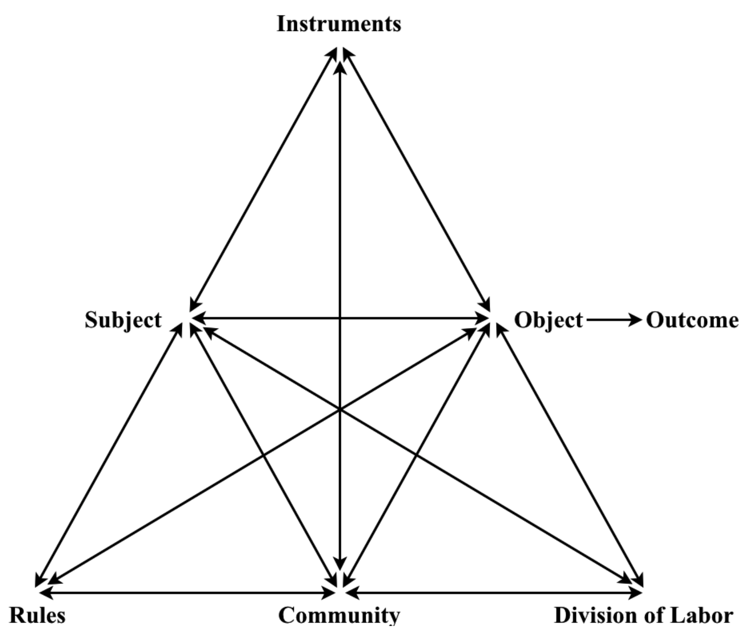
Figure 3. Vygotsky's Basic Mediated Action Triangle



Source: Vygotsky, 1978

It was Engeström (1987), however, who systematized activity theory by introducing the notion of an activity system (See Figure 4.). The activity system is comprised of seven components which, like Vygotsky's basic mediated action triangle, are likewise structured as triads (Foot, 2014). In this framework, an activity can be described by its subject, individual or collective, who is engaged in the activity. Instruments are the tools which are used by the subject to transform the object into an outcome. The formal and informal regulations of the actions and interactions in the activity system are called rules. Community is the social group to which the subject belongs while engaged in the activity. And division of labor refers to the tasks of the activity which are shared among members of the community.

Figure 4. The Activity System



Adapted from: Engeström (1987)

Like Leontiev, Engeström regarded the activity system as the basic unit of analysis for activity theory. Indeed, “the first principle of activity theory is that a collective, artefact-mediated and object-oriented activity system, seen in its network relationships to other activity systems, is taken as the prime unit of analysis” (Engeström, 2001, p. 136). He also insisted that an activity system be viewed in terms of its system-ness, emphasizing that an activity "is a collective, systemic, object-oriented formation that has a complex mediational structure and which produces actions and is realized by means of actions, but it is not reducible to actions" (Nicolini, 2012, p. 110). The mediational structure in an activity system is depicted in the model as triangles, intimating that any element has a mediational function between the other two elements. For example, rules mediate the role of the subject within the community. And these rules would be manifest in both tangible instruments (organizational charts, for example) and intangible instruments (organizational culture, for example). And finally, Engeström claimed that a change in any single element of the activity system is likely to be echoed in the other two poles of the triad. A change in the rules, for example, will likely cause a re-negotiation of the subject's role vis-à-vis the community. It is the tension between various elements in the activity system, therefore, which is the source of change and evolution of the activity (Yamagata-Lynch, 2010).

For this research specifically, activity theory foregrounds transnationalizing rather than transnational, by viewing transnational higher education as an activity. Indeed, it brings the mechanisms, the processes, the workings of transnationization to center stage. Activity system analysis provides a workable framework for developing a more essential and dynamic theoretical account of transnational higher education as a practice. Its multi-elemental, systemic modeling of an activity furnishes a tool for logically and methodically uncovering the essence of transnational higher education. And by recognizing how the tension between various elements in an activity system is the source of change and evolution of the activity, activity system analysis embraces action and agency in transnational higher education.

The research also followed the abductive logic of Grounded Theory. During the 1960s, often considered the heyday of the positivist philosophical approach in the social sciences (Czarniawksa, 2014), social scientists Barney Glaser and Anselm Strauss broke from mainstream logical empiricism and its verification/falsification task (See Popper, 1959.) by arguing that theories ought to be developed inductively from the ground up. Their methodology, now known as Grounded Theory and used widely throughout the social sciences, begins with data, not hypotheses, and moves from field to desk and back again, in a series of double-back steps (Glaser, 1978), all in service of honing an emerging theory. As recounted by Strauss during an interview in 1994 shortly before his death, “[w]e were more interested in the discovery of theory out of the data. Grounded Theory is not a theory but a methodology to discover theories dormant in the data” (Strauss, 2004, par. 14).

Although their methodology has had far-reaching impact, their use of the term inductive to describe the logic of Grounded Theory has been shown to be erroneous and, perhaps more dangerous, misleading (Reichertz, 2010). Grounded Theory, in actuality, employs the logic of abduction (sometimes called retroduction) which was introduced by Julian Pacius in 1597 as a translation of Aristotle’s concept of *apagoge* (Gabbay & Woods, 2005). The Greek prefix *apo* can be translated into English as away, off, or part, suggesting, therefore, that abduction is about taking away an appropriate translation (Peng & Reggia, 1990). Abduction remained dormant for almost 300 years until it was resurrected by the American philosopher, mathematician, and semiotician Charles Sander Peirce in the late nineteenth century.

Diverging from the Cartesians who believed that all facts must be accounted for in order to generate a hypothesis, Peirce argued that it is not necessary to be certain of everything to know something (Yu, 1994). Knowledge for Peirce, therefore, was an interplay between doubts and beliefs. This notion of provisional explanation of something based on observations resulted in his definition of a hypothesis: “any proposition added to observed facts, tending to make them more applicable in any way to other circumstances than those under which they were observed” (Peirce, 1955, p. 150).

To explain abduction more concretely, it is best to demonstrate its logic in relation to both deduction and induction. Beginning with deduction, and using the example from Reichartz (2010), deduction involves an analytical procedure which subordinates a single case to an extant rule. Sometimes called subsumption, it starts with a rule (all thieves who steal from a medicine cabinet are drug addicts), then seeks to locate this rule in the data (an unknown thief has stolen from a medicine cabinet), to draw some conclusion about the thief (the thief is a drug addict). Induction, sometimes called generalization, starts with the data (in burglaries a, b, and c, the medicine chest was robbed) along with a specific case (Mr. Jones committed burglaries a, b, and c), thereby leading to an inference (Mr. Jones always steals from medicine chests). The data and the case, therefore, drive the rule.

In contrast to deduction and induction, abduction starts only with the data, for which there is no extant rule, and from the data attempts to discover or assemble both a case and a rule. That is to say, abduction proceeds from the known (data) to two unknowns (the case and rule). As summarized by Reichertz (2010), "[s]omething unintelligible is discovered in the data and, on the basis of the mental design of a *new* rule, the rule is discovered or invented and, simultaneously, it becomes clear what the case is" (Sec. 2.3). Viewing all three analytical procedures simultaneously, Yu (1994) proposed that "at the stage of abduction, the goal is to explore the data, find out a pattern, and suggest a hypothesis; deduction is to refine the hypothesis based on other plausible premises; and induction is the empirical substantiation" (p. 2).

For this research specifically, the abductive logic of Grounded Theory corresponds with the philosophy and methods of praxiology. Indeed, practice theories begin with the notion that practices are rules about the social world which are manifest in and across different cases. Praxiography, as the methodology of practice theories, attempts to discover the rule and case(s) from the data which constitute the practice. The abductive logic of Grounded Theory also responds implicitly (if not explicitly) to the third issue which plagues the transnational higher education literature—namely, that it is predominantly atheoretical. Abduction is centered on theory generation; as emphasized by Coffey and Atkinson (1996), "[a]bductive reasoning lies at the heart of 'grounded theorizing' " (p.

155).

To be clear, a theory in Grounded Theory is not about prediction or explanation, like in the positivist paradigm, but instead about the *eidos*, or sense, of a particular phenomenon. It does “not entail or require knowledge of how to predict or control a phenomena” (Lindlof, 1995, p. 9). On the contrary, it aims to “uncover the inherent logic of that experience or phenomenon, the way in which it makes sense to its subjects” (Dukes, 1984, p. 198).

Indeed, from a positivist standpoint, a theory is a set of “propositions [which] presents a systematic view of phenomena by specifying relationships among variables with the purpose of explaining and predicting the phenomenon” (Kerlinger, 1979, p. 9). Explaining and predicting the phenomenon is key, and the relationships which “express regularities in which one concept is always related to another concept” (Berthold, 1964, p. 417)—the laws—are tested and modified through both experience and research (King, 1988).

Within Grounded Theory, theory is presented as a set of relational statements which are abstracted representations of a phenomenon. Theory is “constructed out of data by [scientists]. By ‘constructed’, we mean that [scientists] reduce data from many cases into concepts and sets of relational statements [which] can be used to explain, in a general sense, what is going on” (Strauss & Corbin, 1998, p. 145). In this sense, explain refers not to explanation or prediction like that of the positivist standpoint, but instead to a holistic understanding (verstehen) of the structure and logic of the phenomenon.

Research Context and Research Site

According to Lincoln and Guba (1985), the first concern in any type of Grounded Theory research is to choose a research context which supports the research purpose. As stated in Chapter 1, the purpose of this research was to develop a more essential and dynamic theoretical account of transnational higher education as a practice. For this research, therefore, I required a research context within which to explore transnational higher education. The research context also ought to maximize the likelihood of observing the phenomenon of interest (Schwartz-Barcott & Kim, 1986). Additionally, it ought to be practicable (Ellen, 1984; Miles & Huberman, 1994).

The most obvious choice to me for the research context was the management education industry—the business of business schools. At the time, I had almost twenty-five years of experience as a marketing instructor in some forty business schools in more than fifty countries. I had also done stints in academic administration within the industry: one year as Director of International Relations at École Supérieure de Commerce de Rennes in France, two years as Director of Educational Outreach at the William Davidson Institute of the University of Michigan, and four years as Academic Director for Part-Time MBA Programs at the Stephen M. Ross School of Business, also of the University of Michigan. And I had colleagues and contacts in business schools around the globe. As a research context, therefore, the management education industry seemed very practicable indeed.

More importantly, the management education industry also seemed ideally suited to be the research context with respect to the likelihood of observing the phenomenon of interest (transnational higher education). According to Altbach (2010), the most popular transnationalized programs are in business and information technology, due to the low start-up costs and to the significant worldwide demand for these programs. Some of these programs, "(MBA programs for example) are clearly larger and potentially more profitable than others" (Wood et al., 2005, p. 2). The likelihood of observing transnational higher education in the management education industry, therefore, ought to be high.

The management education industry also has seemingly embraced (fallen victim to) —more than other faculties in higher education institutions—the marketization, neo-liberalism, and globalization with which transnational higher education is most often associated. Indeed, English has doubtless become the lingua franca of the management education industry, especially as more and more students choose to study at foreign business schools. These internationally-oriented business schools are also said to live and die by the league tables which, in recent years, have become more and more global in nature (See the Financial Times Global MBA Ranking, for example.). This global competition also extends to the recruitment of students, which now includes fairs, road shows, and other courting rituals which occur from Singapore to São Paulo. Consequently, the likelihood of observing transnational higher education in the management education industry ought to be high.

After the research context had been chosen, I turned my attention to the choice of a research site—-the specific organization, community, social group, team, company, location, et cetera, within which the phenomenon of interest would be instantiated (Czarniawska, 2014). For this research, therefore, I required a business school which had indeed internationalized. The two criteria for choosing a research context are also applicable for choosing a research site. Malley and Hawkins (2016) contended, however, that the most important consideration for a research site is some kind of connection with the space/place. This connection, they argued, allows the researcher to embrace the ethnographer's role as participant-observer, and increases the researcher's ability to conduct reflexive analysis.

I was familiar with several business schools which had transnationalized, including the Olin Business School of Washington University at which I had served as an instructor for five years, prior to joining the University of Michigan. I had even been recently appointed the founding Dean of a Luxembourg-based foreign branch campus of the Zagreb School of Economics and Management in Croatia. But I opted instead for the Stockholm School of Economics, with an emphasis on its foreign branch campus in Riga, Latvia—the Stockholm School of Economics in Riga.

First, with respect to the likelihood of observing transnational higher education, the Stockholm School of Economics is an ideal choice for the research site. It operates two foreign branch campuses, the first in Riga, Latvia, and a second in Saint Petersburg, Russia —the Stockholm School of Economics in Russia. It conducts executive education programs in a joint venture partnership with Hanken, a Swedish-heritage business school with locations in Helsinki and Vaasa, Finland. And it operates the European Institute of Japanese Studies in Tokyo, Japan.

Second, the Stockholm School of Economics is a very practicable research site. Indeed, I have been teaching and training at the Stockholm School of Economics in Riga for more than ten years…often visiting more than five times in a single year. I have developed very strong relationships with many of the employees at the Stockholm School of Economics in Riga, and have hosted its Rector, Vice-Rector, and Director of Communications in Ann Arbor on many occasions. In summary, my years of experience at the Stockholm School of Economics in Riga have earned me enormous social capital.

And third, with respect to the notion of connection with the place/space, I am very comfortable at the Stockholm School of Economics in Riga, and in Latvia in general. I have a number of colleagues whom I consider as friends, and who likewise consider me as a friend. I have taken my family on three separate occasions to Latvia for vacations. I have travelled to all four corners of Latvia. I have even mastered some of the Latvian language. In summary, I have a very strong connection to the Stockholm School of Economics in Riga.

Sampling Procedures

After both the research context and the research site had been chosen, I turned my attention to the selection of research participants. Overall, I followed Grounded Theory research conventions, and used several of its associated sampling methods (See Table 10.). To begin, the sampling was purposive. Indeed, my goal was not to create a statistically-representative sample (McCracken, 1988); instead, I sought variation in the research participant profiles, and in their level of participation in the transnationalization of the Stockholm School of Economics.

Table 10. Grounded Theory Research Sampling Methods

Method	Purpose
Maximum Variation	Documents diverse variations and identifies important patterns
Homogeneous	Focuses; reduces; simplifies; facilitates group interviewing
Critical Case	Permits logical generalization and maximum application of information to other cases
Theory-Based	Finds examples of a theoretical construct in order to elaborate and examine it
Confirming and Disconfirming Cases	Seeks exceptions; looks for variation
Snowball or Chain	Identifies cases of interest from people who know others know which are cases are information-rich
Extreme or Deviant Case	Learns from highly unusual manifestations of the phenomenon of interest
Typical Case	Highlights that which is normal or average
Intensity	Notes information-rich cases which manifest the phenomenon intensely, but not extremely
Politically Important Case	Identifies those who desire attention or avoid attracting undesired attention
Random Purposive	Adds credibility to sample when potential purposeful sample is too large

Method	Purpose
Stratified Purposive	Illustrates subgroups; facilitates comparisons
Criterion	Identifies all cases which meet some criterion
Opportunistic	Follows new leads; takes advantage of the unexpected
Combination or Mixed	Uses triangulation; meets multiple interests and needs
Convenience	Saves time, money, and effort, but at the expense of information and credibility

Adapted from: Kuzel, 1992; Patton, 1990

Additionally, as suggested by Erlandson, Harris, Skipper, and Allen (1993), I attempted to locate research participants who would maximize the likelihood of exposure to the phenomenon of interest. I looked for research participants who were insightful (Morse, 1986), who would provide "as much information as possible, in all its various ramifications and constructions" (Lincoln & Guba, 1985, p. 201), and who were willing and able to communicate this information (Johnson, 1990). And I searched out research participants who would be trustworthy, observant, reflective, articulate—in summary, good story tellers (Bernard, 1988). Admittedly, the research participants were also selected because of convenience and accessibility (Ellen, 1984; Lindlof, 1995).

Finally, the sampling was emergent, dependent on the progress of the research rather than on a priori considerations, and, as suggested by Lofland (1971), occurred concurrently with the data collection procedures. I selected research participants serially. And sampling ceased when I thought that 'informational redundancy' had been achieved (Lincoln and Guba, 1985)—that is to say, when the new information which was being provided with each new participant had reached the point of diminishing returns. In the end, the sampling procedures resulted in fourteen research participants (See Table 11.). The restricted size of the sample is typical of Grounded Theory (Miles & Huberman, 1994); a smaller number of research participants helps to ensure the depth of exploration which is necessary for understanding the phenomenon of interest (Mick & Buhl, 1992).

Data Collection Procedures

As alluded to in the previous section, the data collection procedures consisted primarily of interviews. Specifically, I interviewed the research participants according to the qualitative research interviewing method as defined by Kvale (1983, 1996). A qualitative research interview differs dramatically from the highly-structured interview of more empirical research in which questionnaires are administered to research participants. On the contrary, a qualitative research interview is typically a less-structured conversation which is:

> 1. centered on the participant's lifeworld; it 2. seeks to understand the meaning of phenomena in this lifeworld; it is 3. qualitative, 4. descriptive, and 5. specific; it is 6. presuppositionless; it is 7. focused on certain topics; it is open for 8. ambiguities and 9. changes; it depends upon the 10. sensitivity of the interviewer; it takes place in 11. an interpersonal interaction, and it may be 12. a positive experience. (Kvale, 1983, p. 174)

The qualitative research interviewing method is consistent with the research approach. Indeed, the qualitative research interviewing method emphasizes the meaning of a phenomenon as it is understood by an individual in the context of his or her lifeworld (Kvale, 1983). Similarly, it attempts to uncover the ways in which a phenomenon is bound up in the complexities of a person's lifeworld. And because it is presuppositionless, the qualitative research interviewing method facilitates the grounding of theory in the data.

Table 11. Research Participants

Name	Position
Anders Liljenberg	Associate Professor of Marketing, Stockholm School of Economics Dean, Stockholm School of Economics in Russia
Anders Rydin	Chairman, Stockholm School of Economics in Riga Foundation
Anna Sundmark	Personnel Director, Stockholm School of Economics
Anne von Bergen	Special Advisor, Stockholm School of Economics
Britta Sandblom	Chief Information Officer, Stockholm School of Economics
Christopher Rieber	Director of Information Services, Stockholm School of Economics in Riga
Dīana Pauna	Vice-Rector, Stockholm School of Economics in Riga
Eva Einstreite	Head of Administration, Stockholm School of Economics
Katerina Hellstrom	Assistant Professor of Accounting, Stockholm School of Economics Associate Academic Director, Stockholm School of Economics in Russia
Lars Strannegård	Professor of Management and Organization and President, Stockholm School of Economics
Nellija Titova	Director of Executive Education, Stockholm School of Economics in Riga
Pär Åhlström	Professor of Operations Management and Vice-President, Stockholm School of Economics

TRANSNATIONALIZATION

Name	Position
Raimonds Graudins	Pro-Rector for Administrative Affairs, Stockholm School of Economics in Riga
Salam Zandi	International Relations Manager, Stockholm School of Economics

Source: Author

Recall that the purpose of this research was to develop a more essential and dynamic theoretical account of transnational higher education as a practice. The research adopted the philosophy and methods of praxiology—more precisely, activity theory which views practice as activity, and activity system analysis which provides a framework for analyzing practices. And it followed the abductive logic of Grounded Theory. The research context was the management education industry, and the research site was the Stockholm School of Economics, with an emphasis on its foreign branch campus in Riga, Latvia. The objective of the interviews, therefore, was to explore the transnationalization of the Stockholm School of Economics, as it was understood by the research participants in the context of their lifeworlds. Accordingly, the interviews allowed research participants to articulate their perspectives on the transnationalization of the Stockholm School of Economics.

In general, I began each of the interviews by introducing myself. I was dressed in business casual clothing and I monitored both my etiquette and language carefully. As advised by McCracken (1988), I attempted to gain the trust of the research participant, and to establish a climate in which the research participant would feel at ease, and subsequently be forthcoming with information.

After introducing myself, I summarized the research, highlighting its purpose, my connection to the Stockholm School of Economics, and the objective of the interview. I covered issues of confidentiality by addressing such questions as 'What happens to the information which is provided?' and 'Who will have access to the information?'. I described the interview procedure, estimated the expected length of the interview, and highlighted which topics might arise. I asked for permission to audio record the interview and to make notes. And I offered the research participant the opportunity to raise any questions or concerns; no research participant declined to participate.

The interviews were conducted in a conversational manner and ranged from 30 minutes to 2 hours in duration. Typically, I began with a few grand tour questions (McCracken, 1988) about the general background of the research participant. I then switched to the question 'Why does the Stockholm School of Economics in Riga exist?'. The topics and pace of the interview were then set, to some degree, by the research participant, although I also used an *aide mémoire* (Arksey & Knight, 1999)—a list of discussion topics around which to improvise—as a guide when the conversation stalled. The *aide mémoire* (See Table 12.) was based on the eight-step method of Mwanza (2002) which reflects Engeström's (1987) activity system framework. In keeping with the qualitative research interviewing method, I probed deeper when the research participant was speaking too broadly, and encouraged movement from the abstract to the concrete. At the conclusion of the interview, I thanked the participant, and emphasized the value of the interview to the research. I explained the next steps of the research, and asked if I could call again if I had any additional questions. I sent a letter of thanks a week later.

Table 12. ***Aide Mémoire***

Activity System Component	Question
Object	What is the motivation of the activity?
Subject	Who is engaged in the activity?
Instruments	Which tools are used to perform the activity?
Rules	Which formal and informal regulations govern this activity?
Community	What is the context of the activity?
Division of Labor	How is the activity allocated to different members of the community?
Outcome	What is the consequence of this activity?

Adapted from: Mwanza, 2002

All interviews were conducted at the Stockholm School of Economics, either in Riga or Stockholm. The interviews were normally confined to the research participants' offices or other private areas. I recorded the interviews on a digital audio recorder, and later transcribed them verbatim. I did not summarize or condense any portion of an interview, nor did I re-phrase using different language. I transcribed every word which was uttered, included pauses (I did not time them, however.), and noted emphases of intonation and emotional expressions. The interview transcripts were organized according to the speaker, and formatted into full sentences with punctuation (See Appendix 1 for an interview transcript excerpt.). In total, the interview transcripts amounted to more than 100 double-spaced, typed pages.

During the interviews, I made observations of the research participants in a notebook. The notebook also served both as a chronological log of the research, and as a journal in which I collected my thoughts and feelings as the research progressed. I also collected various documents which were related to the Stockholm School of Economics and its transnationalization (See Table 13.).

Table 13. Research Documents

Document	Type
Stockholm School of Economics: The First 100 Years	Book
Stockholm School of Economics in Riga: A Retrospect 1994-2004	Book
One of the finest contemporary art collections in Latvia	Brochure
Strategic Internationalization in Sweden 2012	Report
Stockholm School of Economics ERASMUS Policy Statement—ERASMUS, 2014-2020	Policy Statement
Articles of Association of the Limited Liability Company "Stockholm School of Economics in Riga"	Legal Document
Articles of Association of Foundation of Rigas Ekonomikias Augstskola—Stockholm School of Economics in Riga	Legal Document
Founders Agreement	Legal Document
Memorandum of Understanding	Legal Document
Handelshöskolan i Stockholm and Stockholm School of Economics in Riga Trademark License Agreement	Legal Document
Handelshöskolan i Stockholm and Foundation of Rigas Ekonomikias Augstskola—The Stockholm School of Economics in Riga Trademark License Agreement	Legal Document
Stockholm School of Economics Organization Chart	Internal Document
Core Values of Handelshöskolan i Stockholm	Internal Document
Latvia Competitiveness Report 2013	Publication

Source: Author

Finally, following the transcription of the interviews, I entered the interview transcripts, my notes, and the collected documents into NVIVO, a computer-aided qualitative data analysis software (CAQDAS) package. NVIVO was one of many commercially-available CAQDAS packages which were on the market at the time, but was generally considered the gold standard. NVIVO aided in both the management and analysis of data. Indeed, it was a useful tool for storing and manipulating the masses of qualitative research data, and its indexing, searching, and theorizing functions corresponded to the abductive logic of Grounded Theory. But I also made use of the more traditional scissors and paper method of data analysis.

Data Analysis Procedures

Analysis of the interview transcripts, my notes, and the collected documents occurred in two separate but inter-related phases. First, I analyzed the data at the individual—or emic—level, the purpose of which was to explore the research participants' perspectives on the transnationalization of the Stockholm School of Economics. As suggested by Holt (1994), emic-level analysis seeks to grasp an individual's understanding of a phenomenon as it is understood in the context of his or her lifeworld, and in his or her own language and conceptual categories.

As a reminder, the research followed the abductive logic of Grounded Theory. More precisely, I employed a hermeneutic approach to data analysis which involved a systematic, circular reading of the data. Broadly speaking, hermeneutics is the science of interpretation (Allen and Jensen, 1990). It keys in on the "meaning-full forms" (Betti, 1980, p. 58) which are bound up in the "contextualized personal expressions of an individual" (Arnold & Fischer, 1994, p. 61) or other text (Ricoeur, 1981). To re-experience, re-cognize, and re-think these meaning-full forms through an interpretation of a text is to achieve hermeneutic understanding (Bleicher, 1980).

A hermeneutic approach to data analysis, therefore, begins with an interpretive reading of the text which yields an initial understanding of its meaningful forms (Miles & Huberman, 1994). This is followed by a breaking-down of the text into elements, by teasing out meaningful ideas—a transformation of the text into clusters (Ellen, 1984), themes (Boyatzis, 1998), categories (Spiggle, 1994), or codes (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). These elements are then re-constructed in a new way, thereby generating a new understanding of the text. This process of breaking-down and re-constructing continues, the goal of which is the resolution of contradictions among and between the elements and the text (Arnold & Fischer, 1994). That is to say, with continuous movement back and forth from the text to the elements (Strauss & Corbin, 1998), and an on-going seesaw between interpretation and understanding, we "transform the data into something it was not…We break down the data in order to classify it, and the concepts we create or employ in classifying the data, and the connections we make between these concepts, provide the basis of a fresh description [of the text]" (Dey, 1993, p. 30).

I began the emic analysis for each research participant, therefore, with an interpretive reading of the interview transcript—the text—in order to yield an initial understanding of the research participant's perspective on the transnationalization of the Stockholm School of Economics. I then started breaking down the text, using the coding and indexing functions of NVIVO. Specifically, I developed codes—conceptual labels which assign meanings to the text (Miles & Huberman, 1994)—and indexed all instances of these codes by tagging all textual units which I judged to demonstrate the codes. An example of a code was guilt; in one text it was tagged to three textual units. I then pieced these codes together in a new way, using the theorizing function of NVIVO, thereby yielding a new understanding of the text as a whole. This iterative process of coding, indexing, and theorizing continued until I was convinced that I had resolved the contradictions among and between the elements and the text. The result of this process was a fresh perspective—fourteen fresh perspectives in total—on the transnationalization of the Stockholm School of Economics.

In the second phase of the data analysis, I moved up to the micro-cultural level, the purpose of which was to explore—*à la* activity theory—the transnationalization of the Stockholm School of Economics as an activity system. It assumed that a co-constituting relationship exists between the emic perspectives on the phenomenon and the phenomenon itself. This notion of transnationalization as a co-constituted micro-cultural activity conjures up the analogy of a melody (Thompson, Locander, & Pollio, 1990). The notes of a melody can be transposed into different keys, but the melody remains the same. Similarly, although the research participants had different lifeworlds, their perspectives on the transnationalization of the Stockholm School of Economics have commonalties. In line with activity theory, however, the micro-cultural analysis also assumed that individual perspectives on the transnationalization of the Stockholm School of Economics do not provide a complete picture of the activity system which is the transnationalization of the Stockholm School of Economics. The text for the micro-cultural analysis, therefore, consisted of all data—the interview transcripts, my notes, and the collected documents.

I also performed the micro-cultural analysis by employing a hermeneutic approach to data analysis. I began the micro-cultural analysis, therefore, with an interpretive reading of the text, but I was guided by Engeström's (1987) activity system framework. Like in the emic-level analyses, I used an iterative process of coding, indexing, and theorizing, which continued until I was convinced that I had resolved the contradictions among and between the elements and the text. The result of this process was a model of the transnationalization of the Stockholm School of Economics as an activity system.

Verification Procedures

Finally, in order to lend credibility to the research (Glaser & Strauss, 1965; Maxwell, 1992)—that is to say, to ensure the authenticity of the data from the data collection procedures (Kirk & Miller, 1986; Sykes, 1996), and to elevate the trustworthiness or believability of the results of the data analysis procedures (Hirschman, 1986; Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Yin, 1984)—I employed three common verification methods. The first, triangulation, stems from the technique in astronomy, surveying, and navigation which posits that any location in space can be pin-pointed with knowledge of any three other locations. Similarly, in Grounded Theory, scientists attempt to pin-point the phenomenon by drawing on multiple research methods, multiple data sources, and multiple researchers with multiple perspectives (Morse, 1991; Seale, 1999). As suggested by Arksey and Knight (1999), "approaching research questions from different angles and bringing together a range of views has the potential to generate new and alternative explanations, ones that better capture the social complexity that the fieldwork explores" (p. 22).

In this research, I drew on multiple data collection methods and multiple data sources. Indeed, I used several of the Grounded Theory research sampling methods in order to access diverse research participants. And in addition to the interviews with the fourteen research participants, I also made observations of the participants and collected documents.

The second method, Eureka!, follows the idea that the best people to validate the research are the research participants. Indeed, if the research resonates with truth, it will be met with metaphorical cries of 'Eureka!' from research participants (Holbrook, 1995). That is to say, "if the researcher succeeds in seeing the structural invariants of an experience and in faithfully articulating them (which would require more vivid and jargon-free language than is currently standard in the human sciences), then the reader should spontaneously recognize the faithfulness of the description" (Dukes, 1984, p. 201). Research credibility, therefore, "is buttressed by local groundedness" (Miles & Huberman, 1994, p. 10) through member validation (Bloor, 1997).

Following the transcription of the interviews, therefore, I verified with each research participant that the transcripts were accurate. The research participants agreed that I had caught on paper, that which had transpired during the interviews, with only a few minor exceptions. A few research participants, after reading their transcripts, gave additional information which I recorded and transcribed later. And following the data analysis procedures, I also shared the research results with two research participants, both of whom commented enthusiastically that I had depicted accurately the transnationalization of the Stockholm School of Economics.

And third, like in the business world, where external and objective third parties examine and approve a company's methods of accounting, statement analysis, and financial reporting, in Grounded Theory research, scientists employ other experts in their scientific disciplines to examine and endorse the notes, the data collection procedures, the transcription methods, the data analysis procedures, and other aspects of their research (Dukes, 1984). In doing so, these auditors prove, in a sense, the tenability of the research.

I called on two auditors who were both active at the time conducting Grounded Theory research, and who together had knowledge of and experience with a variety of research methods. They were given this Chapter 3 and the research results which are presented in Chapter 4. Both the auditors scrutinized the research design and the research results, suggestions about which led to several changes in substance and narrative.

Summary

Chapter 3 documented the research design. It began by laying out the research approach. It then recounted the choice of both the research context and the research site. Chapter 3 continued by specifying the sampling procedures. It then described the data collection procedures, and the data analysis procedures. Finally, Chapter 3 detailed the verification procedures. Next, Chapter 4 presents the research results.

Chapter 4. Research Results

Overview

Chapter 4 presents the research results. It begins by overviewing the management education industry. It then traces the history of the Stockholm School of Economics. Chapter 4 continues by summarizing the research participants' perspectives on the transnationalization of the Stockholm School of Economics. Finally, it models the transnationalization of the Stockholm School of Economics as an activity system.

The Management Education Industry

The first business school, École Supérieure de Commerce de Paris (ESCP), was founded in 1819 by merchant Vital Roux and economist Jean-Baptiste Say (Blanchard, 2009). Originally financed by private business owners, ESCP was acquired by the Paris Chamber of Commerce in 1869, giving the school its current name, and establishing the French convention of stand-alone business schools which operate outside the traditional university system, and with a high degree of participation from the business community. This independence from the academy, combined with the tether to commercial enterprises through the Paris Chamber of Commerce, also led to a very practical—almost vocational—approach to management education which continues to this day, in France and elsewhere, especially Belgium, Italy, and the former French colonies.

In 1898, however, an alternative model of management education emerged with the founding of Germany's first business school, Handelschochschule Leipzig (HHL). Inspired by the Humboldtian research heritage, HHL rejected the vocationalization of management in favor of a theoretical tack (Kieser, 2004). And indeed, by "the mid-1910s, most German business schools had been integrated into public universities and adopted a highly academic approach to teaching management" (Kaplan, 2014, p. 530). The German model in turn had influence in other countries, including Switzerland, Poland, and the countries of Scandinavia (Engwall, 2004).

The first American business school, the Wharton School of Finance and Commerce at the University of Pennsylvania, leaned more toward the German model of management education (Wren & van Fleet, 1983). Founded in 1881 with a private donation from industrialist Joseph Wharton, it aimed to apply both the scientific practices of Frederick Taylor and the economic principles of Adam Smith to management, in order to improve the efficiency of business. The Wharton School was followed in 1898 with the founding of the first public business school—the College of Commerce at the University of California-Berkeley (Haas School of Business, 2016). The Tuck School at Dartmouth College in New Hampshire, founded in 1900, was the first business school to offer a graduate degree in business—the MSc in Commerce—which counted four students in its first cohort (The Tuck School of Business, 2016). And in 1910, the Graduate School of Business

Administration at Harvard University, now known as Harvard Business School, began offering the two-year Master of Business Administration (MBA) degree (TopMBA, 2016).

Business schools proliferated after World War II in war-torn Europe, but especially in emerging economies, with a distinctly American approach to management education serving as the role model (Engwall & Zamagni, 1998). INSEAD, for example, which today is considered France's leading business school but which is relatively unknown to the public because it is characteristically un-French, was founded in 1958 with a grant from the Ford Foundation. Harvard Business School helped create the Asian Institute of Management in Manila, Philippines in 1965. And the first business school in Latin America, ESAN, was founded in 1963 in Lima, Peru, with support from the Graduate School of Business at Stanford University…its logo still sports a cedar tree which is remarkably similar to that of its patron.

Perhaps unsurprisingly, explosive growth in management education has occurred in the past few decades in Asia, especially in China. According to Das (2013), there are now more than 5,000 business schools in East, South, and South-East Asia, six of which place in the top thirty of the Financial Times Global MBA Ranking. Imagine that in 1991 there were only 91 MBA students in China; by 2012, that number had increased to nearly 30,000. CEIBS, which was founded in 1994 in Shanghai, was the first business school in China to be funded by a foreign government—the European Commission (CEIBS, 2016). And in 2004, a foreign branch campus of the University of Nottingham was established in Ningbo, China. Its business school now has more than 2,200 bachelor-level and 300 master-level students from 39 countries (Nottingham University Business School China, 2016).

India has likewise seen explosive growth in management education in the past few decades, largely due to the liberalization of higher education which occurred with the demise of the Licence Raj, the elaborate system of government permits and regulations which hobbled the Indian economy from 1947 to 1990 (Raju & Raju, 2015). In the period from 2006 to 2012, for example, the number of graduate-level business schools in India doubled from 1,132 to 2,450. During the same period, the number of students in post-graduate diploma in management (PGDM) programs—the Indian MBA equivalent—rose from 94,704 to 385,008.

Today, the global management education industry continues to thrive (and grow). Indeed, according to the Global Foundation for Management Education (GMFE, 2008), between 15 and 30 billion USD are spent annually on management education (not including training). It estimates that there are between 8,000 and 17,000 business schools worldwide which offer bachelor-, master-, and doctoral-level management education (data were only available for forty-seven of the nearly 200 countries in the world).

At the bachelor level specifically, 358,079 undergraduate degrees were conferred in management in the U.S.A. during the 2013-2104 academic year (National Center for Educatiol Statistics, 2016). This is almost double the number of undergraduate degrees which were conferred in health and related professions, the second most popular undergraduate concentration. Ironically—or perhaps worryingly—only 3,039 doctoral degrees in management were conferred in the same period, less than half of those which were conferred in psychology (6,634), and far shy of the number of doctoral degrees which were conferred in education (10,920).

In the same year, the U.S. Department of Education announced that management had become the most popular graduate degree in the U.S.A., overtaking education which had long been the leading subject of study—partly due to the requirement in some states for teachers to possess a graduate degree in education (Baron, 2015). In the early 1970s, management accounted for about 11% of all graduate degrees; education stood at 37%. But in the 2013-2014 academic year, 189,328 graduate degrees in management and 154,636 graduate education degrees were conferred.

This increase of graduate degrees in management education can be attributed to the popularity of the MBA degree, which has become the de facto requirement for many jobs in a host of industries. As underlined by Byrne (2014), “the remarkable growth of the MBA—largely due to its widespread acceptance by employers and the almost assured return on investment of the degree—has been fairly steady during the past half century, making it the most successful educational product of the past 50 to 100 years”. The MBA degree was designed initially as a general business degree, aimed primarily at those students who did not have an economics or business undergraduate degree. In other words, the MBA was considered a four-year bachelor of business degree, minus the liberal arts general studies requirements, compressed into two years, and drawing heavily on the experiences of its students. Since then, however, the MBA degree has broadened, with countless mutations. It is offered in full-time, part-time, and executive formats…in-person, on-line, and in hybrid delivery modes. It varies in length—in some cases it has been reduced to ten months. And it can also be taken with a concentration. Consider the MBA Wine Industry at Bordeaux Management School in France, for example, or the MBA in aerospace at HEC Montréal in Canada. Pundits might suggest that it barely resembles the original.

Recently, however, specialized master's degrees in management have also become popular. According to Graduate Management Admissions Council (2016), the organization which administers the required test for admission to many business schools, one fifth of all prospective graduate management students now seek specialized masters programs, especially in finance, accounting, business analytics, supply chain, and financial engineering. Many new university graduates see the specialized master's degree as relatively quick differentiators for the job market. Often no work is required for admission to these degrees; traditionally, business schools required a minimum of two years of work experience for admission to the MBA. And from the perspective of recruiters, companies also increasingly want employees who are able to make contributions immediately (Baron, 2015).

In addition to bachelor-, master-, and doctoral-level management education, many business schools have also entered the executive education business—non-degree and noncredit academic programs which are aimed at executives, managers, and other employees in companies. In general, executive education falls into two broad categories: 1. open enrollment (off-the-shelf programs which are available to participants from any company), and 2. customized or in-house (bespoke programs which are designed for specific companies). Executive education has grown steadily since World War II, spawning the creation of UNICON, a consortium of the leading global executive education-providing business schools which now counts more than 100 members worldwide. By the end of the twentieth century, according to UNICON, executive education was worth more than 800 million USD in the U.S.A. alone.

Despite the growth and diversification of the management education industry, it is also faced with several challenges (GFME, 2008). The first challenge is capacity. Demand for management education continues to increase, especially in emerging markets. But this increasing demand points to the need for infrastructure investment, raises concerns about program quality, and underscores the dearth of doctorally-qualified instructors…a problem which will be exacerbated by the retirement of the baby-boomers. Second, globalization means that business schools must also compete globally. How can they balance their global aspirations with local market needs? And third, many observers of the management education industry worry about sustaining scholarship, echoing the debate between the early French and German approaches to management education. Indeed, business schools continue to struggle to serve the business community, while simultaneously creating new conceptual and theoretical knowledge about the business world. The Stockholm School of Economics is no exception.

The Stockholm School of Economics

The post-war period from 1950 to 1975 is often considered Sweden's golden age, with annual growth rates in GDP and foreign trade of 4.3% and 6.5% respectively (Schön, & Krantz, 2012). The foundation for this golden age, however, was laid in the late nineteenth century, during which time the population of Sweden boomed, and the GDP grew by almost 70% (Rehnberg, 2009), a feat which is largely attributed to a confluence of economic, social, and political factors. Sweden increasingly became more integrated into the global economy, for example, adopting the gold standard in 1873 and pushing for more liberalized foreign trade. With globalization, however, came falling prices for three of Sweden's most important exports—iron, lumber, and oats—thereby stimulating innovation in alternative and less cyclical products. Rising labor wages stoked demand for more luxurious foodstuffs and homegoods, and triggered the mechanization of factories. The country was flush with capital, principally from France and Germany. The Swedish government invested heavily in infrastructure, including a modern national railway network. And a second industrial revolution was underway, leading to technological advances in automation, electrification, and motorization. Many of the Swedish industrial giants which arose at the time have survived to this day: AGA (industrial gases), SKF (bearings), ASEA (generators), Ericsson (telephone equipment), Scania (railway equipment, then vehicles), and Husqvarna (sewing machines, bicycles, and kitchen equipment).

This industrialization, internationalization, and modernization of Sweden in the late nineteenth century, however, suggested the need for a new cadre of managers who could maintain the success of these companies which, heretofore, had relied primarily on the technical merits of their products. Indeed, “in this business climate, it is not surprising that in the 1890s merchants and bankers [and industrialists] began discussing the need for advanced academic education that would be directly relevant to the running of complex business” (Rehnberg, 2009, p. 13). Swedish bankers in particular, whose wealth relied on the continued success of the companies which they helped finance, were particularly eager to professionalize the managerial class. These merchants, bankers, and industrialists also observed that business schools were appearing in the United Kingdom, Germany, and France, three of Sweden’s major trading partners/competitors. Moreover, in order to permit more participation in Sweden’s political and cultural discussions, they sought to elevate their prestige in Swedish society which was dominated by the aristocracy, civil servants, and the military. “Knowledge and formal education will lift businessmen from the status of shopkeepers and merchants and afford them the standing in society that they enjoy in other countries” (Knut Wallenberg, industrialist and banker, as quoted in Rehnberg, 2009, p. 16).

In 1900, therefore, Marcus Wallenberg, half-brother of Knut Wallenberg and his successor as CEO of Stockholms Enskilda Bank (now SEB), sponsored a fact-finding mission to the United Kingdom, Germany, and France, the aim of which was to assess the current state of management education in Europe. Inspired by the findings, Knut Wallenberg, on his 50th birthday in 1903, donated 100,000 SEK to finance additional exploratory studies, primarily of the leading business schools in the U.S.A. Meanwhile, "several key figures within the business community—notably Joseph Nachmanson, Olof A. Söderberg and K.A. Wallenberg—established the SSE Association, whose members pledged financial support for the new educational enterprise" (Rehnberg, 2009, p. 17).

Within a year, the SSE Association had more than 250 members, and had secured 800,000 SEK from across Sweden. The city of Stockholm offered up 47,500 SEK, and the Swedish government contributed an additional 30,000 SEK. To this day, the SSE Association is the single largest funder of the Stockholm School of Economics, providing about one third of its budget. The remainder of the budget comes from direct contributions from Swedish companies, and from both state and city public coffers.

On 27 May 1909, Handelshögskolan i Stockholm (the Stockholm School of Economic in the English language, or simply SSE) was founded by royal decree, its mission to promote the advancement of business in the country through academic teaching and research. Carl Hallendorf was appointed as its president, and Eli Heckscher its first professor of economics (Heckscher later became famous for the development of the Heckscher-Ohlin model of international trade, the latter co-author winning the Nobel Prize in economics in 1977.). The third floor of a commercial and residential building in the center of Stockholm was leased, serving as the home for the Stockholm School of Economics until 1926 when a new purpose-built facility was opened.

In the autumn of 1909, the first cohort of 110 students matriculated and began the two-year degree. The curriculum consisted of four main subjects—economics, commerce, economic geography, and politics/law—plus foreign languages, and was dominated by theory rather than practice. Asked about the curriculum and its academic bent, Heckscher responded, “in England I learned a great deal that was useful in planning our teaching, in France I did not learn anything at all, but in Germany, I learned what we should not do” (as quoted in Rehnberg, 2009, p. 21).

Throughout much of the twentieth century, the School’s balance between theory and practice oscillated, according to calls from the business community and to the impulses of the School’s instructors. Likewise, the subject matter changed. The term commerce, for example, gave way to business administration, and political economy lost its relative importance in the curriculum with the death of Carl Hallendorf. In 1932, a master’s degree was added as a complement to the two-year degree, although in 1939, the length of the program was extended to three years in order to account for the increasing number of courses and their widening scope, then to three and one half years in the 1983, and eventually to four years in 1993. In 1946, a royal statute was given to the Stockholm School of Economics, allowing it to issue doctoral degrees, thereby making it “a bona fide academic institution offering a complete choice of degrees ranging from a B.A. to a

Ph.D." (Rehnberg, 2009, p. 29). As for the MBA degree, a one-year executive degree was introduced in the 1970s which morphed into the executive MBA. And a full-time MBA was launched in 2004, although it was phased out in 2009 for strategic reasons.

The most significant change to the portfolio of programs at the Stockholm School of Economics, however, occurred as a result of the Bologna Process, which was ratified by the Swedish government in 2006, and which went into effect across Sweden in 2007. As alluded to previously, the Bologna Process required that all countries of the European Union adopt the Anglo-Saxon sequence of bachelor-master-doctor. The Bologna Process also stipulated that a master's degree be awarded upon completion of 5 years of tertiary education; it allowed an institution the flexibility, however, to specify 3+2 or 4+1 for its five-year bachelor-master sequence. In 2006, therefore, the Stockholm School of Economics bachelor program was re-launched as a three-year degree, and in 2009, a two-year MSc was introduced with various specializations: international business, business & management, finance, economics, and accounting & financial management.

Like other leading business schools, the Stockholm School of Economics has also been active in executive education. Indeed, shortly after World War II, the Swedish Employers' Confederation (SAF) took over an eighteenth century castle southwest of Stockholm, and began offering courses by instructors from the Stockholm School of Economics. In 1969, the SAF, the Swedish Association of Graduate Engineers, the Confederation of Swedish Industry, and the SSE Association joined forces to create a not-for-profit foundation "for the purpose of creating a shared provider of executive education in Sweden—the Swedish Management Training Institute, IFL (*Institutet för Företagledning*)" (Rehnberg, 2009, p. 90). Parallel to IFL, however, the Stockholm School of Economics had developed its own executive education offerings, including a portfolio of open enrollment programs such as the executive management program (EMP) and the advanced management program (AMP); a range of custom programs for clients across the Nordic region; and the executive MBA. The economic downturn of the early 2000s jeopardized the survival of both entities, however, and led to a 2005 merger which was named the Stockholm School of Economics IFL Executive Education. That same year, the Stockholm School of Economics and Hanken School of Economics, a Swedish-language business school which has sites in both Helsinki and Vaasa, Finland, created a joint venture—Hanken & SSE Executive Education—in order to serve the Finnish and global executive education markets.

With respect to internationalization, the Stockholm School of Economics, quoting from its official history (Rehnberg, 2009), was born from an international perspective. Indeed, its benchmarking efforts in the early years of its existence were aimed at making both the School and Swedish industry competitive in a global economy. The curriculum, with its emphasis on economics, was inherently international. And the study of foreign languages and the international exchange of instructors also guaranteed an international flavor…the first professor of commerce, for example, was actually from Germany, and he used German textbooks and taught lessons in the German language exclusively.

By the 1930s, the Stockholm School of Economics had also gained an international reputation for the quality of its economic research, largely due to the work of Bertil Ohlin (of the Heckscher-Ohlin model) and his colleagues, who collectively became known as the Stockholm school economists. Their work pioneered macroeconomic disequilibrium theory, and was often quoted in the same breath as that of John Maynard Keynes. Instructors from the Stockholm School of Economics often sit on the Nobel committee, and recipients of the Prize in economics give lectures at the School following the ceremony.

In 1949, students from the Stockholm School of Economics were among the first 89 students to participate in international exchanges within the aegis of AIESEC, the world's largest international student association. AIESEC is an acronym for association internationale des étudiants en sciences économiques et commerciales, and its mandate is to create "positive impact through personal development and shared global experiences" (AIESEC, 2016). AIESEC traces its roots to Stockholm at which, in 1948, Stockholm School of Economics official Bertil Hedberg and several students from Europe initiated the association. Today it has more than 100,000 student members in some 127 countries, and facilitates almost 30,000 annual international student experiences.

In 1975, the Stockholm School of Economics inaugurated the Institute of International Business in order to increase the international dimension in both the School's research and teaching. In 1989, triggered by the changes which were beginning to happen in the U.S.S.R. at the time, it also created the Stockholm Institute for Transition Economies (SITE), whose focus later broadened to include all emerging markets. And in 1992, at the height of the Japanese economic miracle, the Stockholm School of Economics opened the European Institute for Japanese Studies (EIJS); a liaison office was added in Tokyo in 1997.

In 1975, the Stockholm School of Economics also signed its first official bilateral exchange agreement with New York University's Graduate School of Business Administration. In the early 1990s, it also joined the Partnership in International Management (PIM)—a consortium of leading business schools whose central function is the exchange of students. I also became a member of the Consortium of European Management Schools (CEMS), which allowed the School to offer the CEMS Master of International Management (MIM) degree as a dual-degree option to its own students and to those on exchange from consortium members.

The Stockholm School of Economics also flirted with transnationalization at various times throughout its history. From the outset, for example, it welcomed degree-seeking students, although numbers were always limited because programs were taught in the Swedish language. The transnationalization of the Stockholm School of Economics did not begin in earnest until the early 1990s, under its contemporary President Staffan Burenstam Linder. In 1991, he introduced a three-semester English-language MSc in economics and business, which primarily targeted international students who did not have a Swedish bachelor's degree (The degree was phased out as part of the Bologna Process.). In 1994, also under Linder, the Stockholm School of Economics in Riga was launched. And in 1997, under Linder's replacement, President Claes-Robert Julander, the Stockholm School of Economics in Russia opened its doors.

Individual Perspectives on the Transnationalization of the Stockholm School of Economics

The overview of the history of the Stockholm School of Economics which was presented in the previous section revealed that the School was not only born from an international perspective, it also lived an international perspective to a very large degree. Indeed, throughout much of its first century of existence, the Stockholm School of Economics developed and nurtured an international curriculum, an international reputation, internationally-oriented students, an international research agenda, and an international institutional network. The Stockholm School of Economics also engaged in transnationalization, welcoming foreign degree-seeking students, entering a joint venture in Finland, and launching two foreign branch campuses.

As a reminder, the purpose of this research was to develop a more essential and dynamic theoretical account of transnational higher education as a practice. Specifically, it explored the transnationalization of the Stockholm School of Economics, with an emphasis on its foreign branch campus in Riga, Latvia. Analysis of the research data occurred in two separate but inter-related phases. First, I analyzed the research data at the individual—or emic—level, the purpose of which was to explore the transnationalization of the Stockholm

School of Economics as it was understood by the research participants in the contexts of their lifeworlds.

This section, therefore, summarizes the research participants' perspectives on the transnationalization of the Stockholm School of Economics. These summaries ought to be viewed as vignettes—as short, descriptive sketches which characterize the roles which transnationalization plays in the research participants' lifeworlds, and which encapsulate the meanings which they have constructed about the transnationalization of the Stockholm School of Economics. Together, they also illustrate the mosaic of meanings which exist among members of the micro-culture. For expediency, the following terminology will be used throughout this section: SSE for the Stockholm School of Economics, SSE Riga for the Stockholm School of Economics in Riga, and SSE Russia for the Stockholm School of Economics in Russia.

Anders L. Anders L. was appointed Dean of SSE Russia in 2007. His mandate, as he stated it, was to "sanitize the operation" both in terms of corporate governance and, more importantly, its operations. Anders continues to reside in Stockholm because he simply does not want to live in Russia…although he must give the appearance of being there, not for the administrators of SSE, but for the employees in Russia who, he suggested, require a more direct leadership style and a higher degree of oversight.

In Anders' opinion, SSE Riga was founded as a result of the debt which Sweden owed to the Baltic countries from World War II; SSE Russia was simply a logical extension. But neither of the School's has been exploited by the home institution, according to Anders. First, for Lars Bergman, who served as President of SSE from 2004 to 2012, transnationalization was not a priority. Second, both foreign branch campuses have always been viewed as altruistic, not commercial ventures. Consequently, their existence is also viewed as tangential to that of the Stockholm School of Economics. And third, transnationalization requires commitment, and SSE has not committed fully to either enterprise. This lack of commitment can also be seen in the culture of the School, Anders complained, which does not respect or reward those people who are involved in SSE Riga or SSE Russia. This reflects a broader culture of "aristocracy not élite" at SSE, which, he elaborated, mirrors the even broader Swedish propensity for self-effacement and scorn for expertise.

Anders R. Anders R. serves as Chairman of the SSE Riga Foundation which, as of 2010, is the sole shareholder of SSE Riga. For Anders, SSE Riga can only be understood by tracing its history. Indeed, from the outside, he admitted, SSE Riga appears to be the result of a well-conceived transnationalization strategy which was created at SSE. But he is adamant that SSE Riga (along with SSE Russia) came to fruition, was managed throughout its lifetime, and continues to operate today, more as the by-product of historical circumstances and characters.

The founding of SSE Riga, for example, according to Anders, was initiated not so much by SSE, but by the government of Sweden. As he recalled, "there was some sort of shame among the population and in particular inside the government…they were coming in small boats across the Baltic to Gotland, and we turned them away." Consequently, Anders emphasized, there was a commitment from the Swedish government to help launch the Baltic countries after the dissolution of the U.S.S.R. There was also a strong argument within the Swedish government, he added, for creating a kind of buffer zone between Russia and Sweden. That SSE was chosen for transnationalization, therefore, and not another business school, is largely happenstance, according to Anders.

Anders also commented on the once favorable plan to introduce a bachelor's degree at SSE Russia. The Russian Ministry of Education approved the plan, and called for 160 students per year for a four-year degree. Rolf Wolff, President of SSE at the time, however, was not keen on transnationalization, perceiving it as too great of a financial exposure for the School. He was able to persuade the SSE Board, therefore, to abandon the plan.

For Anders, this is unfortunate. He is convinced that SSE had not only the opportunity but also the warrant—the brand license—to become the pan-Baltic leader in business education, and thereby raise the School's global footprint and reputation. Speaking of executive education specifically (He was the managing director of Stockholm School of Economics IFL Executive Education in the mid-2000s.), Anders grinned, "at IFL at that time, we were joking to say that we have the greatest owned market in the whole world for any executive education—we go from the Atlantic Ocean, the Barents Sea in Norway, to the Pacific Ocean, Vladivostok in Russia."

Anna. Anna joined SSE in 2009 as Personnel Director. Her knowledge of SSE Riga is limited, she admitted, and from a human resources perspective there is no cooperation between the two Schools. Some instructors from Sweden, however, still travel to and teach in Riga, but it is counted as overload, which according to contract is limited to 20% above the full-time load…although this limit is never policed. Anna was quick to add that instructors are invoiced directly from the Stockholm School of Economics in Riga.

Why SSE Riga? In her words, the president of SSE at the time saw a hole in the market, and felt compelled to undertake the aid project—"develop education in a country where education wasn't as developed at that time." And by all accounts, the project was successful. The two Schools are still connected. But SSE Riga is running on its own with very little support from SSE. The number of alumni is now significant, with graduates filling top positions in companies in Latvia and elsewhere. The educational quality is excellent. The facilities are modern. And the competition has raised the level of education at other universities in the region. In summary, "lots of money is spent on aid projects but you can see a very concrete result in Riga."

And Anna is extremely proud of this accomplishment—that SSE Riga is standing on its own. She recognizes that some people at HHS do not even know that SSE Riga exists, but she is proud…and "some people are ten times prouder than me." She conceded, however, that when SSE Riga has its own instructors—when it ceases to rely on fly-in instructors—it will also be full proof that it can stand on its own.

Anna also believes that, although SSE Riga is standing on its own today, it was an important step in the internationalization of SSE. Indeed, "if you are playing a ranking game (be a top player in Europe, for example), the being international is important." And internationalization is one element in the three-pronged strategic direction of SSE: positioning, funding, and internationalizing. The goal, she clarified, is not to have SSE China, but instead to create an international environment in Sweden so that a student will gain an international experience, and be employable globally upon graduation. Her role in all of this is to ensure that SSE is attractive to international faculty and staff. "Who we are as an employer, and what makes us attractive," she argued, is instrumental in achieving this internationalization. But she recognizes that SSE might not be able to compete on salary, suggesting instead that it could be the good life, longer summer vacations, free schooling, and other Swedish perks which attract international employees to Stockholm.

Anne. Anne has a distinct advantage being an outsider (She was born and raised in the U.S.A.) when it comes time to question the existing practices at SSE. Plus, her role as an internal consultant allows her to stick her nose into anything. Anne is primarily responsible for understanding, managing, and manipulating the rankings, especially the Financial Times rankings. Recently she also assumed control of the Wallenberg International Fellows Program, an exclusive exchange program with Georgetown University, which provides opportunities for students from both universities who have an interest at the confluence of business and foreign service.

Her biggest challenge stems from the Bologna Process with which, she admitted, SSE is still struggling. It is also of great concern because she believes that the competition among business schools in Europe and around the world will inevitably lead to consolidation in the industry. And "when the dust settles," she reckoned, "there will be fewer schools and the premium students will be fought over."

She also cited The Swedish Program which is a Yale University-led consortium of American universities which for more than a decade has been a nomad, moving from university to university in Sweden. "Sweden is a sort of natural spot for nervous parents to send children—American children—on exchange," she grinned. In 2012, the program landed at SSE; about 50 students (sophomores from the U.S.A.) study two courses and learn about Swedish industry, politics, culture, et cetera. Anne warned, however, that American universities ought to keep an eye on this kind of program, because "as tuition goes higher and higher and higher in the U.S., SSE is a really good deal tuition-wise." Already two students from The Swedish Program had returned to enroll in SSE master's degrees, and the administrator of the Program herself is a graduate.

When asked about this notion of competition, Anne was clear that the current SSE President (Lars Strannegård) is the only President under whom she has worked who has had an interest in entrepreneurship in any way. Her explanation is that he was largely educated, and had grown up, outside of Sweden. Plus he is not from Stockholm. But when pushed about competition, Anne was adamant that revenue generation is not a viable motive for transnationalization. She understands the tuition-driven climate of American higher education. But she stressed that education in and of itself is the sole motive of any kind of transnational activity of SSE.

And this is also true of the founding of SSE Riga, she emphasized. Indeed, "the government wanted it", she stated. "I don't think that finance…financial revenue generation was even considered." The motivation for the government's action, she added, was Swedish guilt. And even the current licensing fee which SSE Riga pays for the branding right is not about revenue. Her argument is that SSE would not continue to license the brand if it were not for the success of SSE Riga.

This success, Anne is convinced, is due to Anders Paalzow, the Rector of SSE Riga, and his team. They know all the current students' names, and "when Anders bumps into an alum, even from the 1990s, he can recall their name" she boasted. Success of SSE Riga, Anne warned, however, is not necessarily about growth, a common issue for many Deans in other parts of Europe and in North America. On the contrary, given the environment of the Baltic region, simply maintaining the current model is a measure of success. "So long as SSE Riga is still capable of attracting premium students from across all the Baltics, I think we don't need to worry a lot," she concluded.

It is obvious to Anne that SSE Riga benefits greatly from the association. Students of the School hold SSE in high esteem, and value their Swedish-branded degree. And the reciprocal benefits for SSE? Anne is not sure if there are any benefits from an economics perspective. There is no strategic need for SSE to have the foreign branch campus, she mused. “There is absolutely no harm having it, and costs no money,” she added.

Britta. Britta recognizes that a foreign branch campus like that of SSE Riga could help to recruit better students who would become better at international business. But her impression is that SSE has failed to leverage the campus in Riga. She views this failure mainly through the lens of information technology (IT). Her general critique is that IT at SSE is, in her words, rudimentary and old-fashioned. Compared to the private sector in which she has years of IT experience, SSE does not view IT as a strategic necessity, and allows the Department of External Communications to drive the website design. IT at SSE Riga operates completely separately from Stockholm; Britta boasted, however, that her department is the only unit at SSE which has attempted any strategic integration. She noted that the SSE in Riga has recently updated the look and feel of its website, but she added that there are no rules, policies, or regulations to provide guidance. Indeed, “there was no deliberate, planned execution between them”, she quipped.

Christopher. According to Christopher, SSR Riga was founded, first and foremost, because “there was a genuine interest in bringing Western economic and business pedagogy to Latvia and the Baltics in general”. That was the charter of the School from the beginning. But Christopher also suggested that two other motives undergird its foundation: the interests of the Swedish government, and the interests of Swedish companies in the Baltic region.

And as such, Christopher was quick to add, there is synergy in the combination of the three motives. SSE Riga produces well-prepared graduates for companies in the Baltic region, especially for those of Swedish provenance. It serves as a meeting place and conference center. And it houses special research centers which align with interests of the Swedish government and Swedish companies.

As a model, therefore, Christopher is “flabbergasted that the Americans aren’t doing this in every country they would like to have interest in Moldova, possibly Belarus, Georgia”. It is a missed opportunity, he believes, to project American values, facilitate the interests of American businesses, and support the activities of the American Chamber of Commerce which is already working in most of these countries. “It would be an amazing tool to use,” he gushed, “and cheap at the price”.

When pushed about the costs of running SSE Riga, however, Christopher conceded that the School is in an awkward position, hovering somewhere between a European model of funding which relies mostly on government largesse, and an American endowment model which survives on the interest from financial investments. He admires that the School is not driven by the bottom line, but worries about the sustainability being “stuck in the middle, living hand to mouth”. When probed about a third fee-based model, he recalled that when the Swedish government pulled its funding, there was a notable drop in student quality. Indeed, “we now have a Richie Rich problem, because we are no longer attracting the best students”. He knows that attracting full fee-paying Chinese or Indian students could solve the problem, and might also make SSE Riga more international, an issue which is particularly acute in the dormitories in which many of the Russian-speaking foreign students live.

The good news, Christopher emphasized, is that the school has a culture of entrepreneurialism, largely because it is small and private. “Small and private gets things done,” he chanted. SSE Riga has been successful to date, Christopher explained, because it does one thing and does it well. Many people at the School, he added, want status quo, and other people suggest that it ought to expand. “The powers that be,” he interjected, “have not made an intellectual decision which they would prefer”.

This lack of decision reflects a wider problem at the School—a lethargic approach to strategy. Indeed, Christopher applauds the speed with which the tactics change, owing, he said, to the culture of entrepreneurialism, and “because Anders and Dīana are willing to try things”. But longer term issues of strategy and sustainability are never addressed. What is Christopher’s biggest worry? There is a “culture of partying among the younger students”, he grimaced, “especially for the kids who came to the school because of its reputation, not because they are interested in the subject of economics”.

Dīana. Dīana sounded nostalgic, as she recounted the founding of SSE Riga. “Nordic countries, they just wanted to help our countries to recover in the 1990s, and there was money channelled for different dream projects to support changes in education.” In the first instance, students from each of the Baltic countries were sponsored to attend HHS [SSE] as exchange or degree-seeking students. But a 1992 study by Joakim Weidemanis concluded that the only way to truly bring change to the economies of the Baltic countries would be to establish an independent institution.

Dīana also mentioned that in 1992 the University of Vilnius, the University of Latvia, and Tartu University joined forces to create the EuroFaculty, with aid from several European countries. Its aim was to develop modern—meaning not centrally-planned—courses in economics and law. Swedish instructors contributed to the project, but they believed that it was too difficult to co-teach with instructors who had been trained in, and were still teaching, the planned economy. “They believed,” she grinned, “that there should be a new school. Everything should be started from scratch…build a new school.”

Swedes, Dīana explained, also felt that they ought to pay back the Baltic countries, especially Latvia, for their actions during WW II. It is a bit emotional, she admitted, but Linder often stated that Sweden owed Latvia for turning away Latvians as they fled the impending Soviet occupation. Dīana understands that by founding SSE Riga, Swedish companies would also gain a reliable source of well-trained employees for their subsidiaries in the region. But to her, the motives behind SSE Riga “have never been to set up a school to educate businesspeople here so that we could have business with them”.

And indeed, the speed with which SSE Riga was founded suggests that economic development was the primary focus. The first three graduating cohorts of students completed the degree in two years—“the only break was Christmas, like one week, Easter one week and summer was one week, and that was all," Dīana explained. Secondarily, the founders hoped that a new cadre of instructors would also emerge after a decade or so.

Meanwhile, SSE Riga relied almost exclusively on instructors from Sweden for teaching, which raised many issues within the Latvian academy. Indeed, the entire pedagogical approach was foreign to locals, Dīana lamented. The curriculum had subjects which were completely unknown…marketing, for example. Instructional tools—from the case method to role play—were strange. And the new assessment methods were alien. Dīana recalled that many of her colleagues at the national universities considered SSE Riga as evidence of a new imperialism, and assumed that local instructors and staff-members were earning Swedish salaries. They were also envious of the comparatively luxurious school environment. "They didn't listen. They didn't understand," Dīana remembered. "I think it took us ten years to be really recognized by the local community."

"But the outcomes have been tremendous," Dīana gushed. First, SSE Riga has established the gold standard of quality education in Latvia. Similarly, the School has developed administrative processes which have been shared widely within the region. SSE Riga was the first university in Latvia to develop an alumni database, for example. "Some universities are still coming to simply look and see and learn how we started," Dīana stated. In terms of scholarly research, SSE Riga is a force. It established the Baltic Journal of Economics, the Shadow Economy Index, and the Vitameter, a tool for measuring the viability of new companies. It is the Latvian lead for the Global Entrepreneurship Monitor.

And it was the first university-level institution in the Baltic countries to develop a business incubator and a center for sustainability.

When asked about expansion, Dīana was quick to explain that the School is small, and, although it might be exotic to have students from Asia, she wants to limit its growth to the neighborhood, as she called it. “Other people in Europe tend to think about India and China,” she observed, “but it’s kind of more natural to work with nearby countries.” This could also contribute to the improvement of human capital in Latvia. With the demographic decline all over Europe, SSE Riga could play a role in attracting foreigners to invest in Latvia, and also to draw home the Latvian diaspora. SSE Riga also needs to have a master’s degree—economics or finance, she reckoned, in order to make the School more attractive for international instructors. “We want to stay international and have international faculty,” she reasoned, and “that would help make this place more interesting.”

Eva. Eva joined SSE Riga in 2007, first in the library. After two years, she switched to administration, eventually becoming the Head of Administration for the School. Her perspective on SSE Riga, therefore, is more through an operations lens, therefore, and she tends to describe the School in terms of its constituent parts: 1. instructors, 2. academic assistants, 3. administrators, 4. staff members, 5. special projects, 6. external communications, 7. accounting, 8. IT, 9. library, and 10. choir (The SSE Riga choir is well known, and the choirmaster is on the payroll.). According to Eva, however, the bachelor and executive MBA programs operate separately and very distinctly, and people know their positions within each program.

As for the purpose of SSE Riga, Eva began by listing three fundamental drivers or guiding principles: excellence, integrity, and community. Excellence refers to the high standards of teaching (and learning) which the School strives to achieve. Integrity captures the broad set of (Swedish) core values to which the School subscribes, including academic honesty, morality, and social equality. And community alludes not only to the strong organizational culture which Eva works to develop for employees, but also to the supportive and homelike atmosphere which she hopes that students will experience at the School. But as for the purpose of SSE Riga specifically, it is clear and concise for Eva—to help the economy of the Baltic countries and the countries of the Swedish grant.

Katerina. Katerina first came to SSE in the late 1990s as an exchange student from Charles University in Prague. She stayed on, however, finishing her Ph.D. in 2009. For many years she has taught accounting at both SSE Riga and SSE Russia. And recently she was appointed Associate Academic Director of SSE Russia.

Speaking of SSE Russia specifically, she reminisced that the School had a very successful executive MBA program which focused on the oil and gas industry, attracting students from all over Russia. But when the Moscow School of Management Skolkovo was founded, “they were sort of ordered to go there”. More and more students in the oil and gas MBA, she rationalized, had become “normal people who just did not speak English”.

Consequently, SSE Russia dropped the focus on the oil and gas industry for a more general management track, and created two streams: one stream in the English language and a second stream in the Russian language.

It is not easy teaching in Russia, however, Katerina admitted. The Russian mentality has been her greatest challenge. Indeed, during lectures on accounting standards, for example, students often ask her for ways to get around the standards…strategies for avoiding regulations. And chastising them does not work, Katerina emphasized. "You have to talk from your perspective but you cannot push it like this," she motioned. "You have to build it in. You have to show examples."

It has been gratifying, nonetheless, teaching at SSE Russia and SSE Riga. Indeed, she feels very strongly about the impact which both Schools have had in promoting her adopted home of Sweden, with respect to business and also its liberal-democratic values. Both Schools have raised the expectations among local students for quality in higher education. "Being there," she insisted, "added value, because it's not only about content but also the way of how you teach." And both Schools—but especially SSE Russia—she believes, have created a network of people who are more open and who think differently than the remainder of society.

And these outcomes, Katerina is convinced, were the hope behind the founding of SSE Riga and SSE Russia. When asked to elaborate, she suggested first that both Schools were triggered by the political situation at the time—that there were "historical links to those areas and an interest in helping these countries to develop". Second, she explained that SSE wanted to be among the leading global business schools, and that meant being international. And third, she mentioned Linder, citing him as the champion of the transnationalization of the Stockholm School of Economics. But as important to Katerina is the belief that money was never a motive. On the contrary, she stressed, there was no money to be made in Latvia in the 1990s. "And this is where it's interesting," she reflected, "because it makes it a different case for all the other guys."

Lars. Lars emphasized that SSE Riga must be understood in its historical context… that it came into existence at a very specific point in time. The U.S.S.R. had dissolved, and the President of SSE was an imposing leader. It was a political project, as he called it—200 million krone in foreign aid—aimed at helping Sweden's Baltic neighbors leapfrog into the future. SSE Riga was to become a mirror image of its home institution—small, élite, and highly selective. From the start, Lars added, it was to be handed over as a gift to the locals.

Lars also insisted, however, that the goal of founding SSE Riga was never to make money. On the contrary, it was always viewed (and continues to be viewed) as altruistic. A secondary goal, he admitted, was to internationalize SSE. He added that the multiple campuses have also strengthened the School's reputation, spread brand awareness, and buttressed the quality of both teaching and School operations. Despite these added benefits, Lars assured me that SSE would not open any new foreign branch campuses.

Another unintended benefit of SSE Riga is the steady supply of high-quality students for master programs in Sweden. Indeed, these students contribute richly to the classroom experience in Sweden, and help to achieve the fifty-fifty international-global goal which Lars has set for the School—"enough so that internationals students feel it is Swedish and global enough for Swedes," he explained. The master of finance program currently has 70% foreign students, which is too high, he reckons. "They cover costs…not big money-makers to have international students in the masters programs," he was quick to point out.

Lars has also set quotas for international instructors, and has introduced an American-style tenure system for promotion. It must be remembered, he recalled, that the mission of SSE when it was founded in 1909 was contribute to and strengthen Swedish industry. And today this also means international. The School will not complete its mission, therefore, if foreign students come and do not stay. "Hopefully some will stay and start companies," he offered. When asked about other international activities, he assured me that MOOCs and distance education were definitely not in the plan. The only reasons to engage in those, he suggested, would be external promotion and instructor development.

Nellija. For Nellija, SSE Riga is a contrast between old and new, between status quo and change. To begin, she noted that SSE Riga has recently changed its legal status in Latvia, transforming itself from a kind of joint venture between SSE and the Latvian government (In fact, a special law had to be written in 1995 in order to accommodate the School's existence.) into a limited liability not-for-profit organization. Consequently, the legal freedom which SSE Riga once enjoyed, she complained, has given way to a wider range of bureaucratic requirements from the Latvian government; every document and all agreements must be in the Latvian language, for example.

But when it comes to the goal of the School, she continued, “I don’t think it has changed from the very beginning.” Indeed, in her mind, the founding of SSE Riga was premised on delivering a very high quality education in economics and business, in order to stimulate economic and social change in the Baltic countries. She also believes that the School has a mandate to “raise socially active people…good people, meaning not cheating, with good aims, trying to help”. The idea, therefore, she hoped, is that students “come here, study and learn, then go back and bring knowledge to their country”.

And more and more students, she declared, are not from Latvia. Indeed, SSE Riga was originally intended to serve an equal number of students from Estonia, Latvia, and Lithunia. But in the past decade, SSE Riga has slowly become dominated by Latvian students…although to be fair, she added, backtracking slightly, SSE Riga is attracting more and more international students, especially from Moldova, Belarus, Georgia, and Ukraine under a Swedish grant. International exchanges are also on the rise—both in-coming and out-going—with about 60% of all SSE Riga students spending at least one semester abroad at one of the almost 100 partners around the world.

The nationalities of the instructors at SSE Riga have broadened, Nellija interjected. Unsurprisingly, SSE served as the primary source for teaching talent in the beginning. But today, a much wider geographic spread can be seen. Moreover, “the nice tendency is that during the last couple of years, our graduates are returning,” she explained. “They did graduate school abroad, worked abroad, but they start coming back and giving lectures.” They view it not as a money-maker, Nellija boasted, but as a thank you to the School.

The thing which has not changed at SSE Riga, she concluded—despite its growth and success—is the culture. Indeed, it remains a small school in spirit, with a very friendly and open environment. It challenges you to work on projects in which you do not have expertise, stretching your abilities or “requiring you to swim” as she put it. And because of the small size, it also means that you must multi-task, serving many masters at once…one day conducting admissions interviews for the bachelor program, and the next day helping to manage an Executive Education program.

Pär. Pär associates transnationalization with Linder. Indeed, Pär referred to him as a visionary, a larger than life and legendary figure in the history of the School. Pär praised his fund-raising skills, claiming that Linder had actually thanked Swedish industrialists for their contributions to SSE Riga when he announced its founding to the King of Sweden, in effect blackmailing them to provide financial support.

In Pär’s mind, however, Swedish industry was not the primary driver for founding SSE Riga. On the contrary, it was a kind of corporate social responsibility, as he put it, which Linder believed Sweden owed the citizens of the Baltic countries. And the plan was always to hand the School over to Latvia after it was established. According to Pär, Linder sensed the political changes which were occurring to the East, and when the U.S.S.R. dissolved, the founding of SSE Riga was a logical step in facilitating Baltic citizenship for Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania. Because of their proximity, it also made more sense than developing a foreign branch campus in Kazakhstan, for example, despite the enormous size and scope of the Kazakh economy.

Pär argues that SSE Riga was not part of any grand transnationalization strategy in the 1990s, but simply one man's vision. He did recall, however, that the idea of establishing SSE as a pan-Baltic business school was tendered, but in the end it was dropped in favor of a more domestically-oriented strategy. Indeed, SSE is fully entrenched in the Swedish higher education system, he relayed, with its nationally-recognized bachelor diploma. Cost-cutting measures revealed that SSE Riga was a financial drain. And there were concerns from the European accreditation agency EQUIS about quality control and governance mechanisms.

Pär relayed that SSE Riga is now primarily a branding agreement which allows for the sharing of best practices and collaboration (student changes, for example). Formally, students must proceed through the admissions process of SSE, which can control quality, but the diploma is issued separately. As such, Pär suggested, SSE Riga is largely viewed as a separate entity, and in essence is considered a feeder for the master's degrees in Stockholm. Pär added that 35% of international students stay in Sweden upon completion of their master's degree, serving as excellent ambassadors for both the School and Sweden.

The emphasis at SSE, Pär concluded, is about internationalizing the student experience, not transnationalization. The environment must be stimulating for students, he suggested, and the School must be more global if it is to remain competitive. Efforts are being made, therefore, to diversify the bachelor's degree student body, although the Swedish-language requirement is a large constraint. One or two streams within the bachelor's degree, he is convinced, will turn to the English language in the near future.

Raimonds. Raimonds is the Pro-Rector of Administrative Affairs at SSE Riga; he is primarily responsible for the School's financial, accounting, and legal issues. As such, his knowledge of SSE Riga is vast, detailed, and technical…despite his modest demeanor. Raimonds began by downplaying his role, suggesting that it is a vision, and not policies and procedures, which is central to the School's operations. "The founding President of SSE Riga [Linder]," he raved, "had a vision that he would like to establish an educational institution here, and thereby bring some benefits to the local economy…improve the business environment, also the political environment, also the environment for Swedish companies to operate in. So to my mind, that was central."

Raimonds continued, however, by noting how remarkable the realization of Linder's vision was. Indeed, in 1995 the Government of Latvia legislated a new law which allowed for the founding of SSE Riga, giving it special economic and tax status, permitting foreign instructors to teach in Latvia and in the English language, authorizing a new curriculum and unorthodox block course scheduling, and ultimately recognizing the previously-unknown

BSc in economics degree. The law has been shortened substantially since then, Raimonds interjected, and other universities can conduct themselves in similar ways. “The law was unique at the time,” Raimonds said, “but these things are all commonplace today.”

Having said that, Raimonds was quick to add that SSE Riga was, and still is, head and shoulders above other universities in Latvia. Speaking of the early 2000s when he himself was a student at SSE Riga, Raimonds spouted, “they had books nobody else could have. The databases which we had here, it was a tremendous resource. Just the opportunity to connect to the internet was a tremendous resource.” In other words, SSE Riga set the bar for all other higher education institutions in the region.

Raimonds recognizes, however, that to maintain this academic lead requires investment. In fact, the cost to educate a single bachelor student is estimated to be 6,000 Euros; SSE Riga only charges students 3,500 Euros. This deficit is all the more disconcerting because funding from SSE and the Swedish government subsided in 2010. With cajoling from SSE and the Swedish government, the Latvian government agreed to provide financial aid to the School, for the 2010 to 2012 period. Three Swedish banks—SEB, Swedbank, and Nordea—also lent support to the School starting 2010; the final donations were deposited in Summer 2015.

According to Raimonds, revenue-generating activities such as the executive MBA and special projects were fortunately able to cover the deficit, consequently, leaving the philanthropic donation for future investment. He is open to expansion of both the bachelor and executive MBA degrees, which would increase revenue without substantial increases in cost. But he also recognizes that there are physical constraints which could prevent the two degrees from getting much larger. Expansion could also have a negative impact on the student experience.

Salam. Salam has been working in the field of international student mobility for his entire career, first in Iran, then Turkey, and for the past 25 years, in Sweden. Consequently, international education means student exchange for Salam. At SSE, he manages a team which serves both in-coming and out-going exchange students, all of whom fall into one of four categories of international student mobility: 1. exchanges within their Nordic consortium (SSE, Copenhagen Business School in Denmark, Norwegian School of Economics in Norway, and Aalto University in Finland), 2. exchanges within the ERASMUS program, 3. exchanges within SSE bilateral agreements, and 4. exchanges within the CEMS degree consortium.

Most students at SSE—and many more than at most other universities, Salam noted—want to go on an international exchange. The curriculum at SSE is flexible which encourages international student mobility. But spaces are limited because to date, SSE has been very strict when it comes to the quality standards of potential exchange partners. Moreover, Salam emphasized, partnerships require active management. They need a champion…someone who is prepared to invest time in building the relationship.

In addition to managing the formal partnerships which are required for international student mobility, Salam's team also provides students services, primarily for the in-coming students. These services include housing support, cultural adventures, and sightseeing tours. His team also coordinates closely with the SSE Student Association which, he boasted, is very well established at the School and does a wonderful job welcoming foreign students. From time to time, Salam added, his office also supports exchanges at the instructor level, but only if these are part of the formal exchange agreement; otherwise, the support is managed by the functional unit (marketing or finance, for example).

With respect to SSE Riga, Salam stated that he is quite disappointed with the relationship. "The students from Riga are top students," he explained, "but very few come here. There should be more!" His impression is that exchange between the two Schools is not well-coordinated, and that SSE Riga has not done a good job developing its exchange partner network. "The School has third and fourth tier partners," he winced, "which is not right considering that, that the students are so good. It should do better."

The Transnationalization of the Stockholm School of Economics

The previous section summarized the research participants' perspectives on the transnationalization of the Stockholm School of Economics. Although these perspectives were articulated in different ways and in different language, there are indeed some common themes. In the second phases of the data analysis procedures, however, I moved up to the micro-cultural level, the purpose of which was to explore—*à la* activity theory—the transnationalization of the Stockholm School of Economics as an activity system. In line with activity theory, this micro-cultural analysis assumed that individual perspectives on the transnationalization of the Stockholm School of Economics do not provide a complete picture of the activity system which is the transnationalization of the Stockholm School of Economics. This section, therefore, presents the results of the micro-cultural analysis by modeling the transnationalization of the Stockholm School of Economics as an activity system.

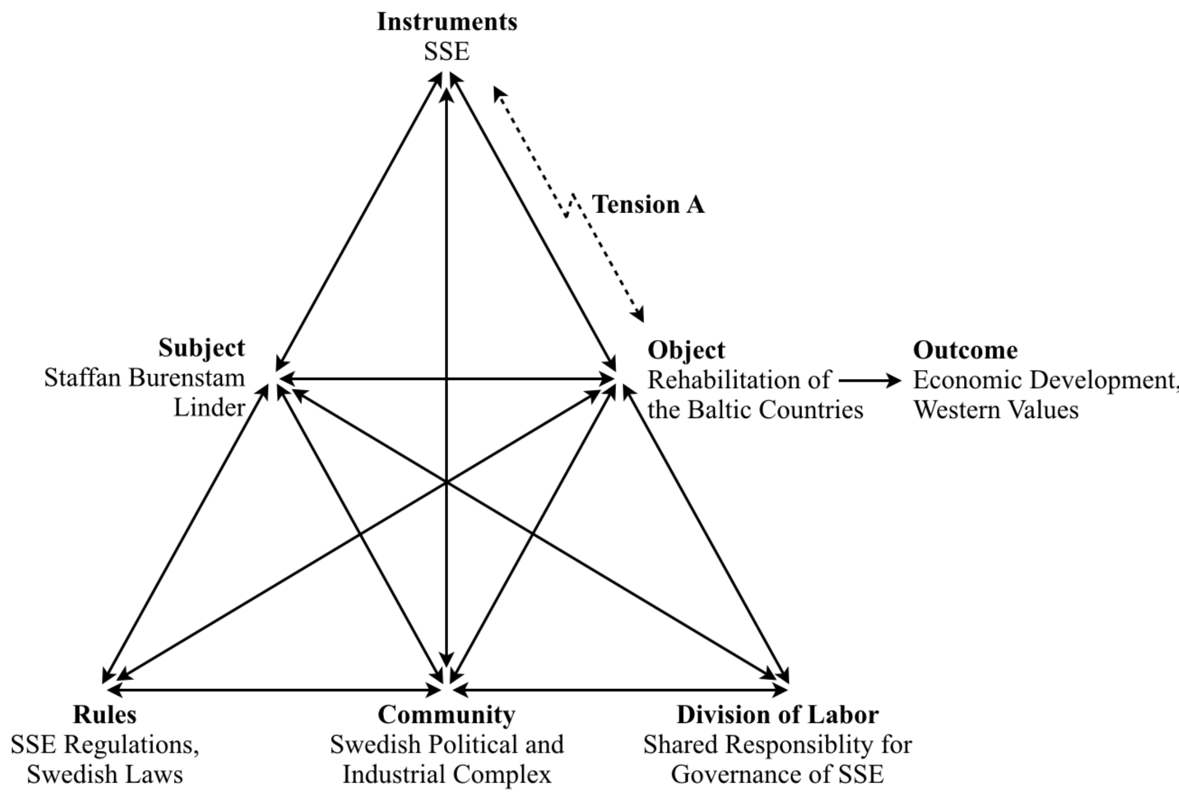
This activity system, however, is viewed as an evolving entity—as a series of tentative states of the activity system. Indeed, recalling that it is the tension between various elements in the activity system which is the source of change and evolution of the activity, the transnationalization of the Stockholm School of Economics can be considered—with a nod to Rostow's (1960) model of economic development—as evolving through four distinct stages: 1. Linder and Company, 2. Preconditions for Takeoff, 3. Takeoff (and Flying), and 4. Solo Flight. This section, therefore, presents the transnationalization of the Stockholm School of Economics as an activity system, according to these four stages.

Linder and Company. Staffan Burenstam Linder is often credited as the father of SSE Riga. The more sweeping moniker, father of SSE transnationalization, might also be applied, because the transnationalization of the Stockholm School of Economics reached its apex during his presidency from 1986 to 1995. Indeed, as mentioned previously, the Stockholm Institute for Transition Economies (SITE) was launched in 1989 under Linder, triggered by the changes which were beginning to happen in the U.S.S.R. at the time. In 1991, a three-semester English-language MSc in economics and business was introduced, primarily targeting international students who did not have a Swedish bachelor's degree. And in 1992, at the height of the Japanese economic miracle, the European Institute for Japanese Studies (EIJS) was opened.

But Linder cannot take complete credit for SSE Riga…or at least for the idea for SSE Riga, because a foreign branch campus of SSE to serve the Baltic countries was also suggested by Joakim Weidemanis, a Swedish student of Latvian descent who attended SSE from 1991 to 1995. In his first semester at SSE, Weidemanis established the Baltic Exchange Program, the purpose of which was to fund Estonian, Latvian, and Lithuanian students to participate in a summer training and internship program in Sweden. But shortly thereafter, he approached Linder to discuss the expansion of the program to include full-degree opportunities for these students.

Linder's role as President of SSE, however, is undisputed, thereby qualifying him as both the patriarch of SSE Riga, and the subject of the activity system which was in place at the time of the dissolution of the U.S.S.R. (See Figure 5.). As intimated several times in the research participants' perspectives on the transnationalization of the Stockholm School of Economics, Linder believed that it was Sweden's duty to help rehabilitate its Baltic neighbors as they gained independence in 1990. Consequently, Linder began to envisage SSE as an instrument which could be used in service of this rehabilitation of the Baltic countries…more specifically, in service of the rehabilitation of higher education in the Baltic countries, in the disciplines of economics and business. This rehabilitation would lead to economic development, and to the adoption of Western values, including

Figure 5. The Transnationalization of the Stockholm School of Economics: The Dissolution of the U.S.S.R.



Source: Author

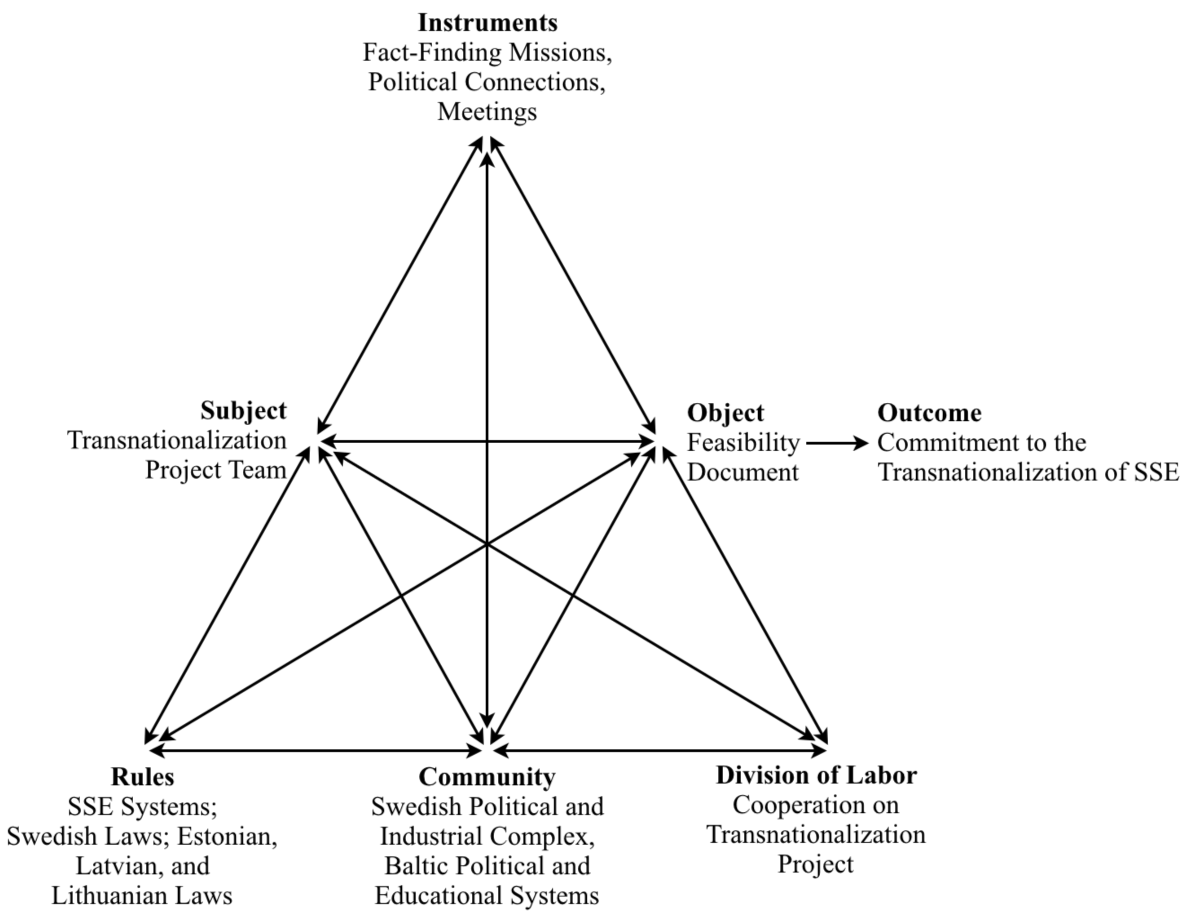
democracy, capitalism, and civil rights, in Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania. Anders Paalzow, colleague of Linder and current Rector of SSE Riga, captured it well, stating that "Staffan Burentsam Linder clearly saw the need to educate the young generations of the Baltic countries in economics and business as the three countries regained their independence in the early 1990s. Seeing it as an attempt to defend freedom, he conceived the idea" (2004, p. 7).

Within the activity system were also SSE's own formal and informal regulations, and those of Sweden at large. There was a broader Swedish political and industrial complex at play. And although the School's quotidian operations were led by Linder as President of SSE Riga, its corporate strategy was governed collectively.

This activity system, however, gave rise to a tension between SSE as an instrument, and the rehabilitation of the Baltic countries as the object of the activity. That is to say, it was obvious to Linder that SSE would be unable to act in service of this rehabilitation, in its current form and with its current activities. Indeed, the Baltic Exchange Program, although a laudable and worthy pursuit, could not contribute significantly to the rehabilitation of the Baltic countries. Economic development and the adoption of Western values, therefore, would likewise be limited. This tension, therefore, prompted a project (another activity), the mandate of which was to produce a feasibility document for the transnationalization of the Stockholm School of Economics to the Baltic countries (See Figure 6.). The intended outcome of this feasibility document was a collective commitment to the enterprise.

In this activity system, however, the subject was not Linder alone, but an extended group of people who had bought into the idea of rehabilitating higher education in the Baltic countries, in the disciplines of economics and business. These people cooperated on the research and analysis which buttressed the feasibility document. This research and analysis extended beyond the boundaries of Sweden, to also include the Baltic political and education systems, and Estonian, Latvian, and Lithuanian laws.

Figure 6. The Transnationalization of the Stockholm School of Economics: Feasibility Document



Source: Author

In January 1991, therefore, Weidemanis and a group of fellow SSE students led the first fact-finding mission to the Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania. They toured Tallinn

Technical University and the University of Tartu in Estonia, the University of Latvia and Riga Technical University in Latvia, and Vilnius University and Kaunas Technical University in Lithuania. They also visited Western-supported private and semi-private educational initiatives which were underway at the time.

This fact-finding mission was followed in February 1992 with the first mission from an official SSE delegation. The delegation was comprised of Linder, Hākan Herstierna (from SSE Executive Education), and Gunnar Lund (an influential Swedish politician who later became Sweden's ambassador to the U.S.A.). The delegation toured universities in Tallinn, Tartu, and Riga. It attended meetings with ministers of education in both Estonia and Latvia. And it spent time discussing the state of affairs in Sweden's embassies. It ought to be noted that Linder was especially taken with Andris Pielbags, the Latvian Minister of Education, whom he praised as a straight-shooter.

While analysis of the results of the fact-finding and delegation missions proceeded, Linder began networking within the Swedish political and industrial complex, in order to gain political support for the idea. He also nurtured his relationships with Pielbags and Andreas Ådahl, the Swedish Ambassador to Latvia. By mid-year 1992, several conclusions about the transnationalization of the Stockholm School of Economics had been reached:

- The Baltic countries suffered from a very low level of education in (market-based) economics and business.
- The Western-supported private and semi-private educational initiatives which

were underway at the time were failing, largely due to a lack of commitment.

- There was also a local perception that these educational initiatives were temporary, leading to the use of the term academic tourism.
- A long-term commitment, therefore, including a bricks-and-mortar presence, would be necessary.
- Riga was the preferred site for a new school because of its central location, cosmopolitan nature, and industrial development.
- A new school ought to operate independently of the local university system.
- A new school ought to be equivalent in content and standards to SSE or other leading business schools.
- A new school ought to have a pan-Baltic student body, and be careful not to discriminate against the large ethnic-Russian populations which existed in Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania.
- The Latvian government ought to commit to a new school with resources, and recognize the new degree.
- A new school would require buy-in, and also financial support, from both the Swedish government and Swedish industry.
- A new school ought to be handed over to Latvia at the end of the funding period.

These conclusions led to a set of guiding principles which were adopted by the transnationalization project team, as it continued with its research and analysis in service of buttressing a feasibility document (See Table 14.).

Table 14. Guiding Principles of the Project

Objectives	Develop a pan-Baltic school to train students with potential to become high-powered entrepreneurs and intrapreneurs, and to promote economic interaction between the countries.
Quality	Create an equivalent of the Stockholm School of Economics in the Baltic region, with the quality and level of the educational program, instructors, and students on par with any Western business school, and with English as the functional language.
Status	Establish an independent school—not part of a local university—in order to have the freedom to achieve the objectives, but which is recognized by the relevant Ministries in the three Baltic countries.
Values	Recruit on merit, using a combination of test results (similar to GMAT and TOEFL), interviews, and grades, in order to admit students with potential only, and to avoid being swayed by external pressures (Soviet style) or different grading systems in different schools.
Instructors	Employ instructors from Western Europe (the Stockholm School of Economics predominantly) and North America during the first years, and immediately start building a local teaching corps by recruiting Baltic scholars who are already abroad, by training local instructors in modern pedagogy, and by ensuring that a critical mass of graduates will pursue an academic career.
Students	Open the school to Baltic residents, without skewing away from Russian students because of the significant ethnic Russian population in the region.
Facilities	Build a school with world-class facilities, on par with those in Stockholm, and which demonstrate to students and the community the commitment and quality.
Sustainability	Work toward self-sufficiency, with ownership of the school eventually transferring to Latvia.

Source: Adapted from Weidmanis & Šadurskis (2004)

In July 1992, Nina Šadurskis, a Swede of Latvian descent, joined the transnationalization project team. Šadurskis had heard Linder speak about the project, and, drawn to the idea of helping her spiritual homeland, she took a leave of absence from the management consultancy at which she worked to author the feasibility document. In December 1992, it was delivered to the Swedish Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

TRANSNATIONALIZATION

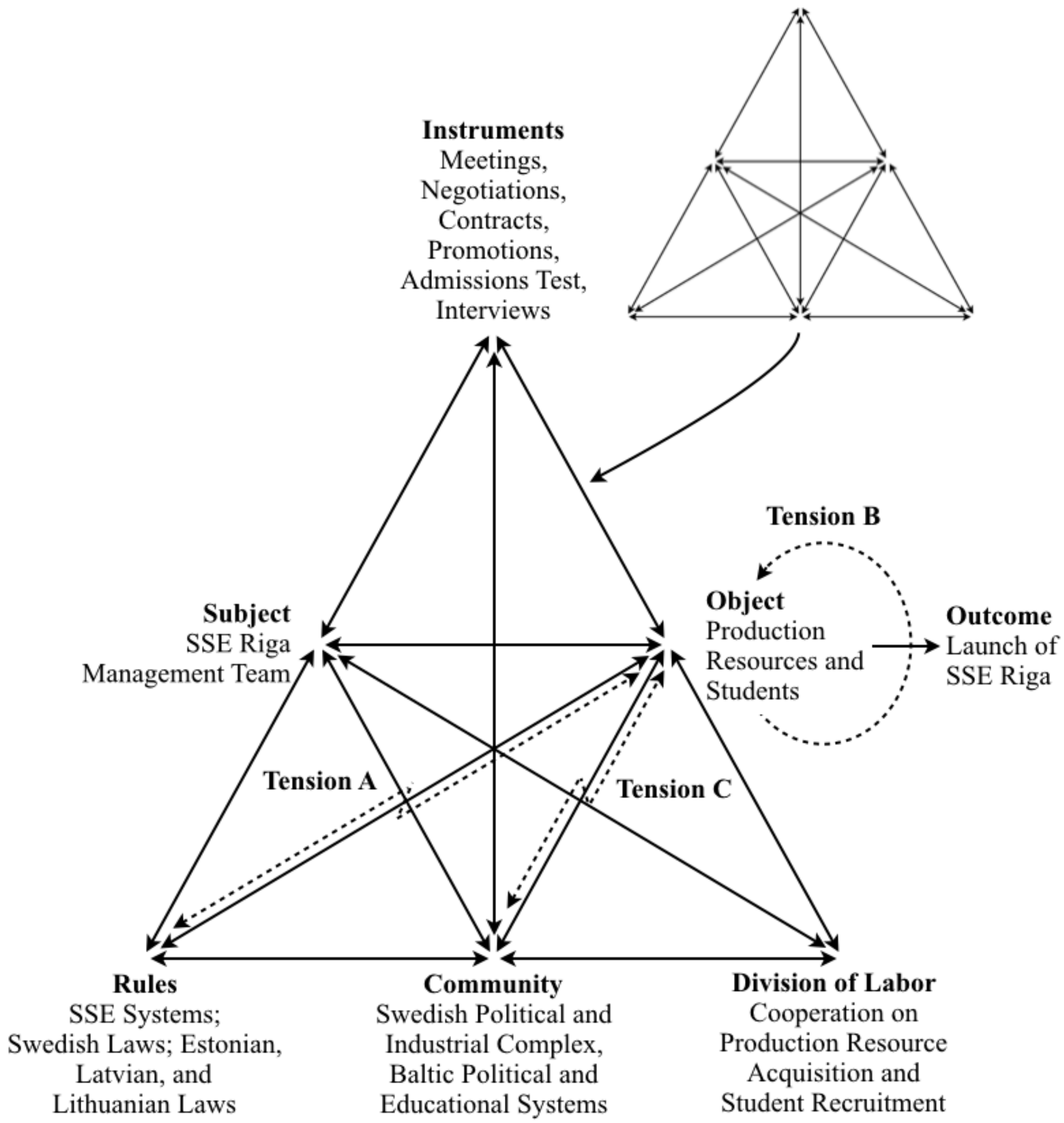
Preconditions for Takeoff. In January 1993, with the feasibility document at the Ministry, and hopes for the transnationalization of the Stockholm School of Economics to the Baltic countries running high, a new SSE Riga management team was formed (See Figure 7.). It included Jan-Erik Vahlne, Professor of International Business at SSE, who was appointed Rector of SSE Riga; he retained a twenty per cent load as Professor at SSE. Māris Slokenbergs, who, in 1944 as a nine-year old boy escaped from Latvia to Sweden with his parents, was hired as the Pro-Rector. The task of the SSE management team was to establish the preconditions for takeoff—that is to say, to 1. acquire the financial, legal, physical, human, organizational, relational and other production resources which were necessary to launch SSE Riga, and 2. recruit the first cohort of students, which, of course were also necessary to launch SSE Riga.

Production resource acquisition was influenced by the feasibility document for the transnationalization of the Stockholm School of Economics to the Baltic countries, which was the object of the previous activity. Acquisition of production resources involved multiple meetings, difficult negotiations, and lengthy contracts. Student recruitment involved various promotions and an admissions test. These acquisition and recruitment activities were shared among the members of the SSE management team, which itself evolved as new employees (SSE Riga administrators) who were hired.

In March 1993, the Swedish government granted parliamentary approval for the funding of SSE Riga, initially for a three-year period, and tentatively for a ten-year period

(By law, the seated government cannot finance budget items beyond its term limits.). A sum

Figure 7. The Transnationalization of the Stockholm School of Economics: Production Resources and Students



Source: Author

of 122 million SEK was allocated. In the same month, the Latvian Cabinet of Ministers approved the establishment of SSE Riga, and assigned to it the building at Strēlnieku iela 4a in central Riga. And in June 1993, the legal ownership contract was signed, with SSE holding seventy-five per cent of the share and the Latvian Ministry of Education and Science holding the remaining twenty-five per cent.

The development of SSE Riga in Latvia, however, raised two legal problems (See Tension A Figure 7.). First, the SSE Riga management team had set a very aggressive goal of launching the School in January 1994. Latvian law, however, stipulated very firmly that the academic year must begin in the autumn, in line with other higher education institutions in Latvia. The SSE Riga management team acquiesced.

At a more foundational level, SSE Riga did not meet the stringent rules for higher education institutions which Latvia had inherited from the U.S.S.R. Specifically, the proposed length of the program, use of foreign instructors, and language of instruction were all illegal. This tension was ultimately relieved in October 1995, at which time the Latvian Parliament signed the so-called Law on the Stockholm School of Economics in Riga, which granted the School special status within the Latvian higher education system.

Meanwhile, during the period October to December 1993, the SSE Riga Board of directors was formed, and the SSE Riga management team began to recruit instructors from SSE for the new venture. These instructors attended a specially-designed course in Stockholm, which introduced them to Latvian history, language, politics, economics, and culture. A few local Latvian instructors were also recruited. In February 2014, the Swedish instructors visited Riga, meeting their Latvian colleagues, touring the city, and visiting various government ministries.

Both the course in Stockholm and the visit to Riga helped to strengthen the camaraderie among Swedish instructors, and heightened their resolve to rehabilitate the Baltic countries. But it also strained the relationship with the few local Latvian instructors, who perceived the foreign salary premium as unfair (See Tension B in Figure 7.). Incidentally, this condition remains to this day, and continues to strain the relationship between the locals and foreigners. The challenge of recruiting the few local Latvian instructors also confirmed one of the guiding principles which had been adopted by the transnationalization project team—that SSE Riga must immediately start building a local teaching corps by recruiting Baltic scholars who were already abroad, by training local instructors in modern pedagogy, and by ensuring that a critical mass of graduates would pursue an academic career. Adherence to this principle, however, has been difficult (See Tension C in Figure 7.). Indeed, in the early days of SSE Riga, there were many local Latvian instructors who excelled in mathematics and centrally-planned economics, but few who could meet the world-class standards of SSE Riga. And even today, more than twenty-years on, the number of Latvian—even Baltic—scholars is limited.

In December 1993, renovation of the building at Strēlnieku iela 4a in Riga began. Design services were provided by Scandinavian architectural firm Tengbom, and Sweden-based construction giant Skanska managed the renovations (at a fixed price). Funding was provided by the Swedish government, Swedish industrial partners, and private donors (including George Soros). Seemingly small issues of renovation sometimes escalated to major incidents (See Tension A in Figure 7.). Commercial insurance had yet to develop in Latvia, requiring the intervention of a foreign insurer, Tryg Hansa…which, incidentally, offered the insurance in kind. And parking an industrial crane in Strēlnieku iela required approvals from fourteen different Latvian agencies.

The result of the renovation was spectacular, however (See Photograph 1.). Strēlnieku iela 4a is now considered one of the gems of Latvian architecture, and a permanent fixture on the Art Nouveau walking tour of Riga. At a symbolic level, Strēlnieku iela 4a also signaled that SSE was a serious and committed player—that it was not an academic tourist. It simultaneously broke with the Soviet past, and embraced Latvian history and culture. And it provided a modern and stimulating academic environment for students and instructors alike.

Despite these positive effects, Strēlnieku iela 4a also kindled envy and distrust within the academic community (See Tension C in Figure 7.). Outreach activities by SSE Riga have gone some way to assuage the detractors. But even after years of operation, and despite the general leveling of the quality of academic facilities across Latvia, envy and distrust persist.

With respect to student recruitment, promotion of the School and of the BSc in Economics and Business program began in earnest in January 1994. Newspaper advertisements, radio spots, and a Latvia-wide road show (The SSE Riga Management Team decided prudently that the first cohort of students would be comprised of Latvians only.) generated 750 applicants for the planned 50 seats. An admission test was held in

Photograph 1. Facade of Strēlnieku iela 4a

Source: studyinlatvia.eu

order to assess logical aptitude, plus mathematics and English-language skills. The top candidates were invited for interviews in March 1994, at which they could demonstrate their character, their experiences, and their motivation. Fifty-eight candidates were offered seats; fifty-six of them accepted.

Takeoff (and Flying). On Monday 11 July 1994, therefore, these fifty-sixty candidates matriculated as students of the new SSE Riga BSc in Economics and Business program. At first, the courses were held in the University of Latvia's Faculty of Geography building which sits adjacent to Strēlnieku iela 4a. But on 8 November 1994, when renovation was completed, SSE Riga celebrated its official inauguration in the presence of Latvian President Guntis Ulmanis and Carl XVI Gustaf, the King of Sweden.

Continuing with an aeronautical metaphor, however, getting the airplane off the ground is only the first step. Indeed, it is flying—sustaining flight—which is the more difficult feat. And flying, stretching the analogy further, means responding to changes in weather patterns, wind speed, or air currents, for example. With respect to SSE Riga more specifically, this idea of flying plays out in the activity system (See Figure 8.) as a series of strategic and tactical responses to various tensions which arose in the activity system. SSE Riga has evolved, therefore, in terms of both its long-term direction and its daily operations, since its takeoff on Monday 11 July 1994. Several examples will illustrate this evolution.

To begin, culture is an invisible but very powerful force in any organization. Consequently, the SSE Riga management team set out to build a School culture in which instructors, administrators, and students all considered themselves as pioneers, united together in service of the same object. The SSE Riga management team, therefore, nurtured the notion of common purpose. It championed collective decision-making. And it advocated for joint accountability.

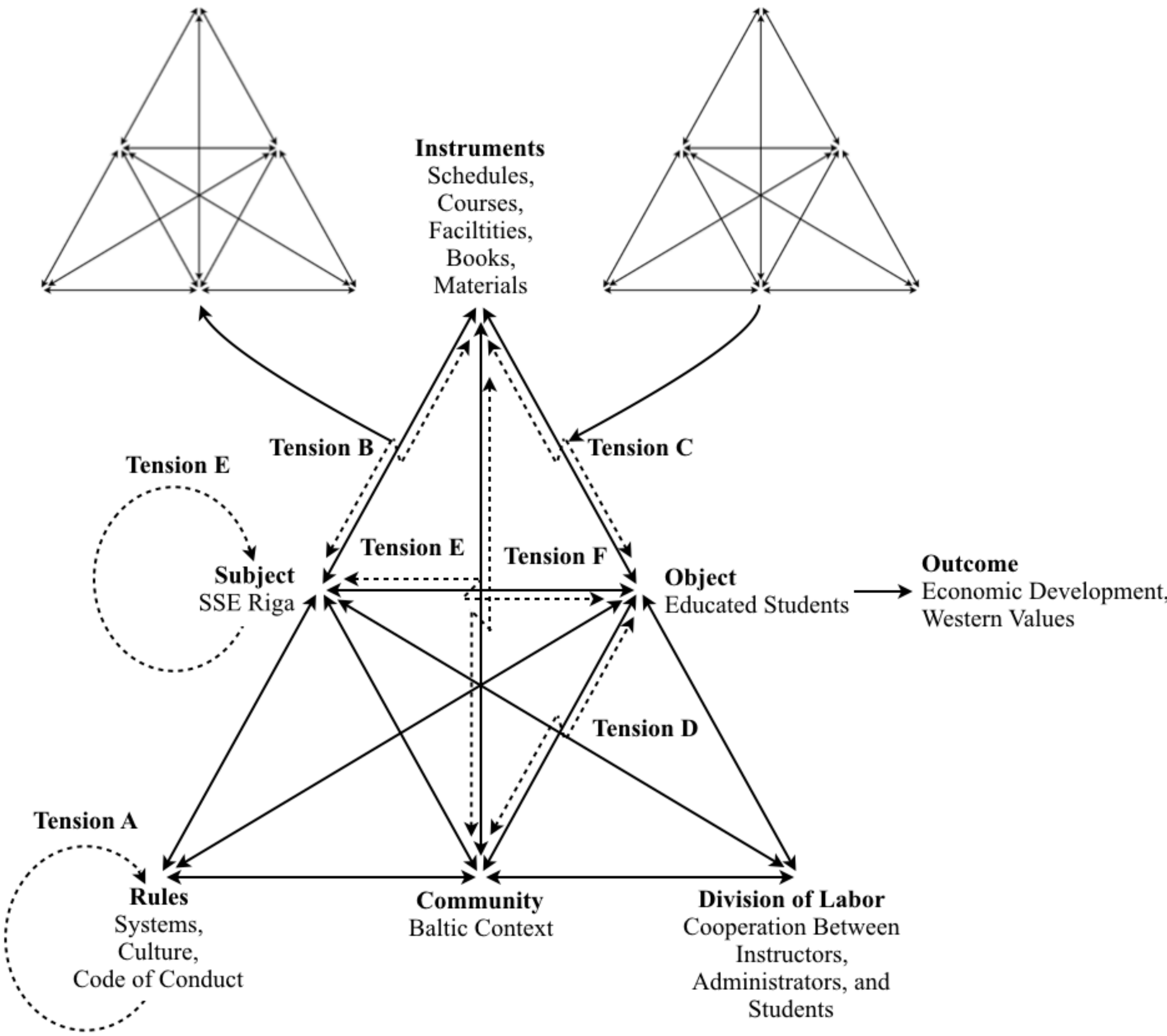
Almost immediately, however, it was noted that students had a limited voice in leading the School (See Tension A in Figure 8.). This tension, therefore, led to the formation of the SSE Riga Student Association, which was subsequently given a seat on the School's advisory board. The students of SSE also contributed to the development of a code of conduct and a set of corresponding procedures in which they participated. The code of conduct and procedures were necessary to address cheating, plagiarism, and other issues of academic integrity which arose as a tension between the Western values of SSE and some practices which were inherited from the Soviet-era.

As described previously, SSE Riga instructors mostly hailed from SSE. This fly-in model of human resources, however, created operation challenges for the School (See Tension B in Figure 8.). Indeed, the cadence of courses in a traditional semester calendar had to give way to modular scheduling, with a typical course lasting five weeks, and a serial rather than parallel course sequencing. The housing of foreign instructors also proved to be difficult, partly due to the lack of hotels in the early years of Latvian independence. These and other unforeseen challenges added to the costs of running SSE Riga. In 1995, therefore, an executive education department was created, thereby spawning its own activity system whose object was revenue-generation in service of the SSE Riga BSc. In 2002, an Executive MBA was launched, likewise spawning its own revenue-generation activity.

Switching to the degree program, in the first instance, the SSE Riga BSc in

Economics and Business program was designed as an intensive two-year journey, which included an eight-week Summer semester with a two-week study trip to Stockholm. The

Figure 8. The Transnationalization of the Stockholm School of Economics: Strategies and Tactics



Source: Author

traditional program at SSE which consisted of three academic years had been condensed into two calendar years, with only a two-week break in December and a two-week break in summer. The intensity of the program, however, combined with the demands of studying a new subject in a foreign language and in a different academic milieu, stressed the students (See Tension C in Figure 8.). In response, a student support program was created, which over the years has become a much-expanded hybrid model for student development. It employs various activities, including peer support, social counseling, and alumni-student mentoring, and aims to: 1. smooth the transition from secondary school to SSE Riga, 2. ensure progress throughout the program, 3. lay the foundation for career success, and 4. instill a passion for life-long learning.

As intimated previously, the first cohort of students at SSE Riga was comprised of Latvians only. In order to serve the object of educating students from all three Baltic countries, therefore, admissions tests were also organized in Tallinn and Vilnius in March 1995. For the 100 students (eighty-four from Latvia, and eight each from Estonia and Lithuania) who began the program in August 1997, the program had been extended to two and one half years; in 2000 it reached three years. The eight-week summer semester became a six-week pre-BSc preparatory program, and focused on English language competence, basic economics, group dynamics, and study skills.

During the Soviet era, it was not uncommon for students to also work while conducting their studies. This mentality continued after the dissolution of the U.S.S.R., but was exacerbated by the difficult economic situation in the Baltic countries in the initial years of independence. SSE Riga, therefore, had to instigate a financial support system (30

Ls per month), with accompanying rules and regulations, in order to alleviate the economic strain, and thereby ensure the successful completion of the program. Even then, only forty-six of the fifty-six students in the first cohort graduated on 2 July 1996.

Despite the obvious commitment of Swedish government and industry to the enterprise, SSE Riga was an enigma from the outset (See Tension D in Figure 8.). Additionally, the BSc in Economics and Business degree—any bachelor's degree in fact—was a completely unknown entity in those first post-Soviet years. In November 1995, therefore, SSE Riga held its first career fair, hoping to demonstrate the quality of the students, and strengthen the ties to Baltic industry, especially local companies.

SSE Riga was also chosen as the first higher education institution in Latvia to participate in a pilot accreditation project by the Latvian Ministry of Education. Three academic experts from the United Kingdom, therefore, spent the period from January to May 1996 evaluating the School, the culmination of which was formal accreditation in Latvia. Shortly thereafter, SSE Riga was also recognised by the Estonian and Lithuanian governments.

Recall that one of the guiding principles was that SSE Riga must immediately start building a local teaching corps by recruiting Baltic scholars who were already abroad, by training local instructors in modern pedagogy, and by ensuring that a critical mass of graduates would pursue an academic career (See Tension E in Figure 8.). The top ten students from the first graduating cohort of students, therefore, were offered scholarships to the English-language MSc program at SSE. SSE Riga instructors also attempted to write cases with instructors at local Latvian universities, but by all accounts the outreach was a disaster and halted promptly. As mentioned before, the dearth of local Baltic instructors continues to this day.

In 2004, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, and seven other countries acceded to the European Union. With accession, however, came strict EU mandates for changes to and harmonization in, the government, the economy, and also the educational sector (See Tension F in Figure 8.). Consider the impact on SSE Riga and its BSc program, for example, from the requirements of the Bologna Accord. But accession to the European Union also provided SSE Riga with enormous opportunities, in the form of grants for special projects, spots in the ERASMUS and Socrates exchange program, and increased international immersion, for example.

2004 also marked the ten year anniversary of SSE Riga, and the year at which the School was intended to be handed over to Latvia. Recall that one of the guiding principles was that SSE Riga ought to work toward self-sufficiency, with ownership of the School eventually transferring to Latvia. Funding of SSE Riga, however, continued for another six years, split fifty/fifty between the Swedish and Latvian governments. The Latvian government took a forty-nine per cent share of SSE Riga, the other fifty-one per cent owned by SSE on behalf of the Swedish government. It would not be until 2010 that the School would finally sever ownership ties with SSE, and begin to fly on its own.

Solo Flight. On the surface, independence from SSE changed little in terms of SSE Riga activity. Indeed, the object of educating students from the Baltic countries remained the same, in service of economic development and the adoption of Western values. The BSc program was unaltered. And everyday operations continued as they were.

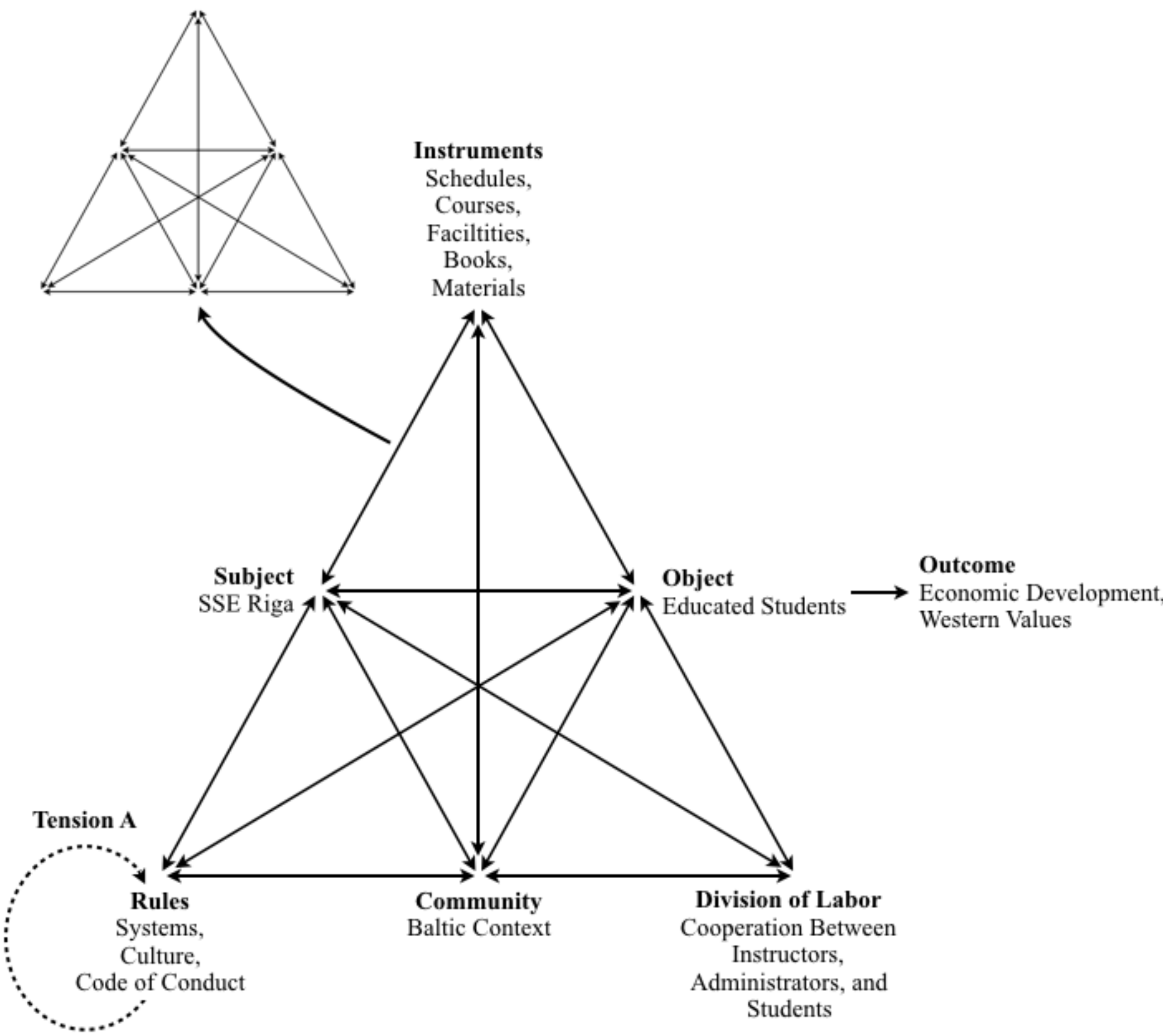
The new-found sovereignty of SSE Riga, however, resulted in significant changes in rules (See Tension A in Figure 9.), the most fundamental of which was ownership structure. Following lengthy negotiations between the Swedish and Latvian governments, SSE Riga was transformed into a not-for-profit foundation, which owns 100 per cent of the shares which were previously divided between the two governments. SSE Riga continues to bear the SSE name, legalized through a licensing agreement which was signed between the two Schools. The licensing agreement spells out the duties and responsibilities of each party, especially with respect to quality control and issuance of diplomas.

As a not-for-profit foundation, this new SSE Riga demanded, in turn, a new governance system. At the top is the Supervisory Board, which is comprised of seven members. SSE, the Latvian government, and the SSE Alumni Association each appoint one member. As the founding fathers, the Swedish and Latvian governments can also nominate one additional member each. And the largest private donor to SSE Riga can nominate two members. The Supervisory Board operates according to the Rules of Association which were drafted at the time of SSE Riga independence.

The new-found sovereignty of SSE Riga also meant the loss of funding from the

Swedish and Latvian governments. Fortunately, three Swedish banks (SEB, Swedbank, and Nordea) agreed to finance the School until 2015, at which time, is was assumed, SSE Riga

Figure 9. The Transnationalization of the Stockholm School of Economics: New Ownership Structure



Source: Author

would be able to sustain itself. Meanwhile, the School began to fundraise aggressively among alumni. It set tuition fees at 6,000 EUR per year (although it subsidized students from the Baltic countries 2,500 EUR). And it launched new revenue-generation activities, including the Center for Media Studies. In the end, SSE Riga was able to fund itself without tapping into Swedish bank financin—another momentous achievement in Staffan Burenstam Linder’s dream of rehabilitating higher education in the Baltic countries, in the disciplines of economics and business.

Summary

Chapter 4 presented the research results. It began by overviewing the management education industry. It then traced the history of the Stockholm School of Economics. Chapter 4 continued by summarizing the research participants’ perspectives on the transnationalization of the Stockholm School of Economics. Finally, it modeled the transnationalization of the Stockholm School of Economics as an activity system. Next, Chapter 5 concludes the research and the dissertation.

Chapter 5. Conclusion

Overview

Chapter 5 concludes the research and the dissertation. It begins by discussing the research and the research results. It then identifies the research limitations. Chapter 5 continues by suggesting directions for future research. Finally, it offers some closing thoughts on transnational higher education.

Discussion

"We talk about globalization today as if it's some great big new thing, that we've all just discovered. But there's really nothing new about it." So declared Jacqueline Winspear (2016), author of the best-selling series of Maisie Dobbs mystery novels. And intuitively it rings true, because globalization—that relentless force of integration—has seemingly been around since the dawn of human existence.

This dissertation began with a similar declaration—that when it comes to the internationalization of higher education, there is likewise really nothing new about it. Indeed, as summarized by Dirlik (2012), "students have been attending 'foreign' universities, and universities have been recruiting 'foreign' students, since the origins of the university" (p. 49). Consider the University of Karueein, for example, which, as the world's oldest higher education institution, has welcomed Muslim scholars from across the Islamic world since its founding in 859.

Recently, however, there has been a growing interest in transnational higher education, a specific form of internationalization which considers education as a product which can be packaged and sold abroad. Transnational higher education accelerated in the 1990s, presumably precipitated by the marketization of higher education, a neo-liberal economic agenda, and the forces of globalization. This acceleration was followed in turn by increased attention on transnational higher education as a scientific phenomenon, the result of which is a large transnational higher education literature, which itself is situated within the broader internationalization of higher education literature.

This research critiqued the transnational higher education literature, however, suggesting that it was plagued by a number of issues. It then aimed to address these issues by developing a more essential and theoretical account of transnational higher education as a practice. Specifically, the research explored the transnationalization of the Stockholm School of Economics, with an emphasis on its foreign branch campus in Riga, Latvia. The results included a modeling of the transnationalization of the Stockholm School of Economics as an activity system. This section discusses the research and the research results.

To begin, it is notable that the transnationalization of the Stockholm School of Economics also occurred in the early 1990s, the period during which transnational higher education emerged as a specific form of internationalization, and as a scientific phenomenon of interest. But whereas transnational higher education is most often associated with marketization, neo-liberalism, and globalization, the research discovered that the rationales (and corresponding aims) of the founding of SSE Riga were less congruous.

Marketization redefines the economic narrative of higher education. It relinquishes government control to market power. And it encourages universities to view higher education as a commercial product. SSE Riga, on the contrary, was founded with a moral imperative; its narrative was noble, selfless, and compassionate (although perhaps with a smidgen of collective Swedish guilt). The government of Sweden played a significant role throughout much of the School's history. And the BSc in Economics and Business program was far from being a money-maker for SSE. To be fair, SSE's foreign branch campus in Riga has augmented its brand equity, by casting the School as more of an international player within the management education industry.

Neo-liberalism advocates consumer agency, free markets, and private property. It eschews government participation and market interference. And it underpins modern views of economic growth and globalization. The research revealed, however, that SSE Riga was more aligned with economic nationalism. Government participation—both financially and politically—was crucial to both the School's launch and subsequent sustained flight (although financial support was funneled through a private business school). As such, SSE

Riga was more in line with state-directed industrial policy, with its operations and outputs benefitting Swedish companies directly and indirectly. I concede that the academic success of SSE Riga over the long-term has been a result of its perceived superiority in quality, within an open higher education market in which students exercise their consumer right to choose. But at its launch, there was undoubtedly a more top-down (almost imperialist) approach, with a paternalistic “eat your broccoli, it’s good for you” sentiment.

Globalization—the reduction or elimination of national barriers, temporal limits, and spatial boundaries—it is suggested, has de-monopolized higher education, by opening the world to students. It has also helped match educational supply and demand, especially in emerging economies whose national systems of higher education have been unable to serve local students’ needs. In both these senses, therefore, SSE Riga is indeed an artifact of globalization. With the dissolution of the U.S.S.R., the Baltic countries which had previously been isolated became—almost overnight—new players in the global economy. And consequently, (some) students from Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania were suddenly freed from the outdated Soviet educational system.

The theoretical lesson from this discussion is that the rationales (and corresponding aims) of transnational higher education are more nuanced, and very much context-dependent. That is to say, the research questions the taken-for-grantedness which the literature ascribes to marketization, neo-liberalism, and globalization. It suggests, on the contrary, that the particular motives behind a specific institution’s transnationalization need to be unpacked and understood *in situ*. From a practical perspective, the research also encourages higher education administrators to be conscious of the variety of rationales (and corresponding aims) of transnational higher education…perhaps even warning them to avoid being baited by the dominant logic or prevailing wisdom.

With respect to impact, the research appears to validate the commonly-held notion that transnational higher education has many economic, societal, and scientific benefits. Indeed, SSE Riga has doubtless been successful when it comes to local skill development, knowledge and technology transfer, increased access to education, new research opportunities, more innovation, and higher quality. Anecdotally, SSE Riga also provides evidence for the claim that transnational higher education leads to higher standards of living, increased competitiveness of local institutions, higher national education level, reduction of skills migration and brain drain, less capital outflow, and less pressure on local education systems. And in line with Saginova and Belyansky (2008), SSE Riga seems to have facilitated the development of the university sector of the Baltic countries, during the transition which followed the dissolution of the U.S.S.R.

At a more micro level, the research also lends support to the assertion that transnational higher education is a subject of importance (and concern) for various stakeholders. Indeed, it demonstrates convincingly that SSE Riga has had enormous impact on the governments of the Baltic countries, accreditation bodies, other institutions of higher education, funders, instructors, and, of course, students. I can imagine the mixture of trepidation and jubilation which Andris Pielbags, the Latvian Minister of Education, must have been feeling during that first meeting with the official SSE delegation in 1993. I can also imagine, however, that Pielbags, now looking back in hindsight, must be extremely proud of the role which SSE Riga played in the rehabilitation of higher education in the Baltic countries, in the disciplines of economics and business…perhaps a powerful lesson for governments of other countries, whether or not in transition.

Switching to the research purpose specifically, recall that a critique of the transnational higher education literature revealed several plaguing issues, which in turn implied the need for a new research agenda on transnational higher education which:

- aims to uncover the essence of transnational higher education,
- focuses on transnationalizing,
- moves beyond the descriptive, speculative, and prescriptive, and
- extends its disciplinary boundaries.

The purpose of this research, therefore, was to develop a more essential and dynamic theoretical account of transnational higher education as a practice. Although cross-disciplinary research—comparative research, for example—is doubtless of value, it was considered beyond the scope of this research.

It is ironic, therefore, that I invoke the international business literature to help uncover the essence of transnational higher education. I contend that the emphasis on education, rather than on the institution, is the nucleus of the first issue which plagues the transnational higher education literature. Indeed, I am now convinced that a consensus on the exact meaning of transnational higher education has not materialized—and in many instances conflicted—because, unlike international business researchers who concern themselves with transnational companies, their counterparts in higher education have, on the contrary, applied the term transnational to education. That is to say, they have focused on the product, not on the producer…and certainly not on production.

The research results reinforce this claim very clearly. Indeed, the transnationalization of the Stockholm School of Economics, when modeled as an activity system, shows that the education—the BSc in Economics and Business program—is fundamentally local in nature. Indeed, during the Preconditions to Takeoff stage of the transnationalization of the Stockholm School of Economics, the primary transnational pursuits were the acquisition of production resources and the recruitment of students. After its launch, SSE Riga became the subject of the activity system. Education was the amalgam of instruments which served the object of educated Estonian, Latvian, and Lithuanian students. Nothing was transnational about the activity system, other than the fly-in instructors and the recognition of the degree by SSE. Even today, in the Solo Flight stage of the transnationalization of the Stockholm School of Economics, the higher education product itself remains fundamentally local in nature; it is the licensing agreement which is the core of the transnationalization.

Taking a cue from the international business literature, with its focus on transnational companies, transnational higher education, therefore, might be re-cast as transnational higher education institutions, with transnational activity as the defining feature. Consider the following definition: "The main characteristics of a transnational company arise from the fact that it operates in two or more countries, including its country of origin" (Reference, 2016). This definition is simple and straightforward, with the qualification of transnational premised on operations across national boundaries. But to be fair, the term operations is ambiguous. Is a licensing agreement an operation, for example? Or does operations mean more tangible, on-the-ground activity? A quick survey of the international business literature also suggests a definitional minefield—numerous definitions of transnational companies exist, with a similar lack of consensus (and some conflict) to that of the transnational higher education literature. The definition from UNCTAD (2016), for example, expands transnational to also include a strategic dimension —"a transnational corporation (TNC) is generally regarded as an enterprise comprising entities in more than one country which operate under a system of decision-making that permits coherent policies and a common strategy" (par. 1).

Arguably, however, this latter definition confuses the essence of a transnational company with its transnationalization mode. At its core, I argue, transnationalizing is about crossing national boundaries. The degree of operational and strategic participation, along with the level of risk, amount of control, and other tradeoffs, are all functions of the transnationalization mode—the legal and organizational structure by which a company transnationalizes. The research results bear this out. Consider the series of strategic and tactical responses to the various tensions which arose in the activity system during the Takeoff (and Flying) stage of the transnationalization of the Stockholm School of Economics; they are dramatically more involved than the actions which are required of SSE for managing the current licensing agreement. In both instances, the common denominator is that SSE operates in two or more countries, including Sweden, its country of origin.

An interesting ramification of this re-jiggering of transnational higher education is that activities other than education could also be included, thereby supporting Knight's (2003a) framework (products, providers, programs, and projects) which does not restrict transnational higher education to commercial ventures only. SSE's European Center for Japanese Studies liaison office in Tokyo, therefore, would qualify SSE as a transnational higher education institution. Likewise, the licensing agreement which is currently the nexus of the relationship between SSE and SSE Riga, but which is operationally relatively passive, would also qualify SSE as a transnational higher education institution.

From a practical perspective, this re-jiggering of transnational higher education ought to reduce any anxiety over the lack of definitional consensus which characterizes the transnational higher education literature. Instead, it punctuates the need to unpack and understand *in situ* the particular motives behind a specific institution's transnationalization…or, in the case of a national government, its motives for sanctioning and encouraging transnational higher education. If the new governing party of Myanmar were considering opening up the country's higher education system to transnationalization, for example, then articulating the reasons for, and the intended outcomes of, any transnational activity is more important than specifying that which is and that which is not transnational higher education.

I propose, therefore, that transnational higher education ought to be considered a misnomer, and that it is more appropriate to speak of transnational higher education institutions. Consequently, both researchers and practitioners are liberated to turn their attention away from the debate over the definition of transnational higher education, and the corresponding wrangle about transnationalization modes and categorization schemes, to transnational higher education as a practice—to the mechanisms, the processes, the workings of transnationalization, and thereby also to the action and agency. And indeed, it was this focus on transnationalizing which was the second item on the new research agenda which the research sought to address.

First, the research results question the tendency in the transnational higher education literature to treat transnational higher education as an entity—to ascribe to it an ontological status which is independent of the transnationalization activity to which the term transnational higher education refers. The research results point out, on the contrary, that transnationalization is purposeful, planned, and, most importantly, performed…that it only comes into existence in and through the practice of transnationalization. Indeed, the BSc in Economics and Business program only came about after considerable efforts…and it is sustained to this day through efforts.

Second, transnational higher education cannot be divorced from the institution, the students, the actors, or the other components of the context within which transnationalization occurs. In simple terms, transnationalization is contextual. This idea was exhibited in the legal problems, for example, which the new SSE Riga management team faced during the Preconditions for Takeoff stage of the transnationalization of the Stockholm School of Economics.

Third, the research results also emphasize that this existence is not static. That is to say, trasnsnationalization is a dynamic process, bursting with action. Consider the morass of maneuvers and machinations of the Linder and Company stage of the transnationalization of the Stockholm School of Economics. Similarly, transnationalization is also evolutionary in nature, with each stage existing in a state of tentativeness, until it gives way to the next stage in its evolution. And this evolution is context-dependent, both relying on and spawning other activities. This interdependence was obvious in the Launch (and Flying) stage of the transnationalization of the Stockholm School of Economics, which relied on the production resource acquisition and student recruitment activities from the previous stage, but which also gave rise to new revenue generation activities.

Fourth, the research results also point squarely to the notion of agency, situated in the subject of the activity system which is the transnationalization of the Stockholm School of Economics. Indeed, the research results demonstrate that transnationalization is not the result of happenstance. Nor does it occur without intention. On the contrary, it is the outcome of deliberate actions of those people who are engaged in the transnationalization. In the Linder and Company stage of the transnationalization of the Stockholm School of Economics, for example, it was Linder himself who was the primary agent in the first instance, subsequently joined by other people who had bought into the idea of rehabilitating higher education in the Baltic countries, in the disciplines of economics and business. In the Preconditions for Takeoff stage of the transnationalization of the Stockholm School of Economics, agency was transferred to the SSE Riga management team. And in the final two stages of the transnationalization of the Stockholm School of Economics, the mantle of agent was taken over by SSE Riga.

In summary, transnational higher education ought to be conceptualized as a practice, not as an entity. This practice of transnationalization is bound up in the complexity of its context. It is dynamic in nature. And it is instigated and implemented by specific transnationalization agents. Transnational higher education as a practice, therefore, shifts the emphasis of transnational higher education from something which is, to something which is done. And it entreats both researchers and practitioners to likewise shift their emphasis from the thing, to the doing.

Finally, the research attempted to move beyond the descriptive, speculative, and prescriptive nature of the transnational higher education literature, by developing a theoretical account of transnational higher education. Considering the two previous proposals—1. that it is more appropriate to speak of transnational higher education institutions, and 2. that transnational higher education ought to be conceptualized as a practice, not as an entity—then the research was more about developing a theoretical account of transnationalization. Recall, however, that a theory in Grounded Theory is not about prediction or explanation, like in the positivist paradigm, but instead about the *eidos*, or sense, of a particular phenomenon. Indeed, it is about achieving a holistic understanding (*verstehen*) of its structure and logic.

In this sense, therefore, the research results are in and of themselves a theoretical account of transnationalization. Specifically, the research has achieved a holistic understanding (*verstehen*) of the structure and logic of the transnationalization of the Stockholm School of Economics, by modeling it as an activity system. It explained the *eidos*, or sense, of this transnationalization, from its ideation stage in 1993, through the launch of SSE Riga, to the present day licensing agreement. This theoretical account of transnationalization provides a valuable contribution to the transnational higher education literature, which is predominantly atheoretical, by furnishing an alternative perspective on transnational higher education. In combination with activity system analysis, it offers a novel approach to understanding transnational higher education as a practice. And it reveals the constitutive relationship between an institution and its transnationalization, thereby affording a richer understanding of the process by which an institution transnationalizes, and, in turn, of the process by which this transnationalization helps to re-shape the institution.

Research Limitations

Despite the contributions of the research and the research results, several research limitations warrant acknowledgement. The first research concerns the research approach—praxiology—which requires a kind of philosophical leap of faith with respect to the claim that the social world only comes into existence through practice. As suggested by Hirschman (1986), however, a research approach is exactly that—"a set of primary assumptions (axioms) that are accepted on faith; that is they are based on *beliefs about the nature of reality* whose truth or falsity is not subject to empirical test" (p. 238). It ought to be asked, nevertheless, if a different research approach—phenomenology, for example, or semiotics—would have led to a different theoretical account of the transnational higher education phenomenon.

Similarly, the choice of the management education industry as the research context, and of the Stockholm School of Economics as the research site, intimates that the research results are confined to this specific milieu. To be fair, Grounded Theory and other interpretivist research approaches do not subscribe to the positivist notion of generalizability. But some degree of transferability (Hirschman, 1986)—the potential for research results to have relevance in other situations or circumstances—strengthens any emergent theory.

The number of research participants was also limited. I did not interview Joakim Weidemanis. I was unable to gain access to the Swedish government. And unfortunately, Staffan Burenstam Linder died in 2000. A concern which ought to be raised, therefore, is that additional research participants might have added different perspectives on the transnationalization of the Stockholm School of Economics, and thereby changed the results of the micro-analysis.

As described in Chapter 3, the data collection procedures consisted primarily of interviews with the research participants. The number of the interviews matched, if not exceeded, that of other practice-theoretical studies, both in higher education and other scientific disciplines. However, I admit that more intensive relationships might have yielded deeper and different perspectives on the transnationalization of the Stockholm School of Economics, likewise changing the results of the micro-analysis. I am also aware that my personal connection to SSE Riga might have had undue influence on the research participants and their willingness to voice their perspectives on the transnationalization of the Stockholm School of Economics.

Additionally, I was able to collect relatively few documents which were related to the Stockholm School of Economics and its transnationalization. And these documents were mostly about SSE Riga, or were written from its point of view. These issues also cast a shadow over the research results.

With respect to the data analysis procedures, another research limitation mirrors a general criticism of activity system analysis as a framework for analyzing practices. As suggested by Nicolini (2012), activity system analysis places a great deal of "emphasis on the notions of 'system' and 'system-ness' " (p. 119). These notions are captured in Engeström's triangular activity system model. But they tend to privilege the structural over the procedural, thereby obscuring less structured, poietic, and spontaneous elements in an activity. My modeling of the transnationalization of the Stockholm School of Economics as an activity system might be guilty of this criticism.

Activity system analysis has also been criticized for its emphasis on object-oriented activity—the notion that an activity transpires because the subject, individual or collective, is motivated to transform the object into an outcome. As such, activity system analysis also privileges collaborative activity, thereby neglecting other possible social interactions such as conflict, opposition, and resistance. My modeling of the transnationalization of the Stockholm School of Economics as an activity system might likewise fall prey to this weakness of activity system analysis.

Finally, as suggested in Chapter 3, the data analysis was conducted solely by me, with logical reasoning as the only analytical tool. Indeed, in a praxiography and other interpretive studies, "the researcher is essentially the main 'measurement device' in the study" (Miles & Huberman, 1994, p. 6), and the results rely almost exclusively on this "human instrument for generating the thick description, content and textual analysis to yield an interpretation" (Murray and Ozanne, 1991, p. 133). This reliance on me alone for the data analysis raises the distinct possibility that the model of the transnationalization of the Stockholm School of Economics which I developed might be altogether different, if someone else were to perform the same data analysis procedures. I hope that the verification procedures which were described in Chapter 3, however, elevate the trustworthiness and believability of the research results.

Directions for Future Research

Science is additive and incremental, with current research simply providing the starting point for future research. And indeed, I saw a number of different directions for future research as I reviewed this research and the research results. First, however, I suggest that future research ought to proceed by addressing the research limitations which were acknowledged in the previous section. Indeed, the new research agenda on transnational higher education, which is implied by the issues which plague the transnational higher education literature, would be served best by employing a variety of different research approaches, in different research contexts, on different research sites, and with different data collection and data analysis procedures.

Consider phenomenology, for example. The task of a phenomenological researcher is to describe the meaning of a phenomenon by exploring human experience of it. That is to say, in order to understand a phenomenon, the phenomenological researcher seeks to make explicit the implicit meaning of human experience of the phenomenon (Atkinson, 1972). A phenomenology of transnational higher education, therefore, would explore transnationalizing not as it is practiced, but instead as it is experienced. I could imagine this research approach yielding interesting insights into the meaning of transnational higher education.

As intimated in the literature review (See Chapter 2.), research on transnational higher education (and including this research) has mostly—if not always—been conducted retrospectively…on institutions which have already trasnsnationalized. Longitudinal research—exploring transnationalization in real time, as it is unfolding—would also be a valuable direction for future research. Action research, which is conducted by a participant researcher who is embedded in an institution which is in the process of transnationalizing, strikes me as a particularly suitable research approach. The challenge, however, is matching a participant researcher with an institution which is in the process of transnationalizing.

And as a third example, discourse analysis could also be a worthy research approach for exploring transnational higher education. The transnational higher education literature has its own vernacular which is rife with technical jargon and scientific wording. Discourse analysis, however, would attempt to understand the way in which transnational higher education is communicated among practitioners, by uncovering its use in everyday language.

In a similar vein, I also suggest that future research ought to be extended to other transnationalization modes. This research explored the transnationalization of the Stockholm School of Economics, with an emphasis on its foreign branch campus in Riga, Latvia. But additional insight into transnational higher education would surely be gained by exploring international franchises, for example, or distance education offerings. Likewise, future research ought to extend beyond commercial ventures to include, *à la* Knight's (2003a) framework, other instruments of transnationalization…an international collaborative research project, for example.

In addition to addressing the research limitations which were acknowledged in the previous section, future research ought to delve deeper into the rationales (and corresponding aims) of transnational higher education, perhaps drawing on the concept of internationalization triggers from the international business literature. What specifically motivates an institution to transnationalize? Similarly, future research ought to be elevated to the national level, with more examination of the motives behind national education hubs and other government-driven transnational higher education policies. I can even imagine research which investigates the link between transnational activities, and the cultural and political bases of a country. Consider the funding of SSE Riga vis-à-vis Swedish social democracy and economic nationalism.

I suggest that more attention also needs to be paid to the economic, societal, and scientific benefits of transnational higher education which have frequently been cited, and to its supposed impact on governments, accreditation bodies, institutions, funders, instructors, and, of course, students. Indeed, future research ought to evaluate more definitively the benefits and impact of translational higher education, although I am cognizant of the challenges of attributing, in a causal fashion, specific outcomes to specific interventions.

With respect to research results, the modeling of the transnationalization of the Stockholm School of Economics as an activity system points to some fruitful directions for future research. For example, agency implies power, and consequently hints at the need to examine the conflict, opposition, and resistance which were part of the criticism of activity system analysis as a framework for analyzing practices. More work also ought to focus on the moderating effect of the context of transnationalization. How does the economic stability of the host country, for example, impact the choice of transnationalization mode? Here again, an appeal to the international business literature would be encouraged. And more exploration of the transnationalization of specific institutions would be welcome, the agglomeration and meta-analysis of which could lead to the identification of a transnationalization pattern, not unlike that of the Heckscher-Ohlin model of international trade.

Finally, I suggest that there is a seemingly limitless scope for applying activity system analysis to other topics in higher education (and other scientific disciplines). A colleague of mine, for example, is preparing a research proposal for his application to doctoral programs, on the phenomenon of servant leadership. Coincidentally, the servant leadership literature, like the transnational higher education, is plagued by a high degree of conceptual immaturity. But more relevantly, the servant leadership literature has likewise tended to entify servant leadership, thereby disregarding the notion of serving. I can envisage, therefore, his research project as an activity system analysis which explores servant leadership as a practice, foregrounding serving rather than servant leadership.

Closing Thoughts

Lenticular printing is the trade name for the technology behind (actually in front of) tilt-cards, those stickers and other amusing novelties which, when the viewing angle is changed, a different image appears. Produced en masse in the 1950s through the 1970s by Vari-Vue Incorporated, tilt cards were popularized by Cracker Jack Company which included one card as a prize in each box of its caramelized-corn snack. They have now become much sought-after collectibles.

The image transmutation of tilt cards is accomplished by applying a special lens to a card which has more than one image printed in parallel lines on its surface. The lens allows the viewer to see different images as the card is tilted back-and-forth, thereby giving tilt-cards their colloquial name. Lenticular printing was used to achieve three common effects for Cracker Jack prizes: 1. to animate an image, 2. to change to a different image, and 3. to give an image three-dimension depth.

Lenticular printing provides a nice metaphor to summarize the research and the dissertation. Indeed, I began by arguing that the phenomenon of transnational higher education was limited to one particular image. But I changed the viewing angle, by adopting the philosophy and methods of praxiology—more precisely, activity theory which views practice as activity, and activity system analysis which provides a framework for analyzing practices—and a different image appeared. Tilting the phenomenon led to a more animated image of transnational higher education, to an image of transnationalization rather than transnational higher education, and to a more profound understanding of transnational higher education. In closing, therefore, I urge other educational researchers to tilt their heads, and view the concepts and theories of higher education through a different lens.

Summary

Chapter 5 concluded the research and the dissertation. It began by discussing the research and the research results. It then identified the research limitations. Chapter 5 continued by suggesting directions for future research. Finally, it offered some closing thoughts on transnational higher education.

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Appendix 1. Interview Transcript Excerpt

John:	First, could you simply tell me who you are, and what you do here at the school?
Anna:	Yes. My name is Anna Sundmark, and I am Personnel Director at SSE Stockholm <pause> for Sweden. And, aah, what I do, umm, we are four, or we are five at the personnel department: two people working with salaries, aah, we have one person who is Equality and Diversity Manager, it's myself, and it's, aah, PA Administrator, and we, mmm, do, I mean, most things related to personnel and we are-—and I say personnel and not HRs. So lots of things are more related to contracts, aah, employment law, aah, hiring people, aah, umm, working environment <pause> some, aah, a bit about, I mean supporting managers, supporting out our managers and to some extent supporting staff <pause> and faculty.
John:	Great! And, for how many years have you been here?
Anna:	I have been in this position since 2009, which is six years now.
John:	So, as you probably know, SSE Riga was founded in 1994.
Anna:	Yes.

John: So long before you took this position.

Anna: Mm-hmm.

John: But, in your understanding of SSE Riga..

Anna: Yes.

John: Why? Why does it exist? What were the motivations of SSE Stockholm to develop SSE Riga?

Anna: Mmm. Eh, I think it's at least two parts. And one part was that, that former President of SSE in Stockholm wanted to expand and and and the countries around Baltic Sea. I mean, it was natural, aah, and that was probably like, umm, I don't know, say a hole, but an opening for, for a, a market. The second part has more to do with, uh, seeing it as an aid project uh, and, and to, uh, which has been a great aid project, to to develop education in a country where education wasn't as developed at that time. Ah, and I mean <pause> fifteen or ten years later when it went over to the Latvian government, aah the part, the expansion part was not there anymore, as a thought I would say, it was more to see this as a great project to to umm develop another country and help with the education in that country.

John: And the outcomes, the results…what would you say?

Anna: Umm. I think, to my understanding, it's very, very good cause not only <pause> we are still connected but it is, it is a project that is running on its own now. It it it doesn't need…umm, I mean it's a brand, we have the same brand but, umm, this school in Riga exists without support, eh, that much support from SSE here. And, if you, to my understanding if you see the, uh, the manager, the people running Latvia now, lots of people have degrees from, from the school. So I think it is a good success and the education is great and it was modern and still is, and it has also expanded to be not only a school for Latvian young people but for—I mean, it expanded to the whole Baltic region and Ukraine, and and you probably know more or you most definitely know more, and it's something that we are proud of and <pause> having been been like able to do.

John: Yes.

Anna: And lots of money I think, cause I don't know details around this, but a large portion probably came, well, most likely came from the Swedish government and and the companies, and you could really see a result. <chuckles> Lots of money is sent in so-called aid projects but you could see a very concrete result.

John: Yes indeed.

Anna: Mm.

John From an HR perspective, personnel perspective…

Anna: Yes. <pause> No cooperation at all.

John: No? No cooperation?

Anna: No.

John: Although for many years, many of the professors teaching at SSE Riga were indeed professors from SSE Stockholm.

Anna: Yeah. Yeah.

John: But today no strategic relationship in terms of human resources?

Anna: No. Ah, there are still teachers from the school teaching there, but I, I mean, although you probably could do this as a part of your , umm, employment here, I think they—most of them deal with us on additional—yeah.

John: Yeah, overload.

Anna: Like Katerina you met, I think she has larger impact in Russia though; she is in Russia.

John: I think she is the new Academic Director…

Anna: In Russia.

John: Starting now, yes.

Anna: But for an individual it could give people here valuable experience and you get more programs, an international environment, et cetera. And it’s not an HR thing but students with—SSE Riga graduates at least in the past, probably also now, they did an MBA here and may be they do their masters here. So when there was a full-time MBA…