A Dissertation

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U.S. National Higher Education Internationalization Policy: An Historical Analysis of

Policy Development between 2000 and 2019

by

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Submitted to the Graduate Faculty as partial fulfillment of the requirements for the

Doctor of Philosophy Degree in Higher Education

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May 2020

An Abstract of

U.S. National Higher Education Internationalization Policy: An Historical Analysis of
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Situated within the context of globalization, the purpose of this historical policy
analysis study was to identify and describe the ways in which multiple actors shaped
national higher education internationalization policy within the U.S., and to capture the
emerging direction in higher education internationalization policy at the national level
between 2000 and 2019. The guiding research question was as follows: How has national
higher education internationalization policy been shaped, and how has the policy evolved
in novel ways since 2000? Data were collected and interpreted using horizontal and
vertical historical analysis. The findings demonstrated that the public, voluntary, and
private sectors simultaneously shaped higher education internationalization policy at the
national level. These sectors shaped policy by complementing each other's efforts, by
supplementing each other's efforts, or by merely opposing each other's efforts. Novel
policy efforts emerged in reaction to events and not in preemption of events, and were
evident in four major areas: (a) international education at home (language and personnel
training), (b) international student recruitment, (c) education abroad, and (d) international
institutional partnerships. Based on the influential factors of (a) globalization, (b)

technology, (c) demographics, (d) global trade, and (e) geopolitics, multiple rationales
guided policy trajectory at the national level and rationales for policy efforts shifted
under each presidential period. In 2000, President Clinton positioned international
education within the context of economic globalization. Following the September 11,
2001, attacks and the ensuing wars in the Middle East, national security became a
dominant political rationale during all three presidential periods, and the focus of policy
efforts was outbound. In 2009, under President Obama, socio-cultural rationales
fashioned novel policy efforts in support of the economy. Finally, in 2017, President
Trump's nationalist and anti-globalization sentiments guided policy decisions towards a
rift with the interconnected world order and cultural diversity.

In memory of our father

By investing in your daughters' education, you set an unprecedented example, and your broader vision allowed you to push to democratize access to secondary education for girls in rural areas. We appreciate your efforts to unleash new opportunities for women.

Acknowledgements

Along this journey, many stepped in to fill my shoes while I completed my course work. This dissertation would not have been possible without help from my family and friends. I would like you to know that I have never taken you for granted.

I would like to extend my deep appreciation to my dissertation committee for their time and input along this tough journey. Faculty members who facilitated the doctoral program at the University of Toledo will be remembered for their guidance, and Dr. Sprinkle's patience with my "APA-itis" will never be forgotten.

When I was scrambling for contacts and information, I reached out for help, and members of the national international education community offered a helping hand by directing me to their colleagues and provided access to their libraries. I am grateful for all the help that poured my way. Lastly, as part of the Michigan Cohort of 2015, my deepest respect is extended to all my colleagues from Michigan, Ohio, California, China, Ireland, and the Netherlands.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

Globalization has been an influential factor in the socio-political and economic development of the U.S. (Friedman, 2009). The process of globalization, as currently understood and applied, began after World War II (De Wit, 2002). From that time through the late 1970s, globalization reflected the emergence of regional alignments among nation states (De Wit, 2002, p. xvii). During the 1970s, the European Union began to form as a region (or more accurately, as a conglomeration) of U.S. satellites, while Eastern Europe consisted of Russian or Soviet satellites. During the same period, liberalization of capital and deregulation of worldwide financial markets continued to reinforce the globalization process (Cudmore, 2005). By the 1990s, the process of globalization had accelerated exponentially as trade barriers receded between nation states (Cudmore, 2005). In 2001, China joined the World Trade Organization, providing an international anchor for the worldwide globalization process.

According to Giddens (2002), globalization refers to social, political, and economic changes that have taken place in the 21st century and which have led to "the thesis that we now all live in one world" (p. 7). Globalization is a process of increasing interconnectedness and interdependence between nation states (Giddens, 2002). Friedman (2009) noted that the process of globalization and increasing connectivity between nation states has created a conceptual phenomenon referred to as a "flat world" (p. 26). As a process, globalization does not fall into a "discrete category"; instead, it challenges boundaries set by categories (Axford, 2014, p. 8). According to Ritzer and Robinson

(2008), globalization is multi-pronged in nature, touching on economics, culture, political processes and, transnational migration.

As a ubiquitous process, globalization is not free from controversies. For example, according to Bhagwati (2004), globalization is a product of neo-liberal ideologies; the process promotes capitalism and corporate multi-national dominance in the marketplace. Bardhan (2003) suggested that market liberalization has been engendered by the globalization process and has linked it to economic inequities, poverty, and social injustices within and between nation states. Consequently, globalization also has been viewed as the new face of colonialism (Ritzer 2011). Some critics have called for improving the current globalization process in order to alleviate the various inequities that the process has engendered, while other critics view reverting to national protectionism in commerce and isolationism in foreign policy as more desirable (Bhagwati, 2004; Patel, 2017). Accepting that the globalization process is in place, Altbach (2005) has maintained that globalization consists of "the broad, largely inevitable economic, technological, political, cultural, and scientific trends that directly affect higher education" (p. 64).

The higher education sector responded to the emerging globalization process by engaging in a wide array of internationalization activities. These activities involved: recruiting international students, incorporating international components within course offerings, providing personnel training (internationalization at home), education abroad, cross-border transfer of education credentials, international scholar exchanges (Altbach & Knight, 2007), building international institutional partnerships, opening campuses abroad (Thelin, 2011), and offering courses online to students worldwide (Henry, Pagano,

Puckett, & Wilson, 2014). Scholars have expressed concerns and debated whether this array of activities, processes, and decisions that collectively result in internationalization policy are, on the one hand, essential and integral aspects of campus programs or, on the other hand, marginal and nonessential (De Wit, 2002; Knight, 1999). The concerns especially have focused on activities that target domestic students (internationalization at home and education abroad programs). Internationalization activities are not new to higher education. Historically, U.S. institutions of higher education have referred to internationalization activities by different names. According to De Wit (2002), these names have included "international dimension, international education, [and] internationalization of education" (p. xvii).

Over the years, internationalization activities have drawn criticism and have been characterized largely by a lack of support. Campus internationalization has not always been viewed as a priority worthy of scarce financial resources (Stax Brown & Singer, 2015). Strands of internationalization policy, such as education abroad, have been linked to "prepackaged American consumerism" that foster "elusive" cultural understanding (Bolen, 2001, p.186). Internationalization-at-home efforts, such as curriculum globalization, have been linked to western colonialism and hegemony (Stein, 2017). International student recruitment has been placed within the context of capitalism, and scholars have stated that "the decades old notion of internationalization favors an international education corporate agenda with a key focus on the corporatization of international education, specifically targeting the recruitment, retention and assimilation of international learners" (Patel, 2017, p. 65). Within this whirlpool, U.S. higher education internationalization policy developed in novel ways in the 2000s.

In 2000, President Clinton's memorandum on international education policy linked higher education internationalization policy to globalization. This memorandum stressed the importance of preparing U.S. students for a global economy and diplomacy (Clinton, 2000). By 2006, the desire to prepare global citizens was strengthened by the Spellings Report (2006). The report linked training globally aware students to maintaining America's competitive edge in the world, thus anchoring national higher education internationalization policy within the context of economic globalization.

In the diverse landscape of higher education institutions, the decision to include an international dimension in course offerings has historically depended on the actions of national higher education policy actors. Knight (2004) noted that "the national/sector level has an important influence on the international dimension [in higher education] through policy, funding, programs, and regulatory frameworks" (p. 6). In the U.S., education policy has been created by a multiplicity of actors that include both political and nonpolitical institutions. Major higher education policy actors at the national level include the federal government, government agencies, the non-profit sector, private initiatives, the market, the legal sector, and higher education institutions (Clark, 1983; Duderstadt, 2009; Thelin, 2011; Blanchard & Baez, 2016). Harcleroad and Eaton (2005) have categorized these actors into three sectors: (a) the public sector, (b) the voluntary sector, and (c) the private sector. This plurality of contributing actors to policy-making adds a layer of complexity to the U.S. higher education policy-making process.

In general, the nature of U.S. policy-making is complex and has been characterized as ambiguous, opaque, lacking in rationality, and linearity. For Zahariadis (2014), the policy-making process is characterized by ambiguity where "ambiguity"

refers to multiple ways of looking at the same problem. For other scholars, the national policy-making process is opaque because "policymakers do not make their objectives crystal clear" (Sharkansky, 2002, as cited in Sabatier & Weible, 2014, p. 27). Public policy theorists have described problems, choices, and solutions as being dumped together while policymakers wait for policies to emerge or to be selected for convenience (Kingdon, 2011; Zahariadis, 2014). In other words, there is neither rationality nor linearity in the policy-making process (Kingdon, 2011). Nevertheless, policy analysis has contributed to a more informed understanding of the policy-making process, especially in the higher education policy-making process.

When examining the ways in which higher education internationalization policy is made, Mestenhausser (1998) has described the nature of the national higher education internationalization policy-making process as disjointed and leading to fragmented policy. The effects of this disjointed approach on internationalization activities and policy making are reflected in data that have been collected regarding the absence of a unified strategy on policy direction and the disparate level of internationalization among individual institutions and, more specifically, among institutional types (Helms, 2017).

In the diverse and autonomous U.S. higher education landscape, decisions to implement national higher education internationalization policy have been left mostly to individual institutions, and as a result, policies have affected institutions in different ways. According to Woodin (2016), internationalization policy within the growing community-college sector has been forced into the margins. Largely, the effect of such a policy-making environment has been to deny community college students access to a relevant educational component that enhances economic opportunity in the 21st century.

More specifically, the consequence has been to promote educational inequities among students based on institutional enrollment.

As knowledge developers, providers of skills, and developers of human capital, the role of higher education institutions in an interconnected global world is better assessed in terms of education policies that aim to prepare students for an increasingly "flat world" that rests on a knowledge-driven economy. An in-depth investigation of the national higher education internationalization policy-making process within the context of globalization helps identify key actors who shaped national higher education internationalization policy in the 2000s. By identifying factors that influenced novel national higher education internationalization policy in the 2000s, this investigation aimed to capture the emerging direction in higher education internationalization policy at the national level between 2000 and 2019. Policy analysis (a) aids in establishing transparency in the policy-making process, (b) facilitates policy evaluation, and (c) provides data for future policy design.

Statement of the Problem

According to McLendon (2003), research on higher education policy has been "acute[ly] underdeveloped" (p. 165). McLendon has called for a multidimensional approach to research in higher education. Higher education policy is typically shaped and implemented by multiple actors, and scholars have asserted that national higher education internationalization policy is "fragmented and unintegrated" (Mestenhauser, 1998, p. 36); however, research into the mechanisms through which internationalization policy has been shaped (and its impact on the higher education sector) has remained limited, and more specifically, analyses of policy measures created since 2000 have been limited.

Multiple actors contribute to national higher education policy-making (Harcleroad & Eaton, 2005). Some research studies have been conducted investigating individual actors in the national higher education internationalization policy-making process. For example, Shutina (2008) investigated the role of non-profit organizations in the national higher education internationalization policy-making process. However, studies have failed to consider national higher education internationalization policy actors as a group. More specifically, the ways in which these multiple actors collectively have shaped national higher education internationalization policy in the 2000s within the context of globalization has received minimal empirical attention.

While research studies involving federal education policy in general have been sparse (Natow, 2015), research studies on federal involvement in higher education policy have flourished (Duderstadt, 2009; Parsons, 1997; Thelin, 2011), and studies on a select number of federal higher education policy domains have been conducted. For example, federal funding of higher education has received attention (Bloland, 1968; Nizar, 2014; Parsons, 1997; Strach, 2009). Research has used policy formulation theories to analyze federal funding and politics in higher education (Cooley, 2015). Research on federal higher education funding has also addressed performance funding (Nizar, 2014), affordability of higher education (Strach, 2009), and the role of markets in higher education policy-making (Dill, 1997). More relevantly, in 2017, Helms noted that lack of funding has impeded and prevented campus internationalization (Helms, 2017).

Within the internationalization policy domain, research on higher education internationalization at the institutional level has been well established, and studies have focused on internationalization policy implementation at institutions (Parsons & Fidler,

2005; Rumbley, Altbach, & Reisberg, 2012). Researchers also have explored the role of college presidents in facilitating campus internationalization (Stax, Brown, & Singer, 2015) as well as the role of faculty members in the process of internationalizing campuses (Dewey & Duff, 2009). Student perceptions of internationalization also have been explored (Robertson, 2015), and the level of internationalization on U.S. campuses has been measured (Helms, 2017), specifically at community colleges (Woodin, 2016); however, researchers have not analyzed the national higher education internationalization policy-making process from a policy-making lens to understand who shapes the policy.

According to El Khawas (1998), there is "no national [internationalization] policy" (El Khawas, 1998, as cited in De Wit, 2009, p. 34), and research has not traced national higher education internationalization policy measures taken within the context of globalization in the 2000s. Studies undertaken by the American Council on Education (ACE) have identified types of federal government initiatives administered by various government agencies that relate to higher education internationalization (Helms, 2015). For example, the Department of State administers scholarships for students to study abroad, and the Department of Homeland Security oversees visa policies (Helms, 2015). However, *in toto*, research has not examined national higher education internationalization policy for the purposes of (a) describing who shaped the policy or (b) tracing policy evolution within the context of globalization. Globalization represents a changed context for policies in the 2000s given the political, social, and economic changes engendered by the process.

Scholars have pointed out that "while internationalization in higher education is strongly connected to the globalization of our society, it is at the same time deeply

embedded in the local political, economic and social structures, systems and cultures"
(Jones, Coelen, Beelen, & De Wit, 2016, p.1). For the growing community college sector,
internationalization policy is both important and relevant within the context of
globalization. According to Romano (2009), advances in technology and globalization
have meant that community colleges should provide students with skills to work in
multinational organizations--both locally and internationally. Nevertheless, according to
Woodin and Bissonette (2013), the degree to which community colleges have
implemented internationalization policy (a) has varied greatly, (b) has been
"underdeveloped," and (c) "has been on the fringe of college activity" (Woodin, 2016, as
cited in Raby, 2016, p. 158). The impact of the national higher education
internationalization policy-making environment on community colleges has been to deny
student access to international skills competencies, which in turn has promoted
educational inequities and perpetuated economic disparities among Americans. In
addition, empirical data has not been collected to assess whether these inequities and the
marginal status of internationalization at community colleges has resulted from the
national higher education internationalization policy-making process.

Purpose of the Study and Research Question

Situated within the context of globalization, the purpose of this historical policy
analysis study was twofold. First, the study aimed to identify and describe the ways in
which multiple actors have shaped national higher education internationalization policy
within the U.S. Secondly, the study aimed to capture the emerging direction in higher
education internationalization policy at the national level between 2000 and 2019. The
guiding research question for this study was as follows: How has national higher

education internationalization policy been shaped, and how has the policy evolved in novel ways since 2000?

Significance of the Study

Relying on historical research methods, this study utilized qualitative methods of data collection. By compiling evidence within the context of globalization and indicating the ways in which multiple actors have contributed to policy-making, this study identified strands and aspects of national higher education internationalization policy measures undertaken during the last two decades to trace policy evolution and describe emerging directions in national higher education internationalization policy.

By examining national higher education internationalization policy within the context of globalization, this study contributes to knowledge about policy development by providing data on policy within a specific context. An historical approach to policy analysis paved the way to highlight factors that ushered internationalization policy onto the policy-making agenda. In practical terms, policy evolution can then be described in terms of (in preemption of or in reaction to) influential factors identified within the context. This approach further allows for policy content to be assessed.

By discussing the ways in which multiple actors shaped policy under three presidential periods, this study contributes to the research literature base on internationalization policy development. Laying the direction of policy in the 2000s, this study showcased the complex ecology within which national higher education policy-making has evolved. Research largely has failed to address how numerous national sectors have contributed to shape national higher education internationalization policy symbiotically. This descriptive and critical overview of the national higher education

internationalization policy-making process pinpoints aspects of the policy that are of interest to different policy-making sectors. It exposes the role played by specific sectors in creating aspects of the policy. By highlighting aspects of the policy shaped by a specific sector, data from the study can assist practitioners in their advocacy efforts.

According to McLendon (2003), additional issues in the field of higher education need to be explored. This study traced policy evolution to provide multifaceted data that can lay the groundwork for evaluating policy outcomes, measuring policy efficacy, and assessing the policy in a specific sector of higher education. In general, data from policy evolution exposes both the nature of policy and the policy-making process; consequently, data collected can be used to inform future policy direction and uncover ways to improve the policy-making process.

Delimitations

Delimitations are best thought of as boundaries that limit the scope of a study (Lunenburg & Irby, 2008). The following delimitations were applied to this study. First, this study was conducted by examining only the higher education landscape within the United States. This delimitation was established because this study is not a comparative analysis between nations. Secondly, the study was limited to national policy-making actors. The objective of the study was to describe the policy-making ecology at the national level to bring transparency to policy-making at the national level; in other words, state involvement in higher education internationalization policy-making was not addressed.

Third, the time span of the study covers a 19-year period, namely between 2000 and 2019. In May of 2000, then President Clinton issued a memorandum on international

education that reestablished the importance of international education within the context of globalization. Therefore, the first presidential period for this study begins in May of 2000, during the final year of President Clinton's administration, and covers the whole period of two administrations under President Bush, which ended in 2008. The second presidential period begins in 2009 and ends in 2016, covering the whole period of two administrations under President Obama. The third presidential period begins in 2017 and ends in April of 2019 under President Trump. In order to establish a boundary for this study, I arbitrarily ended the study period in April of 2019, which corresponded to the end of my data collection semester as a doctoral candidate. Whereas the first two presidential periods cover the entire eight-year term of two presidents and seven months under one president, the third presidential period covers only two years and four months of the current administration due to the ending of the dissertation data collection period. The choice to end the study period during the month of April was therefore an arbitrary choice I made as the researcher.

Lastly, I did not set out to map all internationalization policy efforts; rather, the purpose of the study was to capture the emerging direction in higher education internationalization policy efforts at the national level between 2000 and 2019. In this light, novel policy efforts and novel movement in existing policy efforts (as identified by participants and available data) provided the central focus of this study and guided the analysis on policy evolution between 2000 and 2019.

Limitations

Every study is subject to limitations that extend beyond the control of the researcher (Lunenburg & Irby, 2008). This study is subject to several limitations. First,

because of its historical approach, the study is interpretative. The research methodology allows for ambiguity to be part of the data collection process, and the study is therefore not generalizable. According to Edson (2005), "Because we can never know the whole truth about the past, historical interpretations will always be partial and incomplete" (p. 46).

Second, the primary purpose of the study was not to map all internationalization policy efforts; its purpose instead was to capture the emerging direction in higher education internationalization policy efforts at the national level between 2000 and 2019. In this light, one limitation of the study was that it did not track long-standing policy efforts in internationalization at the national level.

Third, the comprehensive nature of the document analysis rested on the availability of documents in the public domain. As a result, the available documents were necessarily "fragmentary" (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016, p. 53). Although the scope of this project prevented an analysis of every potential document, I trusted that the documents obtained provided a sufficiently complete picture, and I kept in mind that the documents used for this study were not produced exclusively for the purpose of my research.

Fourth, information was collected from a microcosm of actors from three sectors involved with internationalization policy. I identified actors who were heavily involved with novel policy efforts during the last two decades. Actors came from purposefully selected groups of national policy-making organizations. In my selection, I followed a set of criteria: (a) the actors were required to be identified by higher education experts as sources of valuable information, (b) the actors were required to have been involved in novel policy efforts during the past two decades; (c) the policy efforts by the actors were

required to have broad impact on higher education institutions; and (d) the actors were required to be most visibly involved with internationalization policy efforts in higher education and where other institutions referred to their initiatives.

From the public sector, information was collected from the Department of Education and the Department of the State. The two departments are major providers of federal international education programs (Wiley, 2010; De Wit, 2002). From the voluntary sector, six presidentially based associations, which Cook refers to as the "Big Six," were considered (Cook, 1998, p. 71). Cook's "Big Six" associations are (a) the American Association of Community Colleges (AACC), (b) the American Council on Education (ACE), (c) the Association of Public Land-grant Universities (APLU) (formerly NASULGC), (d) the American Association of State Colleges and Universities (AASCU), (e) the American Association of Universities (AAU), and (f) the National Association of Independent Colleges and Universities (NAICU). From the private sector, the Ford Foundation was considered because it has a history of supporting international education, which it began funding in the 1950s (as cited in Wiley, 2010, p. 25). The Lumina Foundation was also considered because it has been cited as one of the "national… large [and] well-known foundations" that can influence higher education through its "choice of area of support" (Harcelroad & Eaton, 2005, p. 256). The data and findings of the study are interpreted within the limitations of the chosen actors.

Interviews were conducted with voluntary participants from the Department of Education, the Department of State, the American Council on Education (the umbrella organization that represents different types of higher education institutions at the federal level), the American Association of Community Colleges (which is within Cook's "Big

Six" and represents the interests of a very diverse sector at the federal level), and the Ford and Lumina foundations.

The participants who responded to my enquiries did so voluntarily. As a result, the information collected from these individuals might be biased, and participants may have had an interest in the study. Although involved with internationalization policy, the sectors and the participants may not be representative of all actors involved in national higher education internationalization policy-making. Finally, whereas the first presidential period covers seven months from one presidential period and two full presidential periods, the second presidential period covers two full presidential periods, and the last presidential period covers a shorter time span to accommodate an arbitrary end of the study. As a result, the study does not account for policy measures adopted beyond April 2019.

Assumptions

This study rested on the following five assumptions. First, the researcher assumed that participants maintained clear recollection of facts and events that occurred between 2000 and 2019 and that their responses represented an adequate reflection of views held by members within this sector. Secondly, the researcher assumed that the interview questions led to data that satisfied the purpose of the study. Third, the researcher assumed that documents and interview records provided accurate representations of events and, when analyzed, provided the requisite data for analysis. Fourth, the researcher assumed that the findings represent an accurate interpretation of factors that needed to be explored for this study. Finally, the researcher assumed that this body of data provides relevant knowledge for the field of national higher education internationalization policy.

Definitions

The following terms and definitions were applied in this study.

Flat World--Flat world refers to "a flat world, where connectivity is getting tighter and faster every day, and where the electronic herd of capital is moving around everywhere and anywhere looking for higher and higher returns…" (Friedman, 2009, p. 26).

Globalization--This term refers to "the thesis that we now all live in one world" (Giddens, 2002, p. 7).

Glocalization--This term suggests that "the local is an aspect of the global" (Robertson, 1995, p. 30).

Initiative--This term refers to a new attempt to achieve a goal or solve a problem, or a new method for doing this. In the Cambridge English Dictionary Online. Retrieved May, 2019, from https://dictionary.cambridge.org/us/dictionary/english/initiative [Def.c]. The Cambridge English Dictionary Online

Internationalization Activities--This term refers to a range of activities within academia, including international curriculum development, education abroad, area studies, foreign language acquisition, international scholar exchanges, international student recruitment, multicultural activities on campus, international institution partnerships, and English-medium programs abroad (Altbach & Knight, 2007; De Wit, 2002).

Internationalization of Higher Education--This term refers to "the process of integrating an international, intercultural, or global dimension into the purpose, functions, or delivery of post-secondary education" (Knight, 2004, p. 7).

Internationalization Policy--This term refers to "policies and practices taken by academic institutions in response to globalization" (Altbach & Knight, 2007, p. 270).

Policy--This term refers to a definite course or method of action selected from among alternatives and in light of given conditions to guide and determine present and future decisions. This term also refers to a high-level overall plan embracing the general goals and acceptable procedures, especially of a governmental body. In Merriam Webster Online. Retrieved May, 2019 from https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/policyPolicy [Def. 2.a]. (n.d.). Merriam-Webster Online.

Programs--This term refers to a set of related measures or activities with a particular long-term aim (Dictionary.com).

Novel Policy Efforts--This term refers to internationalization policies and initiatives taken in the 2000s.

Organization of the Remainder of the Study

This study is organized in the following way. Chapter 2 presents a summary and synthesis of research that has been conducted on the U.S. national higher education policy-making process and national internationalization policy. Chapter 3 presents the research design, data collection procedures, and data analysis procedures. Chapter 4 presents the findings of the study, and Chapter 5 presents a discussion of the findings.

Chapter 2

Review of Literature

Situated within the context of globalization, the purpose of this historical policy analysis study was twofold. First, it aimed to identify and describe the ways in which multiple actors have shaped national higher education internationalization policy within the U.S. Secondly, the study aimed to capture the emerging direction in higher education internationalization policy at the national level between 2000 and 2019. In accomplishing the purpose of the study, the following research question guided this historical policy analysis: How has national higher education internationalization policy been shaped, and how has the policy evolved in novel ways since 2000? This literature review provides a summary and synthesis of research that has been conducted on the national higher education policy-making process and internationalization policy.

Public policy is typically created and developed to address problems or issues that affect society. The public policy-making process has been defined in ways that reflect historical contexts and in ways that trace the evolution of the study of policy-making institutions and policy measures. Research in the field of policy-making has relied on a unique body of public policy theoretical lenses to explain the policy-making process and to elucidate the interaction between multiple actors and policy-making institutions involved in the policy-making process.

At the national level, U.S. policy-making institutions can be categorized into political and nonpolitical institutions (Gitelson, Dudley, & Dubnick, 2009). Both categories of institution have been involved in national higher education policy-making. Within the category of political policy-making institutions, the federal government and

federal bureaucrats have been closely involved with national higher education policy-making. The category of nonpolitical institutions involved with higher education policy-making at the national level includes higher education associations, such as the American Council on Education, as well as private foundations, such as the Ford Foundation. Harcleroad and Eaton (2005) have grouped the multiplicity of actors from higher education policy-making institutions into three categories: (a) the public sector, (b) the voluntary sector, and (c) the private sector. Other policy-making actors include the economic market (Clark, 1983), the legal sector (Blanchard & Baez, 2016), and higher education institutions (Duderstadt, 2009; Thelin, 2011).

Historically, the federal government has used the higher education sector as an "instrument" to develop other facets of American society (Parsons, 1997, p. 26). In particular, following World War II, the Truman administration utilized national higher education internationalization policy to build peace efforts around the world. National higher education internationalization policy was also used as an instrument to enhance America's knowledge base about other nations. Across time, the purposes, impetuses, and reasons for including internationalization policy in higher education have evolved. While an academic rationale informed and nudged internationalization activities across campuses at the end of World War II, the academic rationale in the 1950s and 1960s was superseded by political justifications during the Cold War era. Internationalization activities across campuses aimed to educate Americans about other nations and specifically about regions that could potentially undermine U.S. national security during the Cold War era. By the 1970s, economic regionalization helped pave the way for economic liberalization. Slowly but surely, the 1980s, and the 1990s, witnessed the

effects of the globalization process and its impact on nations around the world. As a result, an economic rationale evolved to underline internationalization policy.

In the 2000s, national higher education internationalization policies were presented as a response to globalization. As a process, globalization has been described as increased connectivity and interdependency among nation states. The social, political, and economic trends that emerged as a result of globalization required new programs from higher education institutions. The new curricular adaptations included international education offerings, cross-disciplinary international education, education abroad, and cross-border transfer of education credentials. Globalization also accounted for the presence of one million international students on U.S. campuses in November of 2015 (NAFSA, 2017). Although, by the 2000s, internationalization policies were part of some campus offerings, the processes by which national higher education internationalization policies were shaped and how policies evolved in the 2000s have remained understudied.

Chapter 2 is organized into nine sections. The following sections provide a review of the research literature pertinent to the national higher education internationalization policy-making process. To establish the background for this study, the first section describes the public policy-making process in the United States and provides categories to elucidate the nature of public policy. The second section describes the higher education policy-making process in the United States. In general, multiple actors have contributed to the national higher education policy-making process. The third section describes national higher education policy-making institutions in the United States, paying attention both to political and nonpolitical policy-making institutions. The fourth section presents national higher education policy-making actors within policy-making

institutions. Within the context of globalization, the higher education sector responded to globalization by engaging in a wide array of internationalization policy initiatives. The fifth section presents an analysis of higher education internationalization policy within the context of globalization. Because internationalization policy is not new to the higher education sector, the sixth section discusses the different phases in the evolution of U.S. national higher education internationalization policy since World War II. In the diverse higher education landscape, internationalization policy at community colleges has been marginal. The seventh section affords special attention to this growing higher education sector and discusses national higher education internationalization policy at community colleges. Research on higher education policy has been well developed. The eighth section reviews higher education internationalization policy literature and reveals a lack of research on the national higher education internationalization policy-making process. Finally, the ninth section outlines historical research methods--in particular, horizontal (Thelin, 2011) and vertical (Silberzahn, 2011) research analysis, the chosen theoretical framework for interpreting data in this historical policy analysis study--and concludes with a summary of the chapter.

Public Policy-Making Process in the U.S

Researchers have defined public policy-making in ways that reflect historical contexts as well as in ways that have traced the evolution of policy-making institutions and policy measures. Research in the field of policy-making has relied on a unique body of public policy theoretical lenses to explain the policy-making process and to elucidate the interaction between multiple policy-making actors involved in the policy-making process. In the public policy-making process, a variety of policy-making actors within

political and nonpolitical policy-making institutions have been jointly responsible for "trigger[ing] the mechanism of policy-making" (Hillman, Tandberg, & Sponsler, 2015, p. 21).

Definitions of Public Policy
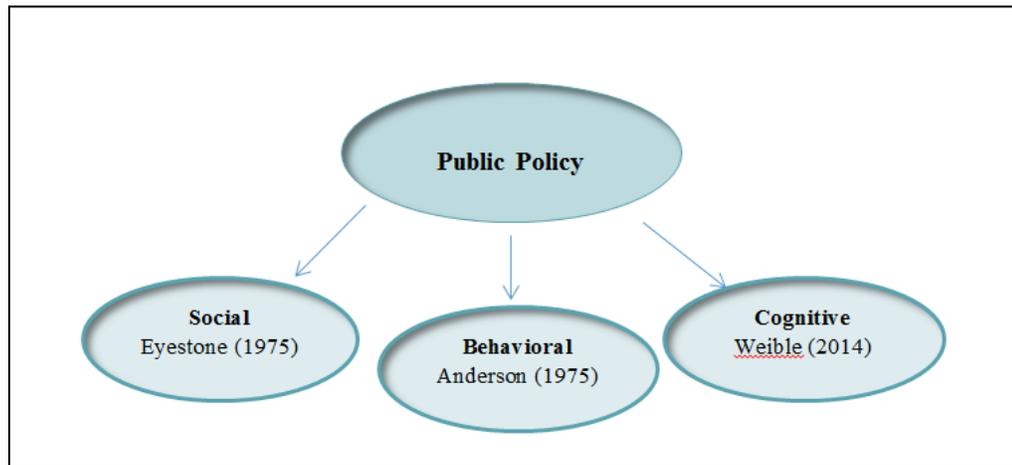
Figure 1. Presents an organized representation of public policy definitions.

Public policy is typically created and developed to address problems or issues that affect society. Definitions of public policy have emphasized social, behavioral, and cognitive factors involved in policy formulation (see Figure 1). Social definitions of public policy have focused on the relationship between the government and its surroundings. In 1971, Eyestone defined public policy as "the relationship of a government unit to its environment" (as cited in Anderson, 1975, p. 2). This is a broad definition that provides little operational help but which nevertheless establishes a foundation for the definition of public policy. Behavioral definitions of public policy have focused on deliberate actions taken by policy actors with respect to a problem.

In Anderson's (1975) words, public policy is "a purposive course of action followed by an actor or set of actors in dealing with a problem or matter of concern" (Anderson, 1975, p. 3). From a behavioral perspective, Anderson anchored his definition

within an action that is taken in response to events in the environment. Finally, cognitive definitions of public policy have focused on the attention given to a problem. Inherently, this approach overlooks the potential divergence that exists between attention given to a problem and an action taken to solve a problem. For example, Weible (2014) explained that "public policy involves the decisions (including actions and nonactions) of a government or an equivalent authority [about a problem]" (p. 4). This type of definition equates attention given to a problem to an action taken to solve a problem. Working definitions of public policy have provided a multiplicity of perspectives, which have resulted in a lack of consensus, leaving the complex nature of the concept elusive.

In the majority of instances, public policies are created within specific contexts and specific environments by policy-making institutions. Lubell (2013) has defined policy institutions as organizations in which "a set of policy actors [participate] in a rule-governed, collective decision-making process" (p. 538). Anderson (1975) has recommended that within public policy-making institutions, attention must be focused on the policy actions rather than on the policy intentions of institutions. The processes through which problems are identified and evaluated as they reach the policy-making agenda have received much attention. According to the "garbage can model," problems receive attention based on chance (Cohen, March, & Olsen, 1972). In the multiple streams framework, problems receive attention when a "window of opportunity" opens for the problem to reach the political policy-making agenda (Kingdon, 2011, p. 165). The punctuated equilibrium theory (Baumgartner & Jones, 1993), suggests that issues reach the political agenda secretly through political subsystems. Taken together, these definitions and theories seem to indicate that public policy is an actual action or

nonaction taken by one or several actors in one or more policy institutions to address a problem that affects society.

Researchers have identified several trends in the study of public policy-making. The first trend has focused on the historical evolution of policy-making and has emphasized a shift away from rationality in the public policy-making process. According to Estler (1988), historical analysis has indicated that public policy-making is not a rational process undertaken by one government institution; rather, it is a messy, irrational process that involves a community of actors (as cited in Firestone, 1989, p. 18). According to Hajer (2003), in Western liberal democracies, namely in Western European nations, and in North America, the focus of policy-making has been on problem-solving. This approach assumes that the purpose of pursuing knowledge is to equip authorities to obtain information to solve societal problems in an orderly way (p. 181).

A second trend has focused on decision-making processes. Lasswell (1971) stated that in developed societies, governments are not responsible for the majority of policy decisions that impact their citizenry; as a result, Laswell has suggested that it is important to look beyond government institutions and to consider the "semiofficial and nonofficial processes" involved in the policy-making process (p. 1). Hajer (2003) has noted that since the study of policy-making began, policy analyses have been concerned more with classical-modernist political institutions (i.e., government institutions), and have focused less on other "political spaces" in which participation in the policy-making process occurs in society. Hajer has defined these other "political spaces" as "the ensemble of mostly unstable practices that emerge in the struggle to address problems that the established institutions are for a variety of reasons unable to resolve in a manner that is

perceived to be both legitimate and effective" (p. 176). Similarly, Lubell (2013) has suggested that policy decisions are frequently made by several institutions "because governance is complex" (p. 556). Other scholars have similarly stated that "public policy is not one single actor's brainchild" (Kingdon, 2011, p. 71).

A third trend in the study of public policy has been to break down policy-making studies into different segments to facilitate analysis. According to McLendon (2003), policy research studies should be organized into (a) principal-agent theory, (b) policy process theory, (c) policy innovation and diffusion theory, and (d) comparative perspectives on state political systems. Overall, researchers have defined public policy analysis not only in ways that reflect historical contexts but also in ways that reflect an evolution of the study of policy-making institutions. These definitions describe policy-making actors within the policy-making process and organize public policy research under different categories.

Education Policy-Making Processes in the United States

When observing the education policy-making process, scholars have used public policy theories to interpret the interactions and relationships among various policy-making actors involved in the U.S. education policy-making arena. In 1989, Firestone used Long's ecology of games theory to describe the ecology of (or the "interrelationships" among) the various education policy-making actors (p. 18). According to Long's (1958) ecology of games theory, interaction between the various players involved in the policy-making arena has been "conceptualized as a system without reducing the interacting institutions and individuals to membership in a single comprehensive group" (p. 251). According to Lubell (2013), the ecology of games

framework emphasizes the need to analyze several policy institutions simultaneously (p. 555). The ecology of games theory also acknowledges the presence of various players, or "actors," in the policy-making arena. It describes the policy-making arena as a system and seeks to study the multitude of policy institutions simultaneously.

In addition to recognizing the need to examine multiple policy institutions simultaneously, the ecology of games theory establishes its own system for describing the relationship between the multiple institutions and multiple actors that inhabit the policy-making arena. Long (1958) stated that "many participants in contemporary group structures regard their occupations as at least analogous to games… the conception of being on a 'team'..." (p. 251). Long further observed that game playing by humans should not be trivialized because "man is both a game-playing and a game-creating animal" (Long, 1958, p. 251). When applying the ecology of games theory to the education policy-making arena in the U.S., Firestone (1989) described the pertinent social spaces within which policy games can occur. For example, there is a social space for education games and another space for business games (p. 18). Similarly, Lubell (2013) stated "that governance involves multiple policy games operating simultaneously within a geographically defined policy arena" (p. 538). In sum, the ecology of games theory recognizes that various policy games are played simultaneously by multiple policy actors in a policy-making arena. As a result, several policy issues appear in the policy arena at the same time.

Analyzing the education policy-making arena, Firestone (1989) described the education policy game as one in which there is a "downward flow of resources and regulation from legislature to classroom and an upward flow of demands from educators

as well as the general public" (p. 19). The role of each actor, however, cannot be

trivialized, and identifying the interactions that occur among the various policy actors is

similar to a game being played between teams. Such a metaphor facilitates the analysis of

the higher education policy-making arena. More so, it captures the processes and

interactions that unfold between multiple policy institutions and actors before policy

outcomes emerge, thus offering a comprehensible interpretation of the complex education

policy-making process.

Education Policy-Making Institutions in the United States
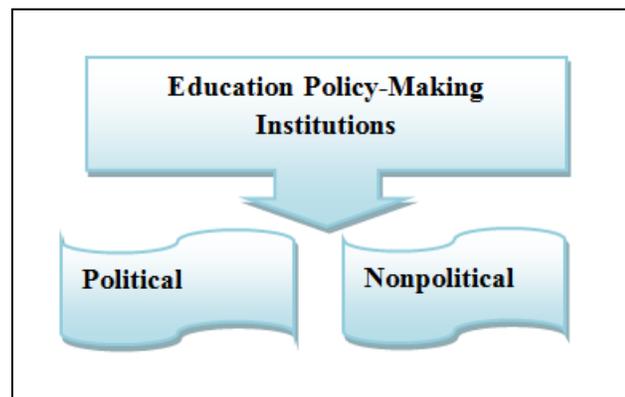
Figure 2. Two categories of institutions that create and shape education policy in the
U.S.

Policy-making at the U.S. national level occurs within a complex system that is

comprised of political and nonpolitical institutions (Lubell, 2013), as shown in Figure 2.

Consequently, scholars have warned against focusing exclusively on political institutions

when investigating the policy-making arena because the civic decision-making process is

also involved in the policy-making process (Hajer, 2003; Laswell, 1971; Lubell, 2013).

This is especially true within the field of education in the U.S, where both categories of

institutions are involved in national higher education policy-making.

Political Policy-Making Institutions in the United States

Scholars have described the U.S. political policy-making institution, as outlined in the U.S. Constitution, as pluralistic because a variety of institutions make policy (Hannah, 1996). The U.S. Constitution defines the role of each branch of government and identifies the policy-making area of each tier of government within the federal system of government. Also, over the years, a number of unelected federal bureaucrats have been involved in education policy-making (Lipsky, 1980).

The U.S. Constitution divides governmental power between the federal and the state tiers of government. Each tier of government has three branches: the executive, the legislative, and the judiciary. The three branches are separate, maintain different functions and responsibilities, and rely on the concept of separation of powers to restrain the powers attributed to each of the branches. This separation of governmental institutions has led scholars such as Mettler (1998) and Quadango (1994) to conclude that the nature of the U.S. Constitution has resulted in "fragmented policy-making institutions" (as cited in McGuinn, 2006, p. 206). Similarly, Harcleroad and Eaton (2005) also have described U.S. political policy-making institutions as "diverse" (p. 254).

The U.S. Constitution establishes distinct policy-making areas for the federal and state governments. Article I(8) of the U.S. Constitution expressly states that the federal government has the power to regulate commerce with foreign nations, and the Tenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution reserves general powers to the states, thus placing education policy under state authority. Although the policy-making areas of the federal and state governments have been clearly articulated in the U.S. Constitution, and education policy-making is an issue subject to the authority of each state, a close analysis

of higher education policy has shown that historically, the federal government has been involved extensively in higher education policy-making. According to Mumper, Gladieux, King, and Corrigan (2016), the federal government has played a secondary role in higher education (p. 213), yet in the words of Parsons (1997), the federal government has been directly involved in higher education "from the first days of the republic" (p. 25). Parsons dated federal involvement in higher education back to the Northwest Ordinance of 1787, noting that federal grants were provided for higher education purposes to ensure that "education would be used as an instrument to achieve other policy objectives" (p. 26).

The federal government became further involved in higher education with the Morill Acts. The 1862 Morill Act required states to establish "collegiate programs" (Thelin, 2011, p. 76), and the 1890 Morill Act provided federal funds to land-grant institutions (Thelin, 2011, p. 136). Since World War II, the federal government has provided substantial funding for higher education through student aid and research initiatives (Bloland, 1968, p. 156). Through the G.I. Bill, student access to higher education was widened. By the 1960s, federal funding of higher education reached the federal government agenda (Bloland, 1968, p. 161; Roach, 2009). Establishing federal financial aid, the Higher Education Act of 1965 (HEA, 1965) enabled students to attend higher education institutions. The legislation also regulated federal funding of higher education. Reauthorized at least eight times through 2008, the HEA has marked continued federal involvement in higher education. In 2009, to boost a declining U.S. economy, President Obama promised free access to community college to Americans

through the American Graduation Initiative, thus showing continued federal involvement in higher education (Roach, 2009).

According to Golden (1998), in the 1960s, Congress gave the growing body of federal bureaucracies (namely, unelected administrative agencies) law-making powers (p. 245). Natow (2015) observed that "federal bureaucrats, congressional officials, [and] White House officials… are often influential over the higher education rulemaking process" (p. 360), thus extending policy-making actors in higher education to bureaucrats within political institutions. Describing the role of "street level bureaucrats" in the policy-making process, Lipsky (1980) concluded that in the education sector, educators can make policy decisions that affect the lives of students (p. 2). As federal government involvement in higher education has evolved between the 1960s and the 1990s, more actors have joined the higher education policy-making arena within political policy-making institutions.

Nonpolitical Policy-Making Institutions in the United States

Scholars have recognized that the policy-making process overflows into the realm of nonpolitical policy-making institutions and involves a "civic" decision-making process (Lasswell, 1971, p. 1). According to Hajer (2003), policy-making has moved outside the realm of political institutions and into new "political spaces" because political institutions have been increasingly incapable of solving problems (p. 1). In a pluralistic democracy, citizens have regrouped under various associations to protect the interests and quality of higher education. Such institutions have been referred to as nonpolitical policy-making institutions because they exist outside of the federal government institutions. At the national level, nonpolitical institutions, such as voluntary higher education associations,

have represented specific higher education sector interests by lobbying the federal

government, making the associations a large policy advocate for the higher education

sector (Cook, 1998; Harcleroad & Eaton, 2005). An increasing number of private

foundations have also exerted influence on higher education policy (Harcleroad & Eaton,

2005; Thelin, 2011). A holistic approach to identifying policy-making actors

acknowledges that "groups move in and out of the policy process, depending on the

issue" (Golden, 1998, p. 270). In the U.S., education policy has been created both by

political and nonpolitical institutions, and it has involved a multiplicity of actors.

National Higher Education Policy-Making Actors in the United States

A multiplicity of actors is involved in national higher education policy-making,

and scholars have categorized these actors into sectors (see Figure 3). American higher

education institutions are policy makers in their own right, yet a multiplicity of actors

influence higher education policy. Harcleroad and Eaton (2005) have described the

multiplicity of actors as "varied external forces" that influences higher education policy

(p. 253). The *forces* are *external* to higher education institutions because American higher

education institutions are autonomous in their internal operations, freeing them from state

and federal government interference (Clark, 1983; Duderstadt, 2009; Thelin, 2011).

Harcleroad and Eaton (2005) have categorized the multiplicity of actors into three

sectors: the public sector, the voluntary sector, and the private sector. Other scholars have

extended this list of sectors to also include the legal sector (Blanchard & Baez, 2016) and

the market (Clark, 1983). Each sector is described in detail below to illustrate how the

public sector, the voluntary sector, and the private sector (including the legal sector, the

market, and higher education institutions) have become prominent actors in the national

higher education policy-making process.
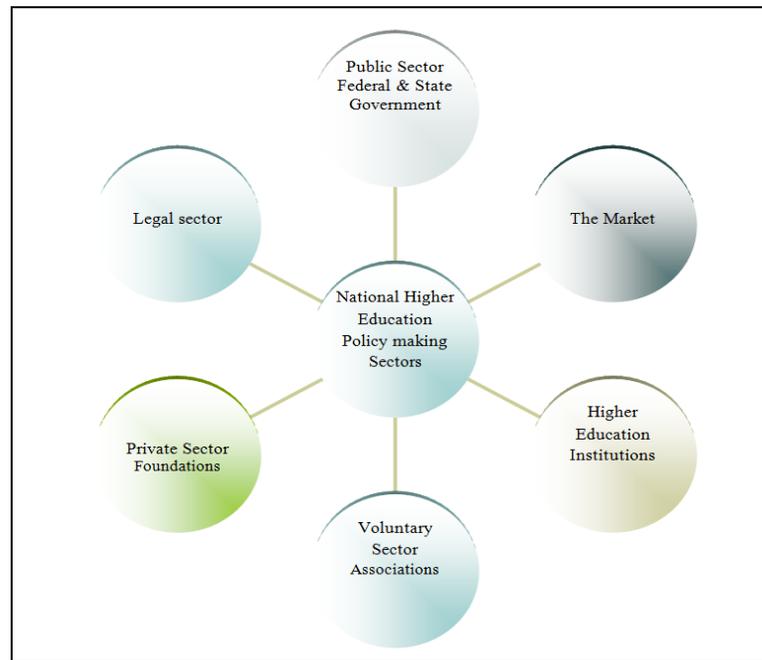
Figure 3. National higher education policy-making actors and sectors within the U.S.

The Public Sector

The U.S. Department of Education is not directly involved in higher education

policy-making; however, the federal government has exerted an indirect but strong

influence on four specific aspects of education policy: (a) access to education, (b) funding

of education, (c) content of education, and (d) quality of education (Gitelson et al., 2009,

p. 418). Within the context of higher education, the Department of Education, through its

Office of Postsecondary Education (OPE), has clearly promoted legislation and policy

initiatives that have exerted direct influence on higher education (Department of

Education, 2018). Although the U.S. has not supported a central or national education

department tasked with making national higher education policy, federal and state

governments have been key political policy actors in the higher education policy-making

arena. In fact, Harcleroad and Eaton (2005) have pointed both to state and federal

governments as the public organizations involved in higher education policy-making.

Furthermore, according to Parsons (1997), governmental involvement in higher education

is not new: "Far from being uninvolved, American governments, federal and state, have a

long history of encouraging, supporting, funding, regulating, and working with

institutions of higher education" (p. 25).

Historically, state governments have played a primary role in public higher

education governance in the U.S. (Duderstadt, 2009; Mumper et al. 2016). Accordingly, a

number of state governing bodies carry out the governance of public universities. The

dominant state governing bodies include "the state legislature, the state executive branch

agencies, higher education coordinating boards, institutional governing boards, and

institutional executive administrations" (Duderstadt, 2009, p. 358). Political policy-

making institutions have been key actors in the national higher education policy-making

arena, and both the federal and state governments are involved in higher education

policy-making.

The Voluntary Sector

As a sector, higher education consists of a smorgasbord of associations that have

fought for their collective interests since the 1800s. These associations are comprised of

private citizens who advocate on behalf of higher education institutions. Over the years,

these associations have championed issues ranging from the content of curriculum to

teachers' pay to accreditation of higher education institutions. Political scientists have

referred to these organizations as "interest groups" (Gitelson, Dudley, & Dubnik, 2009, p.

226). These associations have contributed to the plurality of policy-making institutions in

the U.S. According to Harcleroad and Eaton (2005), the American Council on Education is the largest policy advocate for the higher education sector at the national level (p. 258). Additional associations at the national level include "the Association of American Colleges and Universities, the American Association of Community Colleges, the American Association of State Colleges and Universities, the Association of American Universities, the Council of Independent Colleges, the National Association of Independent Colleges and Universities, and the National Association of State Universities and Land-Grant Colleges" (Harcleroad & Eaton, 2005, p. 258). Most of these associations represent the diverse body of higher education institutions in the U.S. For Harcleroad and Eaton (2005), "When [the associations] work together as a united front, they can influence congressional committees and government agencies on key issues affecting higher education" (p. 258).

However, according to Parsons (1997), the role of associations has been established only recently. Parsons stated that higher education associations have become powerful policy actors only since the 1980s (p. 25). Nevertheless, Parsons recognized that a partnership exists between these various associations and the federal government (p. 25). As tax-exempt organizations, these associations can educate policy makers about a variety of issues. Their presence in Washington, D.C. means that they have a seat at the federal education policy-making table (Cook, 1998). Numerous associations outside of political policy-making institutions have regrouped the interests of higher education institutions into specific issues, such as accreditation and international education. They also have regrouped the interests of higher education institutions according to institution

type, such as four-year institutions, two-year institutions, private institutions, and public institutions.

The Private Sector

Referring to nonpolitical policy-making actors, Harcleroad and Eaton (2005) have pointed to the private sector as an agent that has created and developed national higher education policy. According to these scholars, the 21st century has witnessed a continuing explosion in private-sector involvement in higher education policy. Similarly, De Wit (2002) has pointed to private organizations and initiatives that have influenced higher education policy, such as the Carnegie Foundation; the Kellogg Foundation (p. 31); more recently, the Murdock, Hewlett, Packard, Lumina and Pew trusts (Harcleroad & Eaton, 2005, p. 256); and the Ford Foundation (De Wit, 2002, p. 32; Merkx, as cited in Wiley, 2010, p. 25).

During periods of state funding attrition, other sources of funding have trickled into the higher education arena. According to Harcleroad and Eaton (2005), private foundations have provided financial awards to higher education institutions in the range of "32-35 million dollars" per year (p. 257). In general, donations have been made to financially troubled institutions to support areas of interest commensurate with societal changes (Harcleroad & Eaton, 2005, p. 257). Historically, foundations have sought to maintain the quality of higher education curriculum (Thelin, 2011). Foundations have supported planning and articulation agreements in the growing community college sector and have awarded grants to support "international education programs, public health programs, art, and minority access in higher education" (Harcleroad & Eaton, 2005, p. 257). Private foundations and private donors have been a growing force in the national

higher education policy-making arena. The financial support that private foundations provide to higher education institutions has substantiated the important role they play as actors in the national higher education policy-making arena.

The Legal Sector

The judiciary is also involved in higher education policy-making (Cook, 1998). Judicial involvement in higher education has been the result of multiple factors. First, the number of stakeholders involved with higher education institutions has created an environment conducive to potential conflicts between higher education institutions and stakeholders; typically, unresolved conflicts are litigated (Blanchard & Baez, 2016). Secondly, societal changes that push for more equitable access to higher education have led stakeholders to pursue legal remedies through the court system. As a venue to resolve conflicts between stakeholders, the judicial branch of government has become an actor in the higher education policy-making arena. Citing the case of *Dartmouth Coll. v. Woodward*, Blanchard and Baez (2016) stated that U.S. courts historically have been engaged in higher education to resolve matters pertaining to allegations of state interference in higher education. In 1961, a century after the Dartmouth case, the courts *in Dixon v. Alabama State Board of Education* reduced the rights of higher education institutions when they repealed the concept of *in loco parentis*. The court in the *Dixon* case rejected the view that students entering higher education institutions are minors under the purview of higher education institutions, holding instead that students entering higher education institutions are adults.

As an institution that adjudicates on points of fairness and equity, the U.S. judiciary has been the quickest among the three branches of federal government to reflect

the social and political changes of the times. For example, the U.S. Supreme Court's

decision in *Brown v. Board of Education* ended segregation in schools when state

legislation still supported segregation in the wider Southern states. In *U.S. v. Fordice*, the

U.S. Supreme Court has deliberated on equitable admissions practices within higher

education, regardless of institutional autonomy. The effect of affirmative action in higher

education also has been adjudicated before the courts in *Regents of the University of*

California v. Bakke. More recently, the U.S. Supreme court has upheld President

Trump's 2017 Proclamation 9645, Executive Order 13780, commonly known as the

"Travel Ban," against seven Muslim countries. As a consequence, the U.S. Supreme

Court denied international students from these seven countries entry to the U.S., thereby

impacting national higher education internationalization policy (NAFSA, 2018). As one

of the branches of government, the judiciary has participated in various aspects of higher

education policy since the beginning of the republic.

The Market

The economic market is yet another nonpolitical policy-making actor in the

higher education policy-making arena that has been closely linked to the private sector. In

the 1980s, Clark developed the triangle of coordination heuristic to compare how the

three vertices of (a) government authority, (b) market authority and, (c) institutional

authority coordinate in higher education governance. According to Clark's (1983) model,

the U.S. has enjoyed high market dominance in higher education. In 2013, Salazar and

Leihy further developed Clark's model using the *microcosmographia* heuristic.

According to these scholars, each vertice that Clark described is a "conceit," which

contributes in its own way to higher education governance without having to cooperate

with each other (p. 59). According to Duderstadt (2009), the market has a wider influence than the government on higher education policy (p. 350). This influential role of the market in the higher education policy-making arena has been linked to the dependence of U.S. higher education institutions on private support. At least 55% of higher education funding is derived from private support (Duderstadt, 2009, p. 358), making the U.S. higher education system "the most market-oriented system in the world" (Dill, 2013, p. 137). In the U.S., federal policies have supported individual students and research initiatives, and federal funding has not been poured into institutions. Private and public higher education institutions compete for students, resources, and funding, making the market a significant financial actor in higher education policy-making (p. 137). Research has suggested that the role of the market in the national higher education policy-making arena cannot be underestimated. In the field of internationalization policy, international student recruitment contributed at least $37 billion to the U.S. economy in 2017 (NAFSA, 2017) and $45 billion in 2018 (Institute of international education, 2019). A market-driven economy provides an economic and commercial foundation that allows the market to influence policy in various sectors of the economy, including the higher education sector.

Higher Education Institutions

The limited central, federal, or national government control of higher education in the U.S. means that most higher education institutions are rather autonomous institutions. In many respects, higher education institutions in the U.S. have been free from state political interference since 1819 and, as a result, have been free to make decisions about student admission policies, program content, and teaching personnel (McGuiness, 2016).

Even after a series of interventionist measures from the government and the courts over the years, scholar practitioners such as Duderstadt (2009) have maintained that higher education institutions in the U.S. are diverse, autonomous, and under minimal federal government interference (p. 357). A number of state constitutions have continued to ensure institutional autonomy within higher education through the principle of "constitutional autonomy" (Hutchens & Quigley, 2015, p. 32). The power of institutional autonomy within higher education has been further guarded by the ability of higher education to define its own mission and also by academic freedom (Duderstadt, 2009). Consequently, higher education institutions have been equipped to implement their own policy decisions, making them yet another actor in the policy-making arena. Together, the multiplicity of actors has influenced higher education policy over the years. In the context of globalization the multiplicity of actors has impacted internationalization policy on higher education campuses.

Higher Education Internationalization Policy in the Context of Globalization

As a process, globalization has influenced the higher education sector. According to Altbach (2005), globalization consists of "the broad, largely inevitable economic, technological, political, cultural, and scientific trends that directly affect higher education" (p. 64), and higher education has responded to the globalization process through internationalization policy (Altbach & Knight, 2007). In higher education, the term "internationalization" refers to a multiplicity of activities ranging from international student recruitment to international institutional partnerships to the inclusion of an international dimension in higher education course offerings. The decision to include an international dimension in U.S. higher education course offerings has depended on the

actions of national higher education policy actors. Knight (2004) has noted that "the national/sector level has an important influence on the international dimension [in higher education] through policy, funding, programs, and regulatory frameworks" (p. 6). Because multiple actors are involved in the higher education policy-making arena, higher education internationalization policy measures have emerged from initiatives within the political sector, the nonpolitical sector, the market, and higher education institutions themselves. Brief examples from each sector reveal that the federal government has funded legislatives initiatives, such as the Fulbright scholarship, to promote scholar exchange programs between the U.S. and other nations. Within the nonpolitical sector, the American Council on Education has developed training guidelines to help higher education institutions incorporate an international component in course offerings. The market makes the recruitment of high-fee-paying international students attractive to higher education institutions. Lastly, higher education institutions may include or exclude aspects of internationalization on their campuses based on their missions and goals.

Scholars have agreed that the term "internationalization" has not been clearly defined within the literature (Welch & Luostarinen, 1988, p. 36). According to Knight (2004), the term "internationalization" has been used to describe a variety of concepts that range from comprehensive campus internationalization to partial campus internationalization. In general, comprehensive internationalization is reflected in institutional mission statements; it touches all aspects of internationalization, ranging from curricular and personnel training (namely, internationalization at home) to education abroad and international institutional partnerships. Due to the peripheral presence of internationalization policy on most campuses, the term "internationalization"

has been used to advance the purpose of individuals who use the term (De Wit, 2002). At some institutions, internationalization refers to the strategic inclusion of an international component in course content, whereas at other institutions the term refers to an isolated case of an education abroad program. Welch and Luostarinen (1988) defined internationalization as "the process of increasing involvement in international operations" (p. 36). In 2003, Knight provided a more fitting definition of the term "internationalization" for the higher education sector, suggesting that it is "the process of integrating an international, intercultural, or global dimension into the purpose, functions, or delivery of post-secondary education" (p. 2). In the words of Altbach and Knight (2007), "Internationalization includes the policies and practices undertaken by academic systems and institutions, and even individuals, to cope with the global academic environment" (p. 290). These scholars warned that the term "internationalization" should not be used interchangeably with the term "globalization."

The term "globalization" defines a process which has impacted national higher education internationalization policy measures in U.S. higher education starting in the1990s. During the mid-1990s, globalization gained prominence in a new world order that was dominated by liberal economic policies and advances in technologies (Axford, 2013, p.10). Globalization refers to a socio-economic process during an historical period that started in the 16th century in western European colonial nations. Across time, globalization has evolved from a collection of European economies and their colonies into the modern "world economy" (Wallerstein, 1976). The nature of globalization following World War II (and specifically as the globalization process developed in the post-Cold War era) has continued to influence higher education (De Wit, 2002).

According to Giddens (2002), globalization refers to the social, political, and economic changes that have taken place in the 21st century and that have led to "the thesis that we now all live in one world" (p. 7). According to Giddens, the globalization thesis has been substantiated by the increased level of world trade involving the exchange of far higher levels of goods and services between nation states today than at any time in human history. This interchange between nation states, in turn, has influenced the flow of finances and capital between nations at a rate previously unknown in human existence. Giddens stated that "the current world economy has no parallels in earlier times" (p. 9).

The globalization process has created an intricate interdependency and interconnectivity among nations (Axford, 2013). This process has given rise to a global knowledge-based economy, as stated by the Lumina Foundation in its strategic plan for 2017-2020 (Lumina, 2017). The globalization process is not characterized by economic interdependency alone; its multi-pronged nature also involves culture, political processes, and transnational migration (Ritzer & Robinson, 2008).

The globalization process has not been uncontested. For Rosenberg (2007), the unparalleled entanglements of globalization bring an end to individual nation states (p. 417, as cited in Axford, 2013, p. 19). According to Bayart (2007), a consequence of globalization is "uniformization" (as cited in Axford, 2013, p. 9). For Ritzer (2011), a consequence of globalization is "Americanization" and "McDonaldization" (p. 169-172). For other scholars, the American government has played a leading role in the economic globalization process, which is itself linked to foreign policy. In the words of Cox (2012), "The fusion of corporate and state power is the essential defining feature of US foreign policy" (p.1). Cox has further asserted that corporate America was given the privilege to

intertwine itself with the Chinese economy, a phenomenon which served as an impetus for China's accession to the World Trade Organization in 2001.

In general, criticisms of the globalization process have been rooted in three major sentiments, which Bhagwati (2004) has referred to as "a linked trilogy of discontents… composed of an anti-capitalist, anti-globalization, and acute anti-corporation mind-set" (p. 440). In addition, scholars have linked market liberalization as engendered by the globalization process to economic inequities, poverty, and social injustices within and between nation states (Bardhan, 2003; Ritzer & Robinson, 2008). More so, Ritzer (2011) has identified links between imperialism, colonialism, and globalization.

In the global economy, Patel (2017) has pointed to certain effects of globalization. One effect is that, at the expense of other languages, English has become the preferred language of instruction in academia. One consequence of this effect has been to marginalize non-English-speaking students in academia. Patel has further stated that in a global world order, western institutions set the trend for academia, and nations (e.g., Australia, Canada, the U.S.A., and the UK) attract and retain the brightest students from the economic south.

U.S. higher education exists within this conflicted environment. This new environment, in its entirety, creates a space for internationalization policy in higher education (Altbach & Knight, 2007). Although often paired together or used interchangeably, the terms "internationalization" and "globalization" refer to different processes. The term "globalization" refers to an intricately interconnected socio-political and economic world order among nation states, while the term "internationalization" refers to the response to these phenomena in the higher education sector.

Evolutionary Phases in U.S. National Higher Education

Internationalization Policy since World War II

Historically, internationalization policy has been referred to by different names within the U.S. higher education sector. According to De Wit (2002), "International dimension, international education, [and] internationalization of education" are three terms that refer to specific phases of development in higher education internationalization (De Wit, 2002, p. xvii). Prestigious institutions in the U.S. have traditionally offered an international dimension in their curriculum (Altbach & Knight (2007). Since 1945, mass higher education has brought an international dimension to public higher education institutions.

In general, Mestenhauser (1998) has identified three stages of internationalization policy in U.S. higher education since World War II, leaving a fourth phase unaccounted for. The first phase, which he termed "euphoria," occurred between World War II and the end of the Vietnam War. During this period, the U.S. invested in internationalization policy through area studies to enhance American global awareness and to maintain the role of the U.S. as an emerging world leader. The second phase, which Mestenhauser called the "darkening clouds," began with the 1966 International Education Act and ended in the 1970s. During this period, there was a lack of financial support for internationalization policy; existing internationalization measures were stable yet marginal in higher education course offerings. The third phase, which Mestenhauser called "defense through the associations," began in the 1980s and ended in the 1990s. During this period, international education faced potential cuts by the Reagan administration (as cited in De Wit, 2002, p. 18). Nevertheless, the voluntary sector, or

citizens-based higher education organizations, retained internationalization policy in

higher education within the context of globalization. Arguably, the fourth stage of

internationalization policy in U.S. higher education occurred during the 2000s. Since

2000, U.S. internationalization policy has been linked to economic globalization and

American economic competitiveness within the global economy (Spellings Report,

2006).

Internationalization is not a new concept within the higher education sector

(Altbach & Knight, 2007, p. 293). However, prior to the 20th century,

internationalization policy had not been an integral or intentional component of the

higher education curriculum, hovering instead around the periphery of curricular

activities (De Wit, 2002). According to Knight (1999), there are four primary types of

rationales, or reasons, for including an international dimension in higher education: (a) a

political rationale, (b) an economic rationale, (c) an academic rationale, and (d) a social

rationale (p. 17). These categories are neither clear cut nor mutually exclusive (Knight,

1999). Manifest within the body of existing rationales is an all-encompassing

humanitarian rationale for internationalizing higher education (Mestenhauser, 1998;

Raby, 2014).

In the 20th century (more specifically, between World War II and 1966), during

Mestenhausser's first phase of internationalization policy, internationalization policy

became an intentional component of higher education course programs through strategic

planning. Dominated by a political rationale, internationalization measures were used to

promote U.S. national security and foreign policy (De Wit, 2002, p. 75). The policy was

designed to educate American students about other cultures, languages, and nations. U.S.

national security rested on American understanding of nations and regions that posed a threat to the U.S as much as the world's understanding of the U.S. (Smith-Mundt Act, 1948). The end of foreign policy isolationism paved the way to share U.S. democratic ideals with future world leaders and other nations. After all, the U.S. had helped Europe defeat Nazi Germany, Italy, and Japan. During this period, the Department of Foreign Affairs and Defense, private foundations, and professional associations helped finance international education in higher education (De Wit, 2002).

In addition, the historical role and nature of higher education institutions have necessitated an international component on campuses. An academic rationale for including an international component in higher education is based on the fact that (a) university research typically rests on international collaboration and that (b) an international component engenders international scholar mobility (Knight, 1999, p. 19). From the perspective of knowledge enhancement, the purpose of international education in U.S. higher education has been to cater to American "cultural parochialism" (De Wit, p. 74). Historically, an international education component has been absent at the elementary and secondary levels in the U.S. According to De Wit (2002), it needed to be offered at the tertiary level (p. 76). Treat and Hagedorn (2013) explained that the presence of international education in higher education is part of a liberal education movement to broaden knowledge. An international component in higher education enhances the quality of higher education programs (Knight, 1999). According to Knight (1999), the purpose of higher education is to educate, and learning about other countries and cultures contributes to a broader knowledge base. As mass higher education spread

through the U.S. after World War II, international education meandered its way into educational programs both for political as well as academic reasons.

Mestenhausser's (1998) second phase of internationalization occurred after the Cold War; this period of "darkening clouds" occurred between 1966 until the late 1970s. During this period, internationalization policy in higher education reflected both globalization and the emergence of regional alignments among nation states (De Wit, 2002, p. xvii). Regrouping western European nations, i.e., the European Union, began to form as a region, or a conglomeration of U.S. satellites, while Eastern Europe became Russian, or Soviet satellites. A prominent internationalization measure from this period was the National Defense and Education Act of 1958 (NDEA). This legislation was passed after the Russians launched the first satellite (Sputnik I) into orbit. The NDEA funded higher education institutions to internationalize higher education and to boost science programs that would maintain American leadership on the planet and in outer space. Federal funding of higher education was also supplied through Title VI of the Higher Education Act of 1960. The purpose of this legislation was to develop multidisciplinary area studies, foreign language centers, and programs for study of international affairs closely linked to U.S. military needs (Stein, 2017).

Scholars have observed that during the Cold War, area studies focused attention on China and the Soviet Union (Wallerstein & Becker, 1997, as cited in De Wit, 2002, p. 77). Technical assistance was provided to the developing world via USAID to sustain U.S. allies abroad (De Wit, 2002, p. 25). The economic aspect, or the "market component" of international education began with Part B of Title VI of the Higher Education Act of 1960. This legislation established centers for international business

education and research at public institutions (Holzner & Greenwood, 1995, p. 40). The purpose of these centers was to train students in the field of international business.

During Mestenhausser's (1998) third phase of internationalization, which began in the 1980s, the strategic process of higher education internationalization escalated through support from the voluntary sector (De Wit, 2002, p. 15). Although this period witnessed less government intervention to promote internationalization due to reduced federal funding under the Reagan administration, the National Security and Education Act of 1991 was passed following the collapse of the Soviet Union. During this period, funding of international education was provided only when it was linked to "national defense, public diplomacy… and intelligence" (Vesta, 1994, p. 32). As a result of reduced government funding, the voluntary sector moved to keep aspects of internationalization present in higher education (De Wit, 2002). Members of the voluntary sector were more organized in their federal lobbying efforts and could target specific federal government departments with their lobbying techniques (Cook, 1998). As diminishing trade barriers between nations created a more economically interdependent world economy, the new economic era necessitated internationalization policy in higher education (Altbach & Knight, 2007; Cudmore, 2005). Globalization had established its presence, and U.S. higher education internationalization policy responded with study-abroad programs (Bolen, 2001). Adding an international component to the curriculum would prepare students for work in the "global marketplace" (Bonfiglio, 1999, p. 6). During the1980s and 1990s, the political rationale for internationalization policy began to yield to an economic rationale.

In 2000, President Clinton stressed that international education should continue to prepare future leaders by welcoming international students and supporting diplomacy (White House, 2000). However, since 9/11, scholars have attempted to balance international education against the needs of both national and "global security," initiating a different phase in U.S. internationalization policy (Treat & Hagedorn, 2013, p. 6). Globalization and global terrorism led scholars to state that in a globally connected world, higher education institutions cannot ignore global problems (Treat & Hagedorn, 2013, p. 6).

The demands of a knowledge-based economy within a global context meant that the higher education sector would be required to provide students with relevant skills to navigate the global world order. The content of course offerings at higher education institutions needed to provide "systematic knowledge generation, preservation and dissemination" (Kehm & Teichler, 2007, p. 260). However, according to Wadhwa (2016), U.S. internationalization policy became increasingly "motivated by profits rather than by either government policy or goodwill" (p. 227). To support this claim, Wadhwa pointed to the increasing presence of high-tuition-paying international students on U.S. campuses and the growing number of western institution branch campuses abroad (p. 228).

Since World War II, the motivation, or rationale, for an internationalization policy in the higher education sector has shifted from an academic rationale (focused on education) to a political rationale (focused on foreign policy and national security) to an economic rationale (focused on U.S. competitiveness in a global economy) (De Wit, 2002, p. 74). The emergence of an economic rationale for adopting an

internationalization policy in higher education contributed to the economic health of the U.S. As a result of globalization, the U.S. has become more cognizant of the economic value that flows from developing an internationally conversant workforce. As U.S. global corporations dominated world trade, producing graduates with intercultural skill sets became vital in helping U.S. economic competitiveness (Gopinath, 2009). Knight (1999) stated that "[a] factor related to the labour market is the identification of competencies which are considered essential for new graduates to function in a more international work environment" (p. 18).

In addition, the economic rationale for adopting an internationalization policy in higher education has been linked to the interdependence among nation states (Knight, 1999). In a scientifically advanced environment, joint ventures in applied scientific research between nation states have been financially and academically prudent. When nations join forces and pool resources, the potential to develop complex knowledge increases; in turn, this enhances national development as well as the national competitiveness of partnering nations. Higher education has been the nexus of this cooperation and has led to the development of a knowledgeable workforce. As trade barriers between nations receded, maintaining U.S. global competitiveness became a prime factor in internationalization policy (Spellings Report, 2006; White House, 2000). According to Smithee (2012), economic stability guarantees the continuation of nations; consequently, an economic rationale for internationalizing a sector that contributes to a nation's well-being supports economic stability.

In the growing context of globalization, nation states have become increasingly aware of the need to secure and preserve their cultural identities. From this perspective,

Knight (1999) noted that "the acknowledgement of cultural and ethnic diversity within and between countries is considered as a strong rationale for the internationalisation of a nation's education system" (p. 20). Scholars also have reported that ensuring undergraduates acquire intercultural skill sets is paramount as the U.S. becomes a growing multicultural nation (Green & Siaya, 2005). Americans need to learn about cultural diversity in order to better understand their fellow Americans (Eck, 2002). To this end, Green and Siaya (2005) reported that internationalization is important "[to strengthen] connections between our multicultural society in the United States and the larger global context" (p. 16). In a post-9/11 era, globalization has become a "lived experience" for Americans (Treat & Hagedorn, 2013, p. 6). A better understanding of the U.S. cultural tapestry provides Americans with a nuanced perspective of U.S. geopolitical policies and better situates events such as 9/11.

Finally, according to Mestenhauser (1998), historically, international education has been used to ensure peaceful international relations in the world (as cited in De Wit, 2002, p. 27). Although an all-encompassing rationale for internationalization, the humanitarian rationale belongs to a category of its own. Since the 1960s, higher education institutions have partnered with developing countries to assist in advancing their national infrastructures. In fact, Raby (2014) reported that "humanitarian assistance has been the cornerstone of many Canadian and US international development projects" (p. 749). In addition, using international education to develop global citizenry or to develop civic engagement abroad has been a vital strategy in advancing higher education internationalization policy.

Horn, Hendel, and Fry (2011) stated that campus internationalization has been "positively associated with international volunteerism [through] the Peace Corps" (p. 161). These scholars reported a higher rate of international volunteerism among study-abroad alumni compared to the general population of U.S. volunteers (p. 164). In a war-torn world with at least 22.5 million refugees, the current civil war in Syria has displaced 4.8 million Syrians. The humanitarian rationale for higher education internationalization policy includes interventions to educate refugees at the tertiary level (Streitwieser, Loo, Ohorodnik, & Jeong, 2018, p. 5). From providing assistance for developing nations to developing individuals as civically responsible global citizens to embracing refugees in higher education, the humanitarian rationale for internationalization policy has been an all-encompassing rationale for higher education internationalization policy.

Internationalization policy has marked a continuous presence in higher education curricula since the 1950s, moving gradually from a partial component to an intentional component of higher education programs. Government measures at the federal level have set the tone for policies over the years. Experts have predicted that within the context of globalization, internationalization policy will become an organized and integral part of higher education in the 21st century (De Wit, 2002, p. xvii). In the diverse U.S. higher education landscape, the current policy formulation model has resulted in the uneven implementation of higher education internationalization policy among different types of institutions.

National Internationalization Policy Measures for Community Colleges

National government policy in the 1990s linked the future success of community colleges to the global economy (Carl. D. Perkins Vocational and Applied Technology

Act, 1995), yet research has revealed that regardless of being the fastest growing higher education sector, internationalization policy at the community college level has remained marginal (Raby, 2014; Woodin, 2016). More than 45% of students in higher education begin their academic journeys at a community college (AACC, 2018; Green & Siaya, 2005). In 2017, Helms noted that compared to 80% of four-year institutions, only 41% of community colleges have incorporated an international education component in their course offerings. Inequitable access to educational competencies denies students a quality education, and undemocratic access to quality higher education perpetuates economic disparities among Americans.

Historically, the mission of community colleges has been to serve the local community by developing the skills of students who then provide services to the local area (Bissonette & Woodin, 2013). Since the 1960s, some community colleges have offered an international component in their programs (Raby & Valeau, 2016). Socio-political changes and economic changes brought about by globalization and recent advances in technology have required community colleges in general to broaden their mission and programs to include an international vision. The momentum began in the 1990s with globalization, and in practice the mission of community colleges evolved from serving local communities to serving the global community. For Raby and Valeau (2016), incorporating international education in the community college course offerings can only ensure student success. As neoliberal ideas influenced the direction of community colleges, Levin (2014) explained this evolution in terms of globalization:

> Global forces, particularly economic ones, contributed to organizational change in the 1990s, and [community] colleges in response to these forces altered their

missions and structures. These alterations in effect moved colleges away from

local community social needs towards local market needs and in line with national

and international agendas of dominant influences, such as governments and

businesses, suggesting a more pronounced economic role for community colleges.

(p. 730)

In the words of Raby and Valeau (2016), "There is no national community college

policy that opposes internationalization and there is no policy that defines serving the

local community as the opposite of a global connection" (p. 17). Internationalization

policy at community colleges encompasses broad societal changes; it (a) helps

institutions respond to local immigration trends, (b) helps local companies face global

competition, and (c) allows colleges to train students to respond to the ramifications of

international commerce (Bissonette & Woodin, 2016).

Although anchored in specific geographical locations, community colleges are not

immune to the impact of globalization on U.S. society. Scholars have used glocalization

theory to explain that it is possible to occupy both a local space and a global space

simultaneously. According to Robertson (1995), glocalization suggests that "the local is

an aspect of the global" (p. 30). Robertson has described glocalization as "the

simultaneity and the interpenetration of what are conventionally called the global and the

local" (p. 30). The theory of glocalization recognizes that community colleges exist in a

wider socio political and economic web which forms part of the "one world" in which

communities are not severed from the rest of the globe but instead are intertwined in an

interconnected and interdependent global ecosystem (Giddens, 2002, p. 7). Glocalization

theory shows that in a globalized environment, community colleges can cater to the global community, albeit by staying in their local space.

According to Green and Siaya (2005), community college leaders should embrace this glocal vision and intentionally orient their community college mission statements to include multicultural workforce training and a global world order. This strategic intentionality reinforces the political, sociocultural, and academic rationale for an internationalization policy. Bissonette and Woodin (2016) have stressed the economic rationale for internationalizing community colleges, stating that communities engage in international commerce and employers seek intercultural competencies from the workforce (Woodin, 2016).

The federal government guarantees education quality in the U.S., and historically higher education has fulfilled important cultural, social, and economic roles (Levin, 2014). In the community college sector, scholars have commented on the stagnated nature of community college programming and have called for more responsive and progressive international curricula (Treat & Hagedorn, 2013). Raby and Valeau (2016) have attributed the marginalization of international education at community colleges to the "singular nature of programming" offered at these institutions (p. 14). These scholars have stated that a "holistic" approach that integrates an international component in community college programs is more aligned with the educational needs of the 21st century (p. 14). According to Treat and Hagedorn (2013), this holistic approach will also help "provid[e] global opportunity with local impact" (p. 8).

According to educational and political researchers, intentional and strategic efforts to upgrade curricula at community colleges have been lacking (Raby & Valeau,

2016). Community colleges have lacked internationalization policy adaptations, and their curricula do not reflect a global component. As a consequence, community college students have been left behind in terms of international education. Stax, Brown, and Singer (2015) stated that presidents of community colleges generally have lacked an international mindset, and those amenable to an international mindset tend to minimize it in fear of others who have not updated their definition of the community college mission to include a global component. Stax, Brown, and Singer (2015) further stated that internationalization policy continues to be perceived as wasting resources in an era of funding attrition (p. 2). According to Levin (2014), refusing to view community colleges as higher education institutions that exist in a global web reflects a disposition that underscores the lived reality that community colleges are influenced by government policy, international trade, and changing local demographics. Research targeting national internationalization policy measures for the community college sector in the 2000s has remained limited.

Review of Higher Education Internationalization Policy Literature

This section provides an overview of studies undertaken in the field of higher education internationalization policy. If research on national internationalization policy-making is to advance, it is important to identify national policy-making actors using a scientific or empirical approach (Hillman & Tandberg, 2015). An empirical approach allows researchers to lay the groundwork for (a) describing how national higher education policy-making actors affect internationalization policy, (b) describing how internationalization policy is shaped, and (c) outlining the content and nature of policy

measures that eventually reach maturity. The following information suggests that such an analysis has been absent from higher education internationalization policy literature.

Research reports on internationalization policy have indicated that investigations in this area have focused mostly on the implementation of internationalization policy in higher education institutions. Extensive research has been conducted on campus-based internationalization, and measures that facilitate national higher education internationalization policy have been outlined by the American Council on Education (Helms, 2015). The level of internationalization on U.S. campuses has been compared among institutions based on institutional type and geographical location (Helms, 2017). Scholars have studied curriculum globalization (Runte, 2001), tensions surrounding the Fulbright program (Bettie, 2015), and the development of study-abroad programs (Bolen, 2001). Research has also examined the 30-year history of internationalization policy up to 1998 (Ruther, 2002). In sum, a variety of research studies have measured the effects of internationalization policies on higher education; however, researchers have failed to explore these policies through a policy-making lens.

As direct beneficiaries of internationalization policy, domestic and international students have been studied, and their perceptions about internationalization have been measured across time. Robertson (2015) measured whether domestic students viewed internationalization as a relevant component of their educational experience. He found (a) that student perceptions differed based on students' interest in international education and (b) that community college students displayed a low level of interest in internationalization. Urban and Palmer (2014) explored international student perceptions about the ways in which institutions use international students as cultural resources in the

process of campus internationalization. These authors concluded that international students were an underused resource in the process.

Rumbley, Altbach, and Reisberg (2012) explored internationalization at institutions and concluded that active engagement from institutional personnel is vital if only to establish ethical standards for campus internationalization processes. Considering one type of campus personnel, Dewey and Duff (2009) indicated that while faculty members play a pivotal role in campus internationalization, their efforts frequently occur in silos, away from administrative support. According to Opp and Gosetti (2014), college administrators and, more specifically, college presidents (Stax, Brown, & Singer, 2015) should play a more prominent role in facilitating campus internationalization by embracing international education activities. Relying on a public policy theoretical framework, Parsons and Fidler (2005) used the punctuated equilibrium framework to examine the internationalization of higher education as a transformational change. These scholars concluded that the change was a slow one.

In the growing community college sector, the transformational change that results in internationalization policy at these institutions has been "underdeveloped" (Woodin, 2016, as cited in Raby, 2016, p. 158). According to Romano (2009), advances in technology and globalization have meant that community colleges should provide students with skills to work in multinational organizations, both locally and internationally. However, Helms (2017) concluded that internationalization has been implemented in community colleges at half the rate that it has been implemented in four-year institutions.

With respect to the national higher education policy-making process, Harcleroad and Eaton (2005) described national higher education policy-making actors and categorized them into three sectors: (a) the voluntary sector, (b) the public sector, and (c) the private sector. These authors concluded that the private sector plays a crucial role in motivating higher education institutions to update program offerings and to monitor and reduce public sector interference in higher education. Shutina (2008) investigated one group of actors in the national higher education internationalization policy-making arena. Describing the role of non-profit organizations as actors in the national higher education internationalization policy-making process, Shutina concluded that voluntary organizations have played a major role in pushing internationalization to the forefront of U.S. campuses, and presidential organizations have played an influential role in campus internationalization by embracing aspects of internationalization policy. Shutina further noted that the American Council on Education played an instrumental role in providing the higher education sector with resources to foster internationalization through the institute for internationalization programs. Shutina also observed that associations have limited restrictive policies on internationalization following the 9/11 attacks on U.S. soil. Because of the multiplicity of actors and institutions involved in the national policy-making process, scholars have asserted that national higher education internationalization policy has been "fragmented and unintegrated" (Mestenhauser 1998, p. 36), and as a result, research on the policy-making process has remained limited.

According to McLendon (2003), more issues in higher education need to be investigated. National higher education internationalization policy measures have been outlined by the American Council on Education (Helms, 2015), yet research on the

evolution of national higher education internationalization policy measures within the context of globalization has been absent from the literature. The impact of the national higher education internationalization policy-making process on the higher education sector has been insufficiently investigated, resulting in a gap in the research literature on higher education policy.

McLendon (2003) observed that studies on the formation of policies and policy subsystems within political policy institutions have been rare. In her dissertation, Stein (2008) dissected the underlying imperialistic roots that characterize Canadian and U.S. internationalization policy formation. Stein called for placing the *Global North* in the context of empire building to highlight the "Euro-supremacist… purposes of higher education" (p. ii). Stein stated that colonial entanglements with newly created nation states have impacted curriculum internationalization, international student mobility, and global citizenship. In sum, within the field of national U.S. internationalization policy, (a) studies have not examined political and nonpolitical national higher education internationalization policy-making actors to describe how these actors shape policy measures; (b) studies have not identified factors that influenced the policy between 2000 and 2019; (c) studies have not traced the evolution of policy choices to capture emerging directions; (d) and especially studies have not been conducted exploring these issues within the locally grounded and growing community college sector.

Theoretical Framework

Numerous techniques can be used to organize and interpret historical data within a given context. This study was conducted using historical research design to gain an in-depth understanding of how national higher education internationalization policy has

been shaped by a multiplicity of actors and aimed to capture the emerging direction in higher education internationalization policy at the national level within the context of globalization between 2000 and 2019.

Historical research design involves finding, using, and correlating information from the past to understand historical events and the ideas that influenced these events (Torou, Katifori, Vassilakis, Lepouras, & Halatsis, 2010). According to Gunn and Faire (2016), historical "research methods" include the "tools or techniques appropriate to history as a field of study" (p. 1). Historical methods distinguish between narrative and structural methods. In general, structural historical methods are analytical, thematic, concerned with circumstances, and focused on the collective (Edson, 2005, p. 52), while narrative historical methods are descriptive, chronological, and concerned with individuals.

This current study focused on national higher education internationalization policy within the context of globalization over the *durée* of nineteen years between 2000 and 2019. Data for the study were organized and interpreted using "horizontal and vertical" historical analysis methods (see Figure 4).
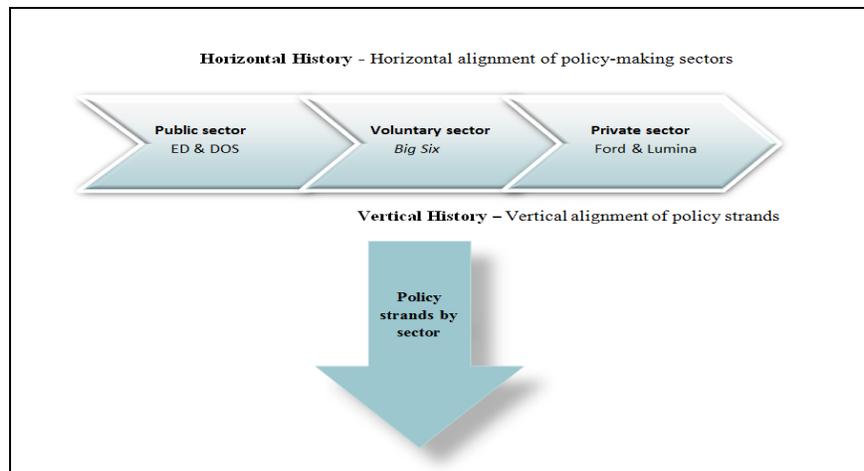
Figure 4. Visual representation of policy-making sectors horizontally and visual representation of policy strands vertically.

The public, voluntary, and private sectors were aligned horizontally to describe the ways in which multiple sectors simultaneously shaped national higher education internationalization policy. To trace the ways in which national higher education internationalization policy evolved during this period, strands of policy efforts from each sector were organized vertically in chronological groupings under three temporal contexts, or presidential periods. Factors which influenced the policy efforts were also identified.

Horizontal Analysis

Although the term "horizontal history" in general refers to the analysis of "the interconnection of events over space" (Silberzahn, 2011), in the context of higher education, Thelin (2010) has used the term to examine the multiple sectors that influence higher education policy. Using Thelin's (2010) horizontal analysis of higher education policy-making institutions, data from a microcosm of groups within the public sector, the voluntary sector, and the private sector were aligned horizontally for analysis. According to Sreedharan (2007), history can be analyzed using social microscope theory to look at a

smaller group within a larger group in order to provide "an analysis of why [events took] a particular form" (p. 217).

Multiple actors are involved in national higher education policy-making. As autonomous bodies, higher education institutions in general are policy-makers in their own right (Duderstadt, 2009). However, "varied external forces" from the public sector, the voluntary sector, and the private sector have exerted influence over higher education policies (Harcleroad & Eaton, 2005, p. 253-254). Scholars have extended the list of higher education policy-making actors to also include the market (Clark, 1983) and the legal sector (Blanchard & Baez, 2016). Together, this plethora of sectors has nudged internationalization policies on American campuses (Ruther 2002). Thelin (2010) has used the term "horizontal history" in higher education to analyze "the complex array of organizations that cut across the educational landscape both to provide services and impose constraints on colleges and universities" (Thelin, 2010, as cited in Gasman, 2010, p. 71). Thelin (2010) has further stated that "the more complex ecology of higher education […] includes the roles of foundations, consortia, associations, accrediting bodies, state bureaus and federal agencies which have contributed funding, incentives, and regulations to American campuses" (p. 72).

At the federal level, the public sector is comprised of the three branches of government – the executive branch, the legislative branch, and the judicial branch. From the public sector, the current study focused on two cabinet-level departments from the executive branch of government: (a) the Department of Education (ED) and (b) the Department of State (DOS). These two departments have been major providers of federal international education programs (Wiley, 2010; De Wit, 2002). Although not tasked with

the mission to make national education policies, the Department of Education nevertheless has guided the course of education policy issues (Harcleroad & Eaton, 2005; Parsons, 1997). From the array of Title VI programs under the Higher Education Act of 2008, the evolution of one program--i.e., Less Commonly Taught Languages (LCTLs)-- was analyzed. Title VI programs have provided the historical backbone of international programs at the Department of Education, and the evolution of LCTLs showcased the impact of events on the program in the 2000s. As the guardian of national security and public diplomacy, the Department of State oversees exchange programs. This study explored the emergence of novel policy efforts with mass appeal between 2000 and 2019. The Lugar Exchange program reflected novel policy efforts and had "broad appeal" (Bolen, 2001, p. 185). The evolution of the FLEX/Lugar Exchange program was considered to showcase the impact of events on the program in the 2000s.

In the varied landscape of U.S. higher education, a plethora of voluntary associations exist to represent the interests of different types of higher education institutions--for example, public institutions, private institutions, historically black institutions, religious institutions, and two-year institutions. Voluntary associations also exist to represent institution personnel as well as issues that impact higher education policies. As a result, there are "hundreds of associations [that represent] higher education [in Washington, D.C.]" (Cook, 1998, p. 9). Consequently, "to create order in the jumbled Washington landscape, a set of major associations serve as the principal voices of higher education" (Cook, 1998, p. 10). The major associations are six presidentially based associations, which Cook has referred to as the "Big Six" (Cook, 1998, p. 71). Cook's "Big Six" associations include (a) the American Association of Community Colleges

(AACC), (b) the American Council on Education (ACE), (c) the Association of Public

Land-Grant Universities (APLU; formerly NASULGC-National Association of State

Universities and Land-Grant Colleges), (d) the American Association of State Colleges

and Universities (AASCU), (e) the American Association of Universities(AAU), and (f)

the National Association of Independent Colleges and Universities (NAICU). In sum,

Cook's "Big Six" refers to six voluntary higher education institution-based associations

that exert influence on higher education policy-making at the federal level. Data from

Cook's "Big Six" were used to showcase internationalization policy issues that the

voluntary sector championed in the 2000s.

Through philanthropy, foundations have grown to influence higher education

policy efforts in the U.S. (Thelin, 2011). Two foundations, the Ford Foundation and the

Lumina Foundation, have influenced higher education internationalization policy efforts

over the years. The Ford Foundation has strongly supported International Education since

the 1950s, and scholars have described the foundation as a "stakeholder in international

education" (De Wit, 2002, p. 32; Merkx, 2010). In the 2000s, the Lumina Foundation

emerged on the higher education scene to focus specifically on higher education policy

efforts. It has been cited as one of the "national… large [and] well-known foundations"

that can influence higher education through its "choice of area of support" (Harcelroad &

Eaton, 2005, p. 256). Focusing on student access and success in education beyond high

school, the Lumina Foundation is relevant to the temporal context of the current study.

Data from the two foundations captured novel aspects of internationalization policy

efforts that these foundations influenced during the 2000s.

Vertical Analysis

To describe the ways in which the policy efforts evolved between 2000 and 2019, strands of policy efforts from the three sectors were organized vertically in chronological groupings (Silberzahn, 2011; Sreedharan, 2007). In general, vertical history refers to the "understanding [of] why events occur" and "what caused the events" (Silberzahn, 2011). To trace policy evolution, the time frame, or *durée* between 2000 and 2019, was divided into three eras (2000-2008; 2009-2016; 2016-2019). For Bergson, the concept of *durée* is akin to a musical score in which every part is connected "and is contrasted to *succession* and *sequence"* (Bergson, as cited in Gunn & Faire, 2016, p .257). The first temporal contexts, or time frame, begins in 2000 under President Clinton (Democrat) and ends in 2008 under President George W. Bush (Republican); the second temporal context begins in 2009 and ends in 2016 under President Obama (Democrat); and finally, the third temporal context begins in 2017 under President Trump (Republican) and ends in 2019 (the study's chosen historical end point). Inaugurated in 2017, President Trump was the sitting president in 2019 and faces reelection in 2020. The chronological grouping of policy strands across three eras under four presidents provided context from which to draw "valid generalizations" based on the data collected (Sreedharan 2007, p. 191). Data from the Department of Education, the Department of State, Cook's "Big Six," and the two foundations were organized to illustrate how multiple actors simultaneously shaped U.S. national higher education internationalization policy; likewise, strands of policy efforts from these sectors helped trace the emergence and evolution of policy direction between 2000 and 2019.

Rationale for Using Horizontal and Vertical Historical Analysis

Thelin's (2011) horizontal alignment of higher education policy-making actors was the appropriate guiding framework for this current study because it provides a clear lens through which to view the complex higher education policy-making ecosystem. Thelin's horizontal history recognizes that multiple actors simultaneously contribute to shape higher education policy internationalization policy. Unveiling a pluralistic approach to higher education policy-making helps depict the ways in which a given aspect of higher education policy is tweaked in a non-centralized policy-making model.

Scholars have noted that in western liberal democracies, including North America, policies are made in response to events, not in preemption of events (Hajer, 2003). Chronological and vertical grouping of data helps (a) to isolate societal factors that have influenced policy evolution within the three temporal contexts between 2000 2019 and (b) to identify specific factors that influenced policy. This approach further helps describe why policies were made based on specific events (Silberzahn, 2011). Finally, the three temporal contexts under four presidents set the tone for policies adopted during the three eras between 2000 and 2019.

Assumptions of the Theoretical Framework

As a *sui generis* framework used in the study of higher education, limitations of Thelin's (2011) horizontal analysis framework reflect the assumption that at any given point in time, three policy-making sectors are interested in the same policy issue. It can further be assumed that the sectors are interested in the same policy strand; for example, they are all interested in cultural exchanges. Secondly, this framework assumes that the

existing national higher education policy-making sectors work in concert to provide an overarching policy solution to a problem. Third, this framework assumes that there is an organic relationship between the sectors in that actors from the sectors work together in harmony. Fourth, this framework assumes that there is a symbiotic interdependence among the sectors whereby the relationships among the actors are mutually beneficial and complementary.

The use of vertical history in this study assumes that policies have been made in reaction to events as opposed to in preemption of events. Vertical history is predisposed to provide a narrow lens on policy analysis by presupposing a causal relationship between events and policies. Given that historians can select the cause, this historical study underscored a plurality of causes and a multiplicity of facets which together may explain a policy initiative, although "history should speak the language of experience-- not causality" (Dilthey, as cited in Seedharan, 2007, p. 211). For Spoehr and Spoehr (1994), "Thinking historically requires going beyond chronology or chronicle and looking at the relations that the facts bear to one another" (p. 71). These scholars have stated that policies have several foundations that include but are not limited to social, political, economic, technological, environmental, and military foundations. Finally, operationally, vertical history underscores the long-term scope of existing policies by focusing on policies within a temporal context and linking them to societal issues within the temporal context under investigation.

Summary

To establish the background for this study, the first section described the public policy-making process in the United States and provided categories from which to

elucidate the nature of public policy. The second section described the education policy-making process in the United States. In general, multiple actors have contributed to the national higher education policy-making process. The third section described national higher education policy-making institutions in the United States, paying attention both to political as well as nonpolitical policy-making institutions. The fourth section presented national higher education policy-making actors within the policy-making institutions. The fifth section presented an analysis of higher education internationalization policy within the context of globalization. The sixth section discussed the different phases in the evolution of U.S. national higher education internationalization policy since World War II. The seventh section afforded special attention to community colleges and discussed national higher education internationalization policy within this sector. The eighth section reviewed higher education internationalization policy literature in order to demonstrate the absence of research on the national higher education internationalization policy-making process. Finally, the ninth section outlined historical research methods--in particular, horizontal analysis (Thelin, 2011) and vertical analysis (Silberzahn, 2011)--which served as the chosen theoretical framework for interpreting data in this historical policy analysis study.

Chapter 3

Methods

Situated within the context of globalization, the purpose of this historical policy analysis study was twofold. First, it aimed to identify and describe the ways in which multiple actors have shaped national higher education internationalization policy within the U.S. Secondly, the study aimed to capture the emerging direction in higher education internationalization policy at the national level between 2000 and 2019. The guiding research question for this study was as follows: How has national higher education internationalization policy been shaped, and how has the policy evolved in novel ways since 2000? This chapter provides an overview of the methodology that was used to address the research question and achieve the purpose of the study. This chapter is organized into three sections and outlines the research design and the procedures for data collection and analysis. The first section presents the research design; the second section describes the methods of data collection; and the final section describes the data analysis procedures that were used.

Research Design

This study used historical research design to gain an in-depth understanding of how national higher education internationalization policy has been shaped by a multiplicity of actors. The study aimed to capture the emerging direction in higher education internationalization policy at the national level between 2000 and 2019 within the context of globalization. Relying on a constructivist paradigm, which accepts that knowledge is created, historical research design is a fluid framework that allows the researcher to collect and interpret data from various sources. According to Gunn and

Faire (2016), historical "research methods" refers to the "tools or techniques appropriate to history as a field of study" (p. 1). Historical research design involves finding, using, and correlating information from the past to understand historical events and the ideas that influenced these events (Torou, Katifori, Vassilakis, Lepouras, & Halatsis, 2010). According to Presnell (2016), historians are interested in identifying the ways in which past events have influenced the contemporary world. In Presnell's (2016) words, "Historians strive to make meaningful connections between the past and the present" (p. 5). Specifically, according to Borg and Gall (1989), "by studying the past, the historian hopes to achieve a better understanding of present institutions, practices, and issues in education" (p. 806). These scholars have described historical research as "the systematic search for facts relating to questions about the past, and the interpretation of these facts" (p. 810).

Historical methods distinguish between narrative and structural methods. In general, narrative historical methods are descriptive, chronological, and concerned with individuals; on the other hand, structural historical methods are analytical, thematic, concerned with circumstances, and focused on the collective (Edson, 2005, p. 52). During their research, historians often have combined these two modes of enquiry because narrative historical methods describe *what* happened, while structural historical methods explore *why* events happened. Edson (2005) warned that "because historical explanation is undertaken to gain perspective, not to provide prescription, historians must be careful not to elevate their beliefs into facts or to inflate partial insights into truths" (p. 51). Historical research methodology allows for interpretative analysis regarding the development of a phenomenon (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005; Presnell, 2016). According to

Presnell (2016), "The study of history is not unbiased… [it] involves a degree of judgement and interpretation" (p. 5).

Scholars have categorized historical research methods within the qualitative research paradigm (Borg & Gall, 1989; Creswell, 2013). According to Denzin and Lincoln (2005), qualitative research is a method of bringing awareness and providing structure to real-world events:

> Qualitative research is a situated activity that locates the observer in the world. It consists of a set of interpretive, material practices that make the world visible. These practices transform the world… qualitative research involves an interpretive, naturalistic approach to the world. (p. 3)

The term "qualitative" is intentionally vague so that it can be inclusive of research strategies that evolve over the years (Preissle, 2006, as cited in Merriam & Tisdell, 2016, p. 7). According to Edson (2005), "Carl Becker defined history as 'the memory of things said and done.' Just as memory is qualitative (in the sense that it is human, limited, interpretive, and judgmental), so, too, is history qualitative" (p. 45). Bellah (1995) further noted that "qualitative inquiry may be seen as a form of moral discourse" that leads us to challenge our own assumptions; ask new questions; embrace complexity and acquiesce our existence in a wider world where interrelations matter (as cited in Edson, 2005, p. 43).

A variety of qualitative inquiry methodologies are available to researchers. In Edson's (2005) words, "If we view the purpose of qualitative inquiry as a quest to gain understanding, there is no qualitative method *per se,* only methods to gather information with which we construct our qualitative understanding" (p. 42). Similarly, according to

Borg and Gall (1989), there is no single method of historical inquiry "because historical inquiry is so dependent on the idiosyncratic ways in which different historians interpret and judge the past" (p. 809-10); however, these scholars have recommended that there are "steps that are common across most historical studies" (p. 810). Four of these steps comprise a general historical method: (1) defining the problem or questions to be explored; (2) searching for sources of historical facts; (3) summarizing, critically analyzing, and evaluating the facts; and (4) presenting the applicable facts within a logical interpretative framework (p. 810). During this process, "historians are committed to objectivity as a value or an ideal, not as a product or an attainment" (Edson, 2005, p. 51).

The strength of historical research lies in its flexible research design, which allows data to be collected from multiple sources, including primary and secondary sources, documents, and interviews. Furthermore, historical research accords researchers the freedom to interpret the data. As an instrument of research, researchers can draw on their work and cultural experiences to inform their investigations (Creswell, p. 47). By weaving together data collected from various sources, researchers can sift through diverse interpretations and arrive at a unique interpretation that reflects how events in the past have influenced the present as well as how they might influence the future. Historical research design further allows researchers to assess the effects of past events on the lives of individuals in the present (Presnell, 2016, p. 1). Using a constructivist paradigm, which emphasizes that knowledge is created, historical research design allows participants to provide their in-depth perspectives about the phenomenon under investigation (Merriam,

2016, p. 5). Finally, historical research design is a research strategy that contributes to knowledge in a given field by evaluating change over a set period of time.

For this current study, the set period of time between 2000 and 2019 provided a context for the inquiry. During this period, globalization became an influential process in the U.S. According to Presnell (2016), "periodization is the practice of dividing time into useful segments" (p. 6). For this study, the review of national higher education internationalization policy begins in 2000. The year 2000 was chosen because to date, researchers have explored U.S. internationalization policy only until 1998 (Mestenhauser, 1998) and have described the impact of internationalization policy only until 2002 (Ruther 2002), thereby leaving understudied the period between 2000 and the present day (i.e., 2019). In 2000, then President Clinton offered official support for higher education internationalization policy, setting the stage for an emerging economic rationale as an impetus for such policies. By 2006, the Spellings Report, issued by the Secretary of State for Education at that time, placed the need for international education within the context of the global economy, again reinforcing the economic rationale for an internationalization policy within the context of globalization. By 2017, President Trump assumed the office of president on an anti-globalization platform, unleashing a new era in the context of the study. The study came to an end in 2019.

Data Collection

I collected data for this current study in two phases. During the first phase, I collected data from documents, and during the second phase, I collected data through open-ended and semi-structured interviews with individuals who have been involved in creating internationalization policy. During the first phase of the data collection process, I

sought documents that would help identify novel internationalization policy that emerged between 2000 and 2019. During the data collection process, I explored how different actors shaped policy during this period. Once the specific policy had been identified, it became easier to identify their sources and select participants to interview during the second phase of the data collection process.

In today's world, information is increasingly stored in digital format. Therefore, as a result, of efforts to access non-digital archives, I was directed to digital archives. During archival searches, I collected data from records of institutional international initiatives and from the websites of the sectors (public, voluntary, and private sectors). From these sources, I collected policy statements, reports, fact sheets, executive orders, presidential directives, and legislative measures (upon availability) within the public domain. These documents included speeches by political leaders, critical commentary from journalists, news reports, scholarly articles, and books. These sources allowed for a horizontal and vertical analysis of higher education internationalization policy (Silberzahn, 2011; Thelin, 2010, as cited in Gasman, 2010). Horizontal analysis takes into consideration the numerous institutions involved in higher education policy-making and allows researchers to consider the influences that these institutions exert on higher education policy-making (Thelin, 2010). Vertical analysis allows researchers to understand how events help policies evolve (Silberzahn, 2011). Data from documents were categorized, summarized, coded, and themed. Borg and Gall (1989) have recommended evaluating and critically analyzing the documents. Data collected from interviews were transcribed, coded, and themed. In aggregate, data were interpreted (a) to identify who shaped national internationalization policy during the past two decades

(specifically between 2000 and 2019) as well as (b) to identify factors that influenced

novel policy to trace policy evolution.

      Documents. I used primary and secondary document sources for this current

study. Primary sources included documents "in which the originator of the document is

recounting firsthand experience with the phenomenon of interest" (Merriam & Tisdell,

2016, p. 49). An example of a primary document source would be notes filed by policy

makers in government departments. I also used secondary document sources. Merriam

and Tisdell (2016) have defined secondary document sources as "reports of a

phenomenon of interest by those who have not directly experienced the phenomenon;

these are often compiled at a later date and are at 'least one step removed' from the initial

account" (Altheide & Schneider, 2013, p. 37). An example of a secondary document

source would be a policy brief from one of the sectors. I also consulted auxiliary

documents, which have been defined as documents that "can supplement a research

project… but are neither the main focus of investigation nor the primary source of data

for understanding the topic" (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016, p. 50). Books and scholarly

articles are examples of auxiliary documents.

      From the public sector, the Department of Education and the Department of State

represent the most influential departments related to higher education

internationalization. These two departments are involved with international language

programs, personnel training (internationalization at home), and exchange programs

(education abroad). Documents that referenced international education during three

presidential periods were retrieved from digital archives, from the Department of

Education, and from the Department of State. These documents included information

from the websites, information about programs, policy papers, reports, fact sheets,

legislative materials, executive orders, executive directives, executive memoranda, and

internal documents. Most of the documents were available in the public domain (see

Table 1).

Table 1

Tally of Type of Internationalization Policy Documents Used for Analysis between 2000

and 2019 in the Public Sector

Type of Document	No. of Documents
Websites	6
Reports	14
Fact Sheets	17
Programs	20
Executive Orders	3
Legislation	5
Presidential Directives	3
Executive Memos	1
Internal Documents	2

From the voluntary sector, data were collected from Cook's "Big Six"

presidentially based voluntary associations (Cook, 1998, p. 71). From Cook's "Big Six"

voluntary higher education associations, I retrieved documents that referenced

international education. These documents included materials from websites, reports, fact

sheets, policy briefs, and records on institutional international initiatives available in the

public domain (see Table 2). Specifically, the American Association of Community

Colleges provided me with access to materials from their digital archive, which included

archived reports, fact sheets, and policy briefs. I explored the American Association of

Community Colleges because it is the largest body among Cook's "Big Six" voluntary

associations representing the interests of the growing community college sector.

Table 2

Tally of Type of Internationalization Policy Documents Used for Analysis between 2000

and 2019 in the Voluntary Sector

Type of Document	No. of Documents
Website Materials	7
Reports	27
Fact Sheets	20
Policy Briefs	22
Internal Documents	3

Over the years, private foundations have influenced higher education policy

through philanthropy (Thelin, 2011). Two foundations, the Ford Foundation and the

Lumina Foundation, emerged as heavily involved in internationalization policy efforts in

the 2000s. From the private sector, I retrieved documents that referenced international

education from the Ford Foundation and the Lumina Foundation. The documents

included materials from websites, policy papers, reports, and fact sheets that were

available in the public domain (see Table 3).

Table 3

Tally of Type of Internationalization Policy documents Used for Analysis between 2000

and 2019 in the Private Sector

Type of Document	No. of Documents
Websites	2
Reports	7
Fact Sheets	10
Policy Papers	3

News reports, scholarly articles from electronic databases, and books were also

explored during the data collection process. Using the search feature within each

electronic database, general keywords used to conduct the initial search included "internationalization policy," "international education," and "globalization."

During the analysis process, I analyzed documents from participating organizations in all three sectors using codes that described policy strands during the 2000s. These codes were (a) language training, (b) personnel training, (c) exchange programs, (d) study abroad, (e) international student recruitment, and (f) institutional partnerships. The codes were then used to identify four strands of internationalization policy: (a) internationalization at home, (b) education abroad, (c) international student recruitment, and (d) international institutional partnerships.

To establish the authenticity of primary sources of documents, I investigated the following questions: What is the history of the document? How did it come into my hands? What guarantee is there that the document is what it purports to be? Is the document complete as originally constructed? Has it been tampered with or edited? If the document is genuine, under what circumstances and for what purposes was it produced? Who was/is the author? What was he or she trying to establish? For whom was the document intended? What were the author's sources of information? Does the document reflect an eyewitness account, a second-hand account, a reconstruction of an event that occurred a substantial amount of time prior to the writing, or does it reflect an interpretation? What was or is the author's bias? To what extent was the author likely to want to tell the truth? Do other documents exist that might corroborate or expand on the same story, event, project, program, or context? If so, are they available, accessible? Who holds them? (Citing Clark 1967; Guba & Lincoln, 1981, p. 238-239, as cited in Merriam & Tisdell, 2016, p. 48)

Interviews. During the second phase of the data collection process, to gain information-rich data on the policy-making process, I interviewed institutional representatives involved with policy-making from government departments, higher education associations, and foundations linked with internationalization policy measures created between 2000 and 2019. I relied on open-ended and semi-structured interviews to gather data. After IRB approval, I began to conduct interviews. Prior to each interview, I emailed participants an informed consent form, which I reviewed with each participant and collected before the interview process began. Interview sessions required between 60 and 90 minutes. Interviews were audiotaped and subsequently transcribed.

The purpose of the interviews was to explore the role of the variety of policy-making actors who contributed to national higher education internationalization policy-making between 2000 and 2019. Interviews were conducted via telephone. Six participants from three policy-making sectors were asked to share their views about the processes through which internationalization policy was made and to identify any events that may have triggered the policy. The sample for this study included participants with experience in (a) the Department of State, (b) the Department of Education, (c) the American Council on Education (an umbrella organization of higher education institutions within Cook's "Big Six" voluntary associations), (d) the American Association of Community Colleges (the only organization that represents community colleges within Cook's "Big Six" voluntary associations), (e) the Ford Foundation, and (f) the Lumina Foundation.

Interviews were conducted through open-ended and semi-structured conversations consisting of general questions designed to facilitate understanding (Creswell, 2013) of

policy-making. The interviews explored participants' perspectives, thoughts, and experiences with respect to past issues that cannot be replicated (Merriam, 2009, p. 88). Although interviews were not the only way of collecting data for this study, the interview questions were designed to explore participants' knowledge base and thus elicit information-rich data consisting of participants' individual perspectives, interpretations, knowledge, experiences, and understanding of the policy-making environment. In addition, the interviews allowed participants to provide first-hand descriptions of specific events, decisions, and actions taken by policy-makers.

  Selection of participants. I selected participants for the interviews using a combination of purposeful sampling and snowball sampling (Patton, 2015). According to Merriam and Tisdell (2016), "Purposeful sampling is based on the assumption that the investigator wants to discover, understand, and gain insight and therefore must select a sample from which the most can be learned" (p. 7). From purposefully sampling participants, I intended to collect the maximum amount of data possible about policy actors and the processes by which higher education internationalization policy was shaped. From participants involved in the policy development process, I hoped to gain information about the issues "of central importance to the purpose of the inquiry" (Patton, 2015, p. 53), namely, factors which influenced national higher education internationalization policy and policies which emerged between 2000 and 2019.

  In addition, through a snowball sampling procedure, participants were asked to refer other qualified participants (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016, p. 8). One criterion for participant selection included active involvement in the policy-making process. Specifically, individuals involved with international education policy-making were

interviewed to obtain insight into how internationalization policy was shaped. A second criterion for selection was that participants must have been in their current position for at least five years. This five-year timeline ensured that participants had gained sufficient exposure to the policy-making environment as well as an understanding of the factors that helped shaped the policy between 2000 and 2019. The participants ultimately selected for this study in fact reported between 10 and 40 years of experience in the field.

Participants from the public sector were experienced with international education in the Department of Education and the Department of State, two government departments involved with international education. From the voluntary sector, policy-makers from the American Council on Education and the American Association of Community Colleges were interviewed. Both associations are members of Cook's "Big Six" influential voluntary associations at the federal level. In the diverse landscape of higher education institutions, the American Council on Education is an institution based umbrella organization that represents the diverse higher education sector at the federal level. The American Association of Community Colleges represents the specific interests of community colleges at the federal level. From the private sector, policy-makers and researchers from the Ford Foundation and the Lumina Foundation were interviewed because the foundations have been involved with novel higher education internationalization policy measures during the 2000s. A well-established foundation, the Ford Foundation has a history of involvement with international education (De Wit, 2002). The Ford Foundation began funding international education in the 1950s (as cited in Wiley, 2010, p. 25) The Lumina Foundation came into existence in 2000 (the starting point of this study) and focuses on higher education policy. The Lumina Foundation

appeared as a regular collaborator on international education, along with the American Council on Education. Furthermore, the Lumina Foundation has been cited as one of the "national… large [and] well known foundations" that has influenced higher education through its "choice of area of support" (Harcelroad & Eaton, 2005, p. 256). The participants reported a range of experience between 10 years and 40 years in the field of higher education policy, especially international education policy. Participants described insightful and informative experiences that augmented the empirical data and increased the value of the study.

Data Analysis

The researcher collected data from two sources: documents and interviews. Qualitative studies frequently use two or more data-collection procedures to help check for biases in data collection (Bekhet & Zauszniewski, 2012). This section outlines the processes by which data from both sources were organized and analyzed in an attempt to identify policy-making actors and policy shaping between 2000 and 2019.

Document analysis. A sample of archival materials from digital archival repositories, public databases, scholarly articles, and books were retrieved, sorted, cataloged, coded, themed, and analyzed. Documents selected for analysis contained information relevant to policy-making between 2000 and 2019. In electronic search engines, I used keywords such as "internationalization policy," "international education," and "globalization" to conduct searches. Basic descriptive categories of the documents were established early during the data retrieval process to facilitate content analysis of the collected data. Krippendorff (2013) has defined content analysis as "an unobtrusive technique that allows researchers to analyze relatively unstructured data in view of the

meanings, symbolic qualities, and expressive contents they have and of the communicative roles they play in the lives of the data's sources" (p. 49).

This type of analysis helps identify the latent meaning of the texts; however, this type of analysis does not quantify the content (Schreier, 2014, p. 173). Data found in documents can "offer historical understanding [and] track change and development" (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016, p. 53). The documents are nonreactive in that they are unaffected by the research process (p. 53). Using documents is advantageous because they are easily available in most instances, cost little, and "they are a product of the context [and] therefore grounded in the real world" (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016, p. 53).

Validation was established through triangulation by using multiple sources of data collection to check the facts within different sources. For example, facts in policy statements were verified against reports and fact sheets regarding a specific policy. This validation process increased the credibility of the retrieved data. The purpose of the document analysis was to identify which policies have been created and to explain the factors that initiated and contributed to policy development. Information that influenced policy initiatives and described policy rationales was also collected.

Data were collected until key concepts identified reached the point of saturation. Deductive reasoning can be used to check established themes against the data (Creswell, 2013, p. 45). The data set was interpreted allowing for a level of subjectivity because "the interpretive bricoleur understands that research is an interactive process shaped by [the researcher's] own personal history, biography, gender, social class, race and ethnicity, and by those of the people in the setting" (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005, p. 6).

Interviews. Interviews were recorded to help organize and structure the data. Interview data were then transcribed and analyzed. When transcribing interview data, I engaged in memo writing. I also recorded notes during the interviews as well as in the margins of the transcripts when reading through transcripts and coding the data. Coding involves "aggregating the text or visual data into small categories of information, seeking evidence for the code from different databases being used in a study, and then assigning a label to the code" (Creswell, 2013, p. 184). Once text segments of information had been coded, themes that emerge from the codes were then identified. Creswell (2013) has defined themes as "broad units of information that consist of several codes aggregated to form a common idea" (p. 186). When the same themes recur within the interview transcripts and documents, the data reaches saturation, which indicates that there is enough information about the phenomenon or model being developed and that no new information is likely to emerge from conducting additional interviews (Creswell, 2013, p. 89).

Validation of data was completed through member checking. The member-checking process was conducted by verifying the data with participants, by allowing participants to review a copy of their interview transcript, by verifying facts with other participants, and by clarifying points over the telephone or via email. Methodological triangulation within the method of study can also be used to validate data. More specifically, triangulation can be accomplished by comparing data from one source (e.g., interview transcripts) against data received from other sources (such as policy statements or fact sheets). The process of triangulation helps researchers determine whether the data in the statements or minutes reflect the general content of the interviews and vice versa.

Data validation enhances the quality of data, improves understanding of the topic or issue under investigation, and increases the credibility and quality of the study (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016).

An aggregate data analysis process that included documents as well as interviews yielded the following codes: (a) globalization/global world order/global, (b) interconnected world, (c) advances in technology, (d) immigration, (e) growing population overseas/young population, (f) international trade, (g) cooperation with other countries/diplomacy, (h) terrorist attacks on the U.S., (i) wars overseas, (j) international politics, and (k) national security. I regrouped the codes under five themes or five influential factors which are connected yet distinguishable: (a) globalization, (b) technology, (c) demographics, (d) global trade, and geopolitics.

Delimitations

Delimitations are best thought of as boundaries that limit the scope of a study (Lunenburg & Irby, 2008). The following delimitations were applied to this study. First, this study was conducted by examining only the higher education landscape within the United States. This delimitation was established because this study was not a comparative analysis between nations. Secondly, the study was limited to national policy-making actors. The purpose of the study was to describe the policy-making ecology at the national level in order to bring transparency to policy-making at the national level; in other words, state involvement in higher education internationalization policy-making was not addressed.

Third, the time frame of the study spanned a 19-year period, namely between 2000 and 2019. In May of 2000, then President Clinton issued a memorandum on

international education that reestablished the importance of international education within the context of globalization. The first presidential period for this study began in May of 2000, during the final year of President Clinton's administration, and extended through two administrations under President Bush, whose administration ended in 2008. The second presidential period began in 2009 and ended in 2016, covering the entire term of two administrations under President Obama. The third presidential period began in 2017 and ended in April 2019 under President Trump. In order to establish a termination boundary for this study, I arbitrarily ended the study period in April 2019, which corresponded to the end of my semester as a doctoral candidate. Whereas the first two presidential periods span the entire eight-year term of two presidents and seven months under one president, the third presidential period covers only two years and four months of the current administration due to the termination of the dissertation data collection period.

Lastly, the research did not set out to map all internationalization policy efforts; rather, the purpose of the study was to capture the emerging direction in higher education internationalization policy efforts at the national level between 2000 and 2019. In this light, novel policy efforts and novel movement in existing policy efforts (as identified by participants and available data) presented the central focus of this study in order to guide the analysis on policy evolution between 2000 and 2019.

Limitations

Every study is subject to limitations that extend beyond the control of the researcher (Lunenburg & Irby, 2008). This study is subject to several limitations. First, because of its historical approach, the study is interpretative. The research methodology

allows for ambiguity to be part of the data collection process, and the study is therefore not generalizable. According to Edson (2005), "Because we can never know the whole truth about the past, historical interpretations will always be partial and incomplete" (p. 46).

Second, the primary purpose of the study was not to map all internationalization policy efforts; its purpose instead was to capture the emerging direction in higher education internationalization policy efforts at the national level between 2000 and 2019. In this light, one limitation of the study was that it did not track long-standing policy efforts in internationalization at the national level.

Third, the comprehensive nature of the document analysis rested on the availability of documents in the public domain. As a result, the available documents were necessarily "fragmentary" (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016, p. 53). Although the scope of this project prevented an analysis of every potential document, I trusted that the documents obtained provided a sufficiently complete picture, and I kept in mind that the documents used for this study were not produced exclusively for the purpose of my research.

Fourth, information was collected from a microcosm of actors from three sectors involved with internationalization policy. I identified actors who were heavily involved with novel policy efforts during the last two decades. Actors came from purposefully selected groups of national policy-making organizations. In my selection, I followed a set of criteria: (a) the actors were required to be identified by higher education experts as sources of valuable information, (b) the actors were required to have been involved in novel policy efforts during the past two decades; (c) the policy efforts by the actors were required to have broad impact on higher education institutions; and (d) the actors were

required to be most visibly involved with internationalization policy efforts in higher education and where other institutions referred to their initiatives.

From the public sector, information was collected from the Department of Education and the Department of the State. The two departments are major providers of federal international education programs (Wiley, 2010; De Wit, 2002). From the voluntary sector, six presidentially based associations, which Cook refers to as the "Big Six," were considered (Cook, 1998, p. 71). Cook's "Big Six" associations are (a) the American Association of Community Colleges (AACC), (b) the American Council on Education (ACE), (c) the Association of Public Land-grant Universities (APLU) (formerly NASULGC), (d) the American Association of State Colleges and Universities (AASCU), (e) the American Association of Universities (AAU), and (f) the National Association of Independent Colleges and Universities (NAICU). From the private sector, the Ford Foundation was considered because it has a history of supporting international education, which it began funding in the 1950s (as cited in Wiley, 2010, p. 25). The Lumina Foundation was also considered because it has been cited as one of the "national… large [and] well-known foundations" that can influence higher education through its "choice of area of support" (Harcelroad & Eaton, 2005, p. 256). The data and findings of the study are interpreted within the limitations of the chosen actors.

Interviews were conducted with voluntary participants from the Department of Education, the Department of State, the American Council on Education (the umbrella organization that represents different types of higher education institutions at the federal level), the American Association of Community Colleges (which is within Cook's "Big

Six" and represents the interests of a very diverse sector at the federal level), and the Ford and Lumina foundations.

The participants who responded to my enquiries did so voluntarily. As a result, the information collected from these individuals might be biased, and participants may have had an interest in the study. Although involved with internationalization policy, the sectors and the participants may not be representative of all actors involved in national higher education internationalization policy-making. Finally, whereas the first presidential period covers seven months from one presidential period and two full presidential periods, the second presidential period covers two full presidential periods, and the last presidential period covers a shorter time span to accommodate an arbitrary end of the study. As a result, the study does not account for policy measures adopted beyond April 2019.

Role of the Researcher

In this qualitative research, I played a primary role as the key data collection instrument and primary investigator (Creswell, 2013, p. 45). I examined key documents, collected data, and interviewed participants. I designed the semi-structure interview protocol for this research project--namely, the initial interview questions and the probing, or follow-up questions used to elicit responses from participants. After collecting data during the interview process, I coded and analyzed the data. In addition to applying several types of coding, I also "[worked] back and forth between the themes and database" to find themes within the collected data (Creswell, 2013, p. 45).

The Researcher

Growing up on a remote island nation with limited natural resources, we always looked beyond our borders for food and supplies. For example, Australians delivered flour to the island; the French delivered books; the British delivered secondary school exam papers; and Indians delivered rice. This reality shaped my world view and exposed me at a very young age to geography and the intricate level of interdependency between nation states--in particular, the dependency of our embryonic nation on other nations. I did not understand whether the lack of self-sufficiency was based on the topography of the island or on government policy. My tiny nation state had evolved within the socio-economic context of the British East India Company and the French East India Company, so as such, I understand the historical dimension of globalization differently.

I was born in Mauritius, a multiracial African island nation state, and I was educated in the higher education institutions of our former colonial *masters* in England and France. I completed my master's in law in the U.S. My place of birth, along with my academic training in languages, politics, and the laws of several nations, has provided me with a non-quintessential perspective on multiculturalism, state institutions, and international institutions. By necessity, I became an international traveler at the tender age of one, travelling via Kenya to join our father in England. Over the years, I moved back and forth between Mauritius and England. I completed my *pupillage* (practical training) in England, and I practiced law in Mauritius, where I also served as an adviser to the Minister of Gender Equality, Child Development, and Family Welfare. Along the way, I found time to provide *pro bono* services to monitor human rights violations on mainland Africa. My voluntary work was inspired by my father's work in overseeing training centers for healthcare providers and the general population regarding the AIDS

virus on the mainland, an effort undertaken by the World Health Organization in the 1980s. Through his work, I was alerted to the value and impact of sharing professional knowledge across borders, but more importantly, I became cognizant of the many ways that cultural misunderstandings can easily hamper humanitarian assistance.

In the U.S., I served in international student services in the community college sector for a brief period and observed that international students with low English proficiency were expected to navigate the U.S. higher education landscape with little guidance; students from war-torn countries were expected to provide transcripts to enroll in college. For a decade and-a-half I taught French and politics in the American community college sector. During that time, I was involved with curriculum globalization. As an instructor, I observed that materials used to teach French focused on France and Quebec at the exclusion of other Francophone countries. In addition, in the American Government classes, I observed that a lack of knowledge among students about other nations meant that they viewed U.S. policy decisions from a unidimensional perspective. A multi- dimensional perspective, however, helps broaden students' outlook and knowledge and increases the quality of their education.

As a female immigrant of color who navigated the U.S. higher education landscape firsthand within six months of arriving in the U.S., my experiences have necessarily influenced my view of international student experiences on U.S. campuses. At the time, I witnessed the absence of cross-cultural approaches within education programs and in student perspectives. As a foreign-born American, I recognized a need to convey the complex, non-dualistic nature of other nations and cultures through the

education system; such an effort can only improve intercultural relations, increase intercultural understanding, and enhance soft diplomacy.

I have experienced aspects of internationalization policy from both sides of the aisle--namely, as a student and as a faculty member involved with curriculum globalization. These experiences have provided me with a broad perspective of how internationalization policy works on the ground at the local level, allowing me to approach the topic of internationalization critically. On the other hand, my background may limit my ability to approach internationalization policy dispassionately.

Assumptions

The following assumptions provide a foundation this study. First, it was assumed that the selected participants had a clear recollection of facts and events between 2000 and 2019 and that these recollections represented an adequate reflection of views held by other members of this sector. Secondly, it was assumed that the interview questions would lead to data that satisfy the purpose of the study and answer the research questions. Third, it was assumed that the documents and interview records that were analyzed represented events accurately and, when analyzed, provided the requisite data measurements. Fourth, it is assumed that the findings represent an accurate interpretation of factors that were measured for this study. Finally, it was assumed that this body of data is desirable and provides relevant knowledge for the field of national higher education internationalization policy.

Summary

This chapter outlined the research design and the procedures for data collection and analysis. The first section presented the research design--namely, historical research

design. Scholars have categorized historical research as a qualitative research design (Borg & Gall, 1989; Creswell, 2013). The second section described the methods of data collection. Data were collected in two phases. During the first phase, I collected data from documents, and during the second phase, I collected data through open-ended, semi-structured interviews. I reviewed and analyzed the contents of a sample of archival materials from the website of select policy-makers, from news reporting, and from scholarly articles and books. I interviewed individuals who have been involved in shaping national higher education internationalization policy. Data collected from documents and the interviews were coded, themed, and interpreted. The delimitations and limitations of the study were outlined. As the researcher, I played a primary role as the key instrument and primary investigator. The underlining assumptions of the study were described.

Chapter 4

The Findings of the Study

The current chapter begins with a statement of the purpose of the study and the research question, followed by the research methodology and theoretical framework. The chapter continues with a description of the data collection methods and the data analysis methods. The chapter then presents the findings of the study by horizontally aligning three prominent policymaking sectors and describing actors who shaped national higher education internationalization policy. Novel internationalization policy efforts are arranged vertically under three presidential periods and trace the evolution of four strands of internationalization policy within the ecology of three sectors. To provide the context of the study, five factors that emerged to influence internationalization policy and underlying rationales for policy during three presidential periods are laid out, followed by the implications of the study, recommendations for future research, and the chapter summary.

The Study's Purpose, Context, and Research Question

Situated within the context of globalization, the purpose of this historical policy analysis study was twofold. First, the study aimed to identify and describe the ways in which multiple actors have shaped national higher education internationalization policy within the U.S. Secondly, the study aimed to capture the emerging direction in higher education internationalization policy at the national level between 2000 and 2019. The guiding research question for this study was as follows: How has national higher education internationalization policy been shaped, and how has the policy evolved in novel ways since 2000?

Research Methodology (Revisited)

This study employed a historical research design (a) to develop an in-depth understanding of how national higher education internationalization policy has been shaped by a multiplicity of actors, and (b) to capture the emerging direction in higher education internationalization policy at the national level within the context of globalization between 2000 and 2019.

Historical research design involves finding, using, and correlating information from the past to understand historical events and the ideas that influenced these events (Torou, Katifori, Vassilakis, Lepouras, & Halatsis, 2010). According to Borg and Gall (1989), "By studying the past, the historian hopes to achieve a better understanding of present institutions, practices, and issues in education" (p. 806). These scholars have described historical research as "the systematic search for facts relating to questions about the past, and the interpretation of these facts" (p. 810).

Scholars have categorized historical research methods within the realm of qualitative research design (Borg & Gall, 1989; Creswell, 2013). Bellah (1995), has noted that "qualitative inquiry may be seen as a form of moral discourse" that leads us to challenge our own assumptions, ask new questions, embrace complexity, and acquiesce our existence in a wider world where interrelations matter (as cited in Edson, 2005, p. 43). According to Gunn and Faire (2016), the term "historical research methods" refers to the "tools or techniques appropriate to history as a field of study" (p. 1).

A variety of qualitative inquiry methodologies are available to researchers. In Edson's (2005) words, "If we view the purpose of qualitative inquiry as a quest to gain understanding, there is no qualitative method *per se,* only methods to gather information

with which we construct our qualitative understanding" (p. 42). Similarly, according to Borg and Gall (1989), there is no single method of historical inquiry "because historical inquiry is so dependent on the idiosyncratic ways in which different historians interpret and judge the past" (p. 809-10); however, these scholars have noted that in fact there are "steps that are common across most historical studies" (p. 810). Four of those steps comprise a general historical method: (1) defining the problem or questions to be explored; (2) searching for sources of historical facts; (3) summarizing, critically analyzing, and evaluating the facts; and (4) presenting the applicable facts within a logical interpretative framework (p. 810). During this process, "historians are committed to objectivity as a value or an ideal, not as a product or an attainment" (Edson, 2005p. 51).

Historical methods distinguish between structural and narrative methods. In general, structural historical methods are analytical, thematic, concerned with circumstances, and focused on the collective. On the other hand, narrative historical methods are descriptive, chronological, and concerned with individuals (Edson, 2005, p. 52). During their research, historians often have combined these two modes of inquiry because narrative historical methods describe *what* happened while structural historical methods explore *why* events happened.

The strength of historical research lies in its flexible research design, which allows data to be collected from multiple sources, including primary and secondary sources, documents, and interviews. Furthermore, historical research provides researchers additional freedom to interpret the data. As an instrument of research, researchers can draw on their work and cultural experiences to inform their investigations (Creswell, p.

47). By weaving together data collected from various sources, researchers can sift

through diverse interpretations and provide unique interpretations of how events in the

past have influenced the present as well as how they might influence the future.

For this current study, the set period of time between 2000 and 2019 provided a

reasonable context within which to frame this inquiry. During this period, globalization

became an influential process in the U.S. According to Presnell (2016), "periodization is

the practice of dividing time into useful segments" (p. 6). In this study, the review of

national higher education internationalization policy begins in 2000 and focuses

exclusively on novel initiatives and novel movement in existing policy efforts at the

national level in order to capture the emerging direction in U.S. higher education

internationalization policy. Longstanding elite internationalization programs that target

research universities were not considered; rather, programs which sought broader appeal

to diverse higher education institutions were considered. The year 2000 was selected

because at the time this study began, researchers had explored U.S. internationalization

policy only through 1998 (Mestenhauser, 1998) and had described the impact of

internationalization policy only through 2002 (Ruther 2002), thereby leaving the period

between 2000 and 2019 understudied.

Theoretical Framework (Revisited)

Horizontal Analysis

A multiplicity of actors from several sectors has contributed to national higher

education internationalization policy. Thelin (2010) has used the term "horizontal

history" in higher education to analyze "the complex array of organizations that cut

across the educational landscape both to provide services and impose constraints on

colleges and universities" (as cited in Gasman, p. 71). Thelin (2010) further stated that "the more complex ecology of higher education […] includes the roles of foundations, consortia, associations, accrediting bodies, state bureaus and federal agencies which have contributed funding, incentives, and regulations to American campuses" (p. 72). Using Thelin's (2010) horizontal alignment of higher education policy-making sectors, data were collected from a microcosm of groups within the three sectors under investigation (the public, voluntary, and private sectors) to describe how multiple sectors shaped national higher education internationalization policy.

Vertical Analysis

In general, vertical history refers to the "understanding [of] why events occur" and "what caused the events" (Silberzahn, 2011, Website). To trace policy evolution, the time frame or *durée* between 2000 and 2019 was divided into three eras (2000-2008; 2009-2016; 2016-2019). For Bergson, the concept of "*durée"* is akin to musical score, where every part is connected "and is contrasted to *succession* and *sequence"* (Bergson, as cited in Gunn & Faire (2016), p. 257). The first temporal context, or time frame, begins in 2000 under President Clinton (Democrat) and ends in 2008 under President George W. Bush (Republican); the second temporal context begins in 2009 and ends in 2016 under President Obama (Democrat); and finally, the third temporal context begins in 2017 under President Trump (Republican) and ends in April of 2019 (the study's chosen historical end point). Inaugurated in 2017, President Trump was the sitting president in 2019 and faces reelection in 2020. Whereas the first two presidential periods span the last seven months under one president and the entire eight-year term of two

other presidents, the third presidential period spans only two years and four months of the current administration due to the termination of the dissertation data collection period.

To describe how internationalization policy evolved between 2000 and 2019, policy strands from the three sectors were organized *vertically* in *chronological* groupings under the aforementioned three presidential periods (Silberzahn, 2011; Sreedharan, 2007). Paying special attention to novel policy efforts that were initiated in the 2000s, factors that influenced internationalization policy also were identified, and rationales for policy during three presidential periods were traced. The goal was to capture the emerging direction in higher education internationalization policy at the national level between 2000 and 2019.

Rationale for Using Horizontal and Vertical Historical Analysis

Thelin's horizontal alignment of higher education policy-making actors was the appropriate guiding framework for the current study because it provides a clear lens through which to view the complex higher education policy-making ecosystem. Thelin's (2010) horizontal history recognizes that multiple actors simultaneously contribute to shape higher education internationalization policy. Unveiling a pluralistic approach to higher education policy-making helps depict how a given aspect of higher education policy is shaped in a non-centralized policy-making model.

Scholars have noted that in western liberal democracies, including North America, policies are made in *response* to events, not in *preemption* of events (Hajer, 2003). Organizing data vertically in chronological groupings helps identify societal factors that influenced policy evolution within temporal contexts (between 2000 and 2019). Identifying societal factors helps identify and describe the reasons why policies

were made based on specific events (Silberzahn, 2011). Finally, the three temporal

contexts under four presidents help trace the tone of policies adopted during the three eras

between 2000 and 2019.

Data Collection

For this study, I collected data in two phases. The first phase consisted of

gathering information from document analysis, and the second phase consisted of

conducting semi-structured interviews. Information for this study was obtained from

three policy-making sectors: (a) the public sector, (b) the voluntary sector, and (c) the

private sector. During the first phase of data collection, I browsed through websites and

digital archives of organizations within the three sectors in order to identify resources

readily available in the public domain. I also examined scholarly articles, books, and

newspapers to collect information about novel internationalization policy from

organizations within these sectors. During the second phase, I interviewed participants

from the three sectors.

Participants from Three Policy-Making Sectors

The current study aligned three policy-making sectors horizontally to describe

how the sectors shaped national higher education internationalization policy between

2000 and 2019. In the age of digital information, I started my research by reviewing the

websites of organizations within the public sector; I then moved to the websites of

organizations within the voluntary sector; and finally, I researched the websites of

organizations within the private sector. I collected materials on international programs

and internationalization efforts offered during a span of 19 years from two public sector

departments, namely the Department of Education and the Department of State. From the

voluntary sector, I collected data from Cook's "Big Six" voluntary associations. Finally, from within the private sector, I collected data from the Ford Foundation and the Lumina Foundation. After gathering data, I (a) organized and analyzed the content of these documents to identify the sectors that shaped the policies, (b) interviewed participants from these sectors, (c) noted factors that influenced policy, and (d) chronicled policies to capture the emerging direction in higher education internationalization policy at the national level between 2000 and 2019.

Public Sector

At the federal level, the public sector is comprised of the three branches of government – the executive, the legislative, and the judiciary. From the public sector, the current study focused on two cabinet-level departments from the executive branch of government, namely the Department of Education and the Department of State. The two departments are major providers of federal international education programs (Wiley, 2010; De Wit, 2002).

The Department of Education. The United States Department of Education is part of the 15-member U.S cabinet presided over by the executive branch of government, namely by the President of the United States. Under the U.S. federal system of government, the Department of Education oversees issues of access, equity, and quality of education without directing national standards and curricula in education. Pursuant to the Tenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, issues pertaining to standards in education and curricula fall under the purview of individual states. Although not bestowed with the mission to make national education policies, the Department of Education nonetheless guides the course of education policy issues (Harcleroad & Eaton,

2005, Parsons, 1997). Additionally, the Department of Education sets the tone in education policy to ensure the success of the nation.

According to its website, the mission of the Department of Education is to "promote student achievement and preparation for global competitiveness by fostering educational excellence and ensuring equal access" (Department of Education, 2019, p. 1). In addition, the Department of Education Act of 1979 provides an overview of the mission of the Department of Education, stating that its mission is (a) to strengthen the federal commitment to providing access to equal educational opportunities for every individual; (b) to supplement and complement the efforts of states, the local school systems; (c) to supplement and complement the efforts of other instrumentalities of the states, the private sector, public and private nonprofit educational research institutions, community-based organizations, parents, and students in order to improve the quality of education; and (d) to promote improvements in the quality and usefulness of education through federally supported research, evaluation, and sharing of information (Department of Education, 2010, para. 3).

The Office of Postsecondary Education at the Department of Education oversees international education programs for the department, including foreign language learning, under Title VI of the Higher Education Act of 2008. Title VI programs have provided the historical backbone of international programs within the Department of Education. From the array of Title VI programs under the Higher Education Act of 2008, a preponderance of novel initiatives were connected mostly to one program: Less Commonly Taught Languages (LCTLs).

The Department of State. According to the 2017 Department of State Annual

Performance Report, the Department of State is the oldest cabinet agency in the executive

branch of government (Department of State, 2017). Its mission is to represent U.S.

foreign policy "through diplomacy, advocacy, and assistance by advancing the interests

of the American people, their safety and economic prosperity" (Department of State,

2019, para. 1). On behalf of the American people, the mission of the Department of State

is to

> promote and demonstrate democratic values and advance a free, peaceful, and
>
> prosperous world. The U.S. Department of State leads America's foreign policy
>
> through diplomacy, advocacy, and assistance by advancing the interests of the
>
> American people, their safety and economic prosperity. (Department of State,
>
> 2017, p. 7)
>
> The mission of the Department of State is similar to that of the United States

Agency for International Development (USAID), whose mission is to

> promote and demonstrate democratic values abroad, and advance a free, peaceful,
>
> and prosperous world. In support of America's foreign policy, the U.S. Agency
>
> for International Development leads the U.S. Government's international
>
> development and disaster assistance through partnerships and investments that
>
> save lives, reduce poverty, strengthen democratic governance, and help people
>
> emerge from humanitarian crises and progress beyond assistance. (Department of
>
> State, 2017, p. 7)

The U.S. public diplomacy outreach is led by the undersecretary for public diplomacy and public affairs. The stated mission of the public diplomacy and public affairs department is as follows:

> [to] support the achievement of U.S. policy goals and objectives, advance national interests, and enhance national security by informing and influencing foreign publics and by expanding and strengthening the relationship between the people and Government of the United States and the rest of the world. (Department of State, 2019, para. 1)

Overseeing the Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs, the undersecretary is responsible for international education programs as well as international student and scholar exchange programs. As the guardian of national security and public diplomacy, the Department of State oversees the most popular student and scholar exchange program, the Fulbright program. The Fulbright Scholarship, created in 1946, "did not create a mass market" (Bolen, 2001, p. 185). The program remains "élite" in nature, catering to research-intensive institutions (Bolen, 2001, p. 185). By contrast, novel policy efforts in the last two decades were more pronounced in the FLEX/Lugar Exchange program and had a broader appeal (Bolen, 2001, p. 185). Within the FLEX/Lugar program, a preponderance of initiatives in the 2000s connected to novel youth exchange programs.

Voluntary Sector

In the varied landscape of U.S. higher education institutions, a plethora of voluntary associations exist to represent the interests of different types of higher education institutions--for example, public institutions, private institutions, historically

black institutions, religious institutions, two-year institutions, and technical institutions.

Voluntary associations also exist to represent institutional personnel and to represent issues that impact higher education policies. As a result, there are "hundreds of associations [that represent] higher education [in Washington D.C.]" (Cook, 1998, p.9).

Consequently, "to create order in the jumbled Washington landscape, a set of major associations serve as the principal voices of higher education" (p. 10). The major associations are six presidentially based associations, which Cook refers to as the "Big Six" (Cook, 1998, p. 71). Cook's "Big Six" associations include (a) the American Association of Community Colleges (AACC), (b) the American Council on Education (ACE), (c) the Association of Public Land-Grant Universities (APLU [formerly NASULGC-National Association of State Universities and Land-Grant Colleges]), (d) the American Association of State Colleges and Universities (AASCU), (e) the American Association of Universities (AAU), and (f) the National Association of Independent Colleges and Universities (NAICU) (Cook, 1998).

Together, Cook's "Big Six" voluntary higher education associations represent a plethora of issues that are pertinent to higher education, and international education features as one component of services offered to their members. Typically, the mission of higher education associations is to promote issues in higher education through advocacy, research, and program initiatives. For example, as an umbrella organization that represents different types of higher education institutions, the mission of the American Council on Education is to "[mobilize] the higher education community to shape effective public policy and foster innovative, high-quality practice" (ACE, 2019, p. 4).

Data from Cook's "Big Six" associations were used to showcase internationalization

policy issues that the voluntary sector championed in the 2000s.

Within Cook's "Big Six" voluntary organizations, the American Association of

Community Colleges exists to serve the interests of the locally grounded yet growing

community college sector. The mission of the American Association of Community

Colleges is as follows:

> to advance the recognition of the role of community colleges in serving society
>
> today. By providing advocacy, leadership, and service for community colleges,
>
> the association will play a key role in assisting the nation as it passes from the
>
> industrial era of the 20th century to the new knowledge-based society of the 21st
>
> century. (American Association of Community Colleges, 2020, para. 3)

Private Sector

Through philanthropy, foundations have grown to influence higher education

policy in the U.S. (Thelin, 2011). According to Thelin (2010), "Philanthropic foundations

[provide] a source of horizontal influence across the institutional landscape… [by]

advancing scholarship in selected topics" (p. 145). Over the years, several foundations

have funded international education research and activities. As non-profit organizations,

foundations choose the focus of their research and the focus of foundation activities.

While some foundations focus on internationalization policy (e.g., the American Institute

for Foreign Study Foundation; AIFS), other foundations focus on multiple issues in

higher education. Two foundations, the Ford Foundation and the Lumina Foundation,

emerged as heavily involved in internationalization policy efforts in the 2000s. From the

private sector, the participants for this study were the Ford Foundation and the Lumina

Foundation. Both foundations funded novel policy efforts in the field of international education in the 2000s.

Scholars have described the Ford Foundation as a "stakeholder in international education" (De Wit, 2002, p. 32; Merkx, 2010). According to Merkx (2010), "The Ford Foundation is an American private foundation whose mission is to advance human welfare, and it has a history of supporting international education, which it began funding in the 1950s and 1960s" (as cited in Wiley, 2010, p. 25). According to its mission statement, the Ford Foundation "believe[s] in the inherent dignity of all people. But around the world, too many people are excluded from the political, economic, and social institutions that shape their lives" (Ford Foundation, 2019, para. 1). In the 2000s, the Ford Foundation fashioned novel scholarships to international students to address this issue.

Founded in 2000, the Lumina Foundation is a newer foundation whose existence coincides with the start of the temporal period of this study. The Lumina Foundation has been cited as one of the "national… large [and] well-known foundations" that has the ability to influence higher education through its "choice of area of support" (Harcelroad & Eaton, 2005, p. 256). Lumina's focus is on student access and success in education beyond high school. It is an independent private foundation that is "committed to making opportunities for learning beyond high school available to all" (Lumina Foundation, 2019, para. 1). According to its website, The Lumina Foundation collaborates with other policy-making sectors to reform higher education. The Lumina Foundation is a non-profit organization that cannot lobby government. As a result, The Lumina Foundation focuses on non-partisan research and analysis (Lumina Foundation, 2019). The focus of the

foundation is to engender system-level changes in higher education and to increase the presence of underrepresented minorities on campuses to close attainment gaps (Lumina Fact Sheet, 2018). Data from the two foundations showcased aspects of novel internationalization policy efforts that the foundations influenced in the 2000s.

Documents

During the first phase of the data collection process, I searched for documents on the websites and within the digital archives of the participants from the three sectors to help identify novel internationalization policy efforts between 2000 and 2019. For all three sectors, data were collected from (a) general information on the websites, (b) international education reports, (c) annual reports, (d) fact sheets, and (e) policy briefs. Specifically from the public sector, data were collected from (a) executive directives, (b) executive orders, (c) memoranda, and (d) legislation. Data were coded, and prevalent themes were identified.

Documents used in this study were available on the websites of organizations within the sectors; specifically, the American Association of Community Colleges provided me with access to its digital archive. In general, information from the websites of organizations within the three sectors reflected the mission and vision of the sectors. The documents retrieved were housed on the official websites of organizations within the sectors and reflected activities undertaken within these sectors. I used official documents authored by personnel from organizations within the sectors. Typically, sources of information within the documents indicated that the information was retrieved from government agencies, independent organizations, voluntary associations, and scholarly works. The documents provided a general source of information. I recognize that the

documents were not written to serve the purpose of my study. The content of the

documents was triangulated by cross-checking the information (a) against information

from within the same sector and (b) against information from within other sectors. When

conducting database searches, I used the following key terms: *international education,*

international programs, internationalization, globalization, and *global education.*

On the websites of organizations within the public sector, the search results

included numerous documents. From the list of documents, I clicked on items which

included the term "international education" in their descriptors. When I clicked on these

documents, I was redirected to specific pages that housed information on international

education programs. On the Department of Education website, I was redirected to the

webpage of the Office of Postsecondary Education (OPE). Once on the OPE page, I

researched international education programs. On the Department of State website, I was

redirected to the Bureau of Education and Cultural Affairs page. Once on that page, I

searched for international education programs. Within the voluntary sector, I began my

search by clicking on the "International Programs" tab on each website of Cook's "Big

Six" voluntary associations. I researched current policy initiatives and then explored the

digital archive and e-library of Cook's "Big Six" for programs dating back to 2000. I

encountered problems on the APLU site because prior to 2009, APLU was known as the

National Association of State Colleges and Land-Grant Universities (NASULGC). On

the private sector websites, I began my search using key terms. My search yielded

materials readily available on the websites, including international program reports, fact

sheets, and other materials describing international education efforts by the foundations. I

explored their digital archives for materials dating back to 2000.

Interviews

During the second phase of data collection, I interviewed senior policy-making personnel from each of the sectors to obtain information-rich data on internationalization policy efforts and factors which, in their experience, influenced policy-making between 2000 and 2019. I interviewed institutional representatives and individuals who between 2000 and 2019 worked for organizations within each of the three sectors and were involved with various policies. I interviewed (a) personnel who had worked for government departments or who had worked closely with government departments, (b) personnel from the voluntary associations who were linked with internationalization policy measures created between 2000 and 2019, and (c) members of the private sector involved with research and policy-making. Using a combination of semi-structured and unstructured interviews that included open ended questions, I asked participants (a) to share examples of internationalization policies in their current department, or in the departments in which they previously worked, (b) to discuss the factors that influenced these policy decisions, and (c) to share their experiences with as well as their role in policy initiatives. Participants were purposefully selected through a snowballing sampling method, which then helped me identify additional participants with experience in internationalization policy.

Participants from the public sector were experienced with international education in the Department of Education and in the Department of State. The two government departments are major providers of federal international education programs (Wiley, 2010, De Wit, 2002). From the voluntary sector, I interviewed policy-makers from two of Cook's "Big Six" voluntary associations. I interviewed key international education

personnel from the American Council on Education. In the diverse landscape of higher education institutions, the American Council on Education is an institution-based umbrella organization that represents the diverse higher education sector at the federal level. A representative of the American Council on Education was chosen based on experience and association with internationalization policy. I also interviewed key personnel involved with international education at the American Association of Community Colleges. As a representative of a diverse sector within Cook's "Big Six" voluntary associations, the American Association of Community Colleges represents the interests of community colleges at the federal level.

From the private sector, policy-makers and researchers from the Ford Foundation and the Lumina Foundation were interviewed because the foundations have been involved with higher education internationalization policy measures. A well-established foundation, the Ford Foundation has a history of involvement with international education dating back to the 1950s (De Wit, 2002; Merkx, 2010). The Lumina foundation came into existence in 2000 at the starting point of this study, making it relevant to the temporal context of the current study. The Lumina Foundation appeared as a regular collaborator on international education with the American Council on Education, and it exerts influence on higher education policy through support of policy area (Harcleroad & Eaton, 2005).

The spectrum of participants represented all three sectors (public, voluntary, private), and their experience ranged between 10 and 40 years in higher education policy and international education. Together, the participants shared insightful information to

add to the empirical value of the study. I conducted interviews with six participants (referred to here as "coordinators"):

Coordinator 1: Senior personnel, with experience in international education in the Department of State (personal communication, April 22, 2019).

Coordinator 2: Senior personnel, with experience in international education with the Ford Foundation (personal communication, April 19, 2019).

Coordinator 3: Senior personnel, with experience in international education in the Department of Education (personal communication, April 5, 2019).

Coordinator 4: International programs staff member from the American Association of Community Colleges (personal communication, February 12, 2019).

Coordinator 5: International programs staff member from the American Council on Education's CIGE (personal communication, March 12, 2019).

Coordinator 6: Research staff member from the Lumina Foundation (personal communication, February 14, 2019).

Findings
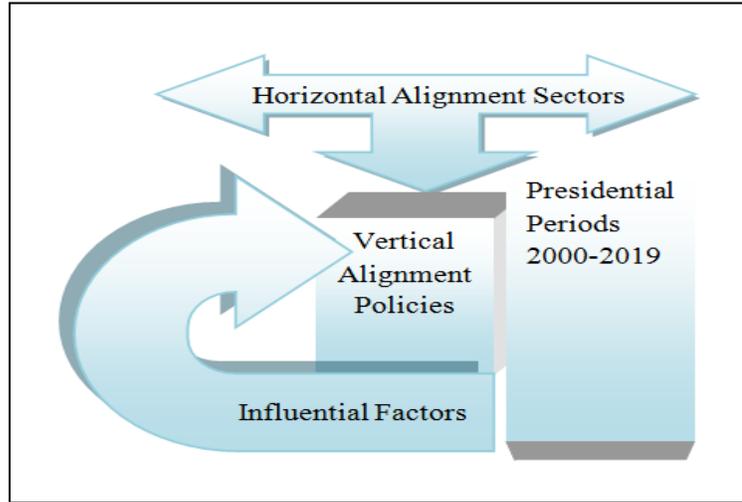
Figure 5. Model overview of the findings aligns policy-making sectors horizontally, aligns policies vertically, represents presidential periods between 2000 and 2019, and represents factors that influenced policies.

The model in Figure 5 presents an overview of the segments of the research findings as presented below: (a) horizontal alignment of policy-making sectors, (b) Vertical alignment of policies between 2000 and 2019, (c) the time period under three presidents and, (d) the factors that influenced policies.

Horizontal Alignment of Policy-Making Sectors

Figure 6. A visual representation of the horizontal alignment of policy-making sectors relied on in the current study.

I identified novel internationalization policy efforts from each of the three sectors (horizontal alignment of policy-making sectors; see Figure 6). In the public sector, I

collected data from the Department of Education and the Department of State. In the voluntary sector, I collected data from Cook's "Big Six" voluntary organizations. The "Big Six" higher education associations include the following: (a) the American Association of Community Colleges (AACC), (b) the American Council on Education (ACE), the Association of Public Land-grant Universities (APLU; formerly NASULGC), (c) the American Association of State Colleges and Universities (AASCU), (d) the American Association of Universities (AAU), and (e) the National Association of Independent Colleges and Universities (NAICU) (Cook, 1998). In the private sector, I collected data from the Ford Foundation and from the Lumina Foundation (see Table 4).

Table 4

Horizontal Alignment of Actors within Three Policy-Making Sectors: Public, Voluntary, and Private

Public Sector	Voluntary Sector (The "Big Six")	Private Sector
Department of Education	The American Association of Community Colleges (AACC)	The Ford Foundation
Department of State	The American Council on Education (ACE)	The Lumina Foundation
	The Association of Public Land-grant Universities (APLU) (formerly NASULGC)	
	The American Association of State Colleges and Universities (AASCU)	
	The American Association of Universities (AAU)	
	The National Association of Independent Colleges and Universities (NAICU)	

Vertical Alignment of Policy Strands

Novel policy efforts from the three sectors were aligned vertically in chronological order. The time frame or "*durée*" between 2000 and 2019 was divided under three presidential periods (Clinton/Bush 2000-2008; Obama 2009-2016; Trump 2017-2019), and policy efforts from each sector were grouped under the three presidential periods. One hundred and twelve internationalization policy efforts (international education or internationalization programs) were aligned vertically for analysis. Table 5 represents the number of internationalization policy efforts from the public sector, the voluntary sector, and the private sector classified under each presidential period.

Table 5

Total Number of Identified Novel Internationalization Policy Efforts between 2000 and 2019

Presidential Periods	Number of Policies	Public Sector	Voluntary Sector	Private Sector
Clinton/Bush 2000-2008	48	20	17	11
Obama 2009 - 2016	31	19	9	3
Trump 2017-20019	33	16	12	5
Total	112	55	38	19

Internationalization policy efforts within the three sectors were considered during three presidential periods, and policy efforts under each president that impacted internationalization policy are included in Table 6. Internationalization policy efforts within the three sectors focused on a variety of issues, which I categorized under four strands to trace policy evolution (see Tables 7, 8, 9). The four strands are (a) international education at home (language and personnel training), (b) international student recruitment, (c) education abroad, and (d) international institutional partnerships. In

Tables 7, 8, and 9, I categorize the four policy strands from the three policy-making

sectors under three presidential periods between 2000 and 2019.

Table 6

Represents Policy from the Public Sector, Especially Presidents between 2000 and 2019,

that impacted Internationalization Policy Efforts

2000-2008 Clinton/Bush	2009-2016 Obama	2017-2019 Trump
2000 Memorandum on international education	DLI programs	2017 DLI programs
2000 China PNTR	2012 STEM list extension	2017 Travel Ban Executive Order
2001 Bush Policy Directive-2	2012 DACA	
2001 DLI programs	2014 Immigration Initiatives in favor of highly skilled workers	2017 BAHA Executive Order
2001 USA Patriot Act		2017 Restrict Chinese student visas
2002 NSEP		2017 Phase out DACA
2003 SEVIS electronic tracking of international students		
2008 STEM extension		

Table 7

Represents Four Strands with Novel Policy Efforts from Three Policy-Making Sectors

between 2000 and 2008

Public Sector Policy	Voluntary Sector Policy	Private Sector Policy
Internationalization at Home	**Internationalization at Home**	**Internationalization at Home**
National Security Language initiative for Youth (2000)	APLU Renewing the covenant in a new and different world (2000)	ACE & Ford Foundation Project (2000)
Title VI programs FLAS/LCTL (2000-19)	ACE & Ford Foundation Project (2000)	ACE & Lumina Fellows Program Advisory Group (2004)
Undergraduate International Studies and Foreign Language Program (2000-19)	ACE Hayward & Siaya, Public Experience, Attitudes, and Knowledge…Two National Surveys about International	Lumina funded NCES education and the global economy (2006)
2002 NSEP	Education (2001)	**International Student Recruitment**

Public Sector Policy	Voluntary Sector Policy	Private Sector Policy
International Student Recruitment	ACE Brief Beyond 9/11 (2001)	Ford Foundation Scholarship to International Students from emerging nations (2001-2009)
SEVIS electronic tracking of international students (2003)	ACE A Comprehensive National Policy on International education (2002)	Lumina & IIE aid to international students after Tsunami (2004)
2001USA Patriot Act	ACE Internationalization in action (2003)	Lumina access to higher education by immigrants (2005)
2008 STEM extension	ACE Internationalizing the Campus (2003)	Lumina worker training for Hispanic male immigrants (2006)
Education Abroad	ACE/ Carnegie Corporation proposal on Internationalizing the Disciplines, (2003-2004)	**Education Abroad**
Extension of youth exchange programs to Muslim countries YES programs (2003)	APLU The Presidential role in internationalizing the campus (2004)	Lumina funded community college personnel to attend Study Abroad workshop (2007)
Extension of youth exchange programs (A-SMYLE program to Serbia & Montenegro) (2005)	ACE & Lumina Fellows Program Advisory Group (2004)	**International Institutional Partnership**
Commission on the Lincoln Study Abroad program (2005)	AACC International Education Toolkit (2006)	Lumina funded IHEP to consider the implications of the Bologna process on U.S. higher education (2007)
International Institutional Partnership	AASCU Global Learning Value Rubric (2007)	ACE & Lumina aided higher Education to implement post 9/11 VA (2008)
2000 China PNTR	**International Student Recruitment**	
Fund for the Improvement of Postsecondary Education Advancing Internationalization through Institutional Self-Assessment Program (2001-2002)	ACE Brief Beyond 9/11 (2001)	
FIPSE Institutional partnerships since (2000 – 2008)	ACE A Comprehensive National Policy on International education (2002)	
• EU-U.S. Atlantis program • Program for North America Mobility in higher education • U.S. Russia program: Improving research and educational activities in higher education • U.S. Brazil Higher Education Consortia Program – (persisted in the 2000s)	AACC Dynamic tool to recruit international students (2003) AACC Community College USA and International Students (2005) AACC International Education Toolkit (2006) **Education Abroad** ACE A Comprehensive National Policy on International Education (2002)	

Public Sector Policy	Voluntary Sector Policy	Private Sector Policy
	ACE Project on Campuses and Programs Abroad (2008)	
	International Institutional Partnership	
	ACE A Comprehensive National Policy on International education (2002)	
	AACC International Education Toolkit (2006)	
	AACC and China Partnership CEAIE (2008)	

Table 8

Represents Four Strands with Novel Policy Efforts from Three Policy-Making Sectors

between 2009 and 2016

Public Sector Policy	Voluntary Sector Policy	Private Sector Policy
Internationalization at Home	**Internationalization at Home**	**Internationalization at Home**
Undergraduate International Studies and Foreign Language Program (2000-19)	AASCU Educating Globally Competent Citizens: A Toolkit (2010)	Lumina--Support to the Department of Education for the White House Initiatives on Historically Black Colleges and Universities, Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders, and Educational Excellence for Hispanics to host convening and for project management support (2015)
Title VI programs FLAS/LCTL (2000-19)	AAU Report Partnering for a Prosperous and Secure Future (2012)	
ED & Lumina (2015) To provide support to the Department of Education for the White House Initiatives on Historically Black Colleges and Universities, Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders, and Educational Excellence for Hispanics to host convening and for project management support	AACC Reclaiming the American Dream (2012) APLU Commission on International Initiatives (2016) Lumina Achieving the Dream - To support Achieving the Dream's research and practice development for articulating non-credit to credit pathways for community college students (2016)	Lumina Achieving the Dream - To support Achieving the Dream's research and practice development for articulating non-credit to credit pathways for community college students (2016)
International Student Recruitment		**International Student Recruitment**
2012 STEM list extension	**International Student Recruitment**	Ford Foundation Scholarship to international students from emerging nations (2009-2013)

Public Sector Policy	Voluntary Sector Policy	Private Sector Policy
2012 DACA	APLU Comprehensive Immigration Reform (2013)	Lumina with European Access network looked at international student access to higher education (2012-13)
2014 Immigration Initiatives in favor of highly skilled workers	APLU Commission on international initiatives (2016)	
Education Abroad	**Education Abroad**	**Education Abroad**
Extension of youth exchange programs to Africa (YALI Program) (2010)	AACC develop study abroad (2015)	**International Institutional Partnership**
Mandela Washington Program (2012)	APLU's President supports study abroad (2015)	Ford funded the study of the African higher education landscape (2016)
Extension of youth exchange programs to South East Asia (Y-SEALI program) (2013)	APLU Commission on international initiatives (2016)	
International Institutional Partnership	**International Institutional Partnership**	
Russia bilateral commission (2009)	AASCU China & Japan Studies Institute (2010)	
Global Innovation Initiative (2013)	AAU Principles & Guidelines for establishing JT academic programs and campuses abroad (2014)	
USAID African Higher education (2014)	APLU Commission on international initiatives (2016)	
FIPSE Institutional partnerships since (2009 – 2016)		

- EU-U.S. Atlantis program
- Program for North America Mobility in higher education
- U.S. Russia program: Improving research and educational activities in higher education
- U.S. Brazil Higher Education Consortia Program

Table 9

Represents Four Strands with Novel Policy Efforts from Three Policy-Making Sectors

between 2017 and 2019

Public Sector Policy	Voluntary Sector Policy	Private Sector Policy
Internationalization at Home	**Internationalization at Home**	**Internationalization at Home**
Undergraduate International Studies and Foreign Language Program (2000-19)	APLU Pervasive Internationalization (2017)	Ford Foundation grant to the IIE to increase global learning (2019)
Title VI programs FLAS/LCTL (2000-19)	APLU Summit Report (2017)	**International Student Recruitment**
Letter by Senator Schatz increase Title VI funding (2017)	AASCU Public Policy Agenda (2019)	Ford Foundation increases scholarship for refugee students (2019)
Be GlobalReady Initiative. The International and Foreign Language Education (IFLE) office debuted a series of images and messages to encourage U.S. students, teachers, and citizens to be "global ready" (ED, 2017)	**International Student Recruitment**	**Education Abroad**
	Big Six letter-writing campaign against Travel Ban, DACA (2017)	**International Institutional Partnership**
International Student Recruitment	AAU, ACE, APLU NAFSA Value of international students (2017)	ACE & Lumina - Alliance for Global Innovation in Tertiary Education (2017)
2017 BAHA Executive Order	AACC Work in conjunction with DOS on its International Visitor Leadership Program DOS (2019)	ACE & Lumina Global Forum for the exchange of ideas (2017)
2017 Restrict Chinese student visas		ACE & Lumina GAIN network (2018)
2017 Phase out DACA	**Education Abroad**	
AACC Work in conjunction with DOS on its International Visitor Leadership Program DOS (2019)	ACE Report Mapping Internationalization suggest using Education Abroad (2017)	
Education Abroad	ACE COIL with SUNY New York (2018)	
AACC Work in conjunction with DOS on its International Visitor Leadership Program DOS (2019)	AACC Work in conjunction with DOS on its International Visitor Leadership Program DOS (2019)	
International Institutional Partnership	**International Institutional Partnership**	

Public Sector Policy	Voluntary Sector Policy	Private Sector Policy
FIPSE Institutional partnerships since (2016– 2019)	AACC MOUs includes France (2018)	
• EU-U.S. Atlantis program • Program for North America Mobility in higher education • U.S. Russia program: Improving research and educational activities in higher education • U.S. Brazil Higher Education Consortia Program	AACC bilateral talks with Mexico over impact of border wall on CC students (2018) ACE & Lumina Global Forum for the exchange of ideas (2017) ACE COIL with SUNY New York (2018) ACE & Lumina GAIN network (2018)	

Table 10, Table 11, and Table 12 represent the number of policy strands per sector under each presidential period under review.

Table 10

Total Number of Novel Policy Efforts under Each Policy Strand per Sector between 2000 and 2008

Policy strand	Public Sector	Voluntary Sector	Private Sector	Total
I@H	4	12	3	19
ISR	3	5	4	12
EA	3	2	1	6
IIP	7	3	3	14

Table 11

Total Number of Novel Policy Efforts under Each Policy Strand per Sector between 2009 and 2016

Policy strand	Public Sector	Voluntary Sector	Private Sector	Total
I@H	3	5	2	10
ISR	3	2	1	6
EA	3	3	0	6
IIP	8	3	1	12

Table 12

Total Number of Novel Policy Efforts under Each Policy Strand per Sector between 2017 and 2019

Policy strand	Public Sector	Voluntary Sector	Private Sector	Total
I@H	4	3	1	8
ISR	4	3	1	8
EA	1	3	0	4
IIP	5	5	3	13

Table 13 regroups the number of policy strands per sector. Policy efforts may be placed under more than one strand, thus accounting for a total of 124 efforts.

Table 13

Number of Policy Efforts per Sector between 2000 and 2019

Policy Strand 2000-2019	Public Sector	Voluntary Sector	Private Sector
Internationalization at Home	14	20	7
International Student Recruitment	10	10	8
Education Abroad	7	8	1
International Institutional Partnership	21	11	7

One hundred and twelve internationalization policy efforts within the three sectors were aligned in chronological order.[1] Vertical alignment of the policy efforts resulted in the identification of a variety of internationalization policy efforts, which I categorized under four dominant strands: (a) international education at home (language and personnel training), (b) international student recruitment, (c) education abroad, and (d) international institutional partnerships. Each strand is discussed in detail below.

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[1] Policy efforts may be placed under more than one strand, thus accounting for a total of 124 efforts reported in Table 10.

Internationalization at Home (I@H)

Internationalization at home has been defined to include language training and personnel development on college campuses. It represents efforts to inject an international education component within higher education campuses at home (ACE, 2019; Knight, 2003). In the 2000s, novel policy efforts in the three sectors focused on different aspects of internationalization at home. Novel movement in existing policy efforts in the public sector focused on language training. The public sector undertook novel policy efforts in less commonly taught languages under Title VI programs. The majority of novel policy efforts from the voluntary sector focused on personnel development. These novel policy efforts included curriculum development, rubric development for global educational outcomes, and language training to assist with international institutional partnerships. Organizations within the private sector collaborated with organizations within the voluntary sector by funding aspects of international education research and personnel training. The strong emphasis of all three sectors was captured by the collective policy efforts in this study as represented in Figure 7.

Internationalization at Home in Three Sectors

Internationalization efforts

Presidential periods
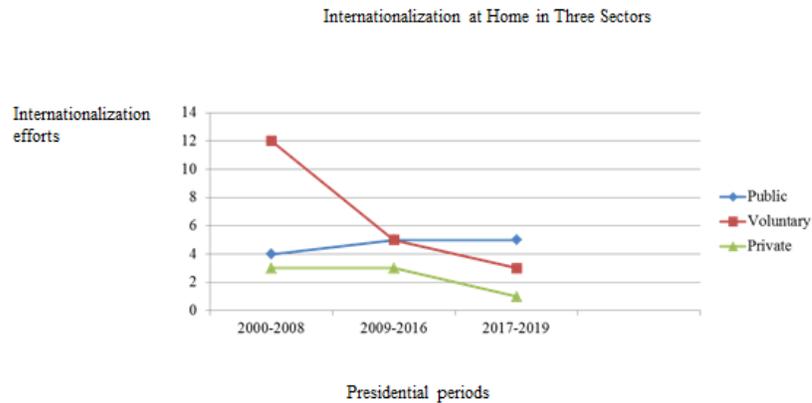
Figure 7. A visual representation of novel internationalization-policy-at home-efforts within the three sectors.

Language training. This section examines novel policy efforts related to language training as an aspect of internationalization at home policy efforts undertaken within the sectors during the 2000s. Novel movement in existing policy efforts in less commonly taught languages under Title VI programs emerged in the public sector. The voluntary sector showed support for funding language training and the private sector funded collaborative research on the state of internationalization policy, which provided insight into stagnated language training funding.

Public sector. Efforts within the public sector have included primarily four types of international education programs: (a) Title VI programs, (b) Fulbright-Hays programs, (c) the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, and (d) the Peace Corps (Wiley, 2010, p. 1). Historically, according to Merkx (2010), international education programs from the Department of Education and from the Department of State have established a "partnership between higher education and the government" (as cited in Wiley, 2010, p. 22).

The Department of Education oversees Title VI programs, which were initially authorized under the National Defense and Education Act of 1958 (NDEA) and subsequently reauthorized under the 2008 Higher Education Act (HEA 2008) (Merkx, 2010, as cited in Wiley, 2010, p. 23). Title VI programs have provided language, area centers, and fellowships to students studying languages; support for language study and pedagogy; and institutes to train language teachers and program administrators (Wiley, 2010, p. 1). Since 1946, the Fulbright Act, which became the Fulbright-Hays Act in 1951, has provided student exchange programs and scholar cultural exchange programs to promote collaboration between the United States and other nations. Under the Department of State, these are referred to as Fulbright programs. The Fulbright-Hays programs also provide language training under the Department of Education. Under the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, higher education institutions and other government agencies have sent technical help to Africa, Asia, and Latin America to assist with infrastructural developments. Finally, under various Peace Corps programs, students and citizens have provided service abroad in remote locations (Wiley, 2010, p. 4).

In general, after aligning novel Department of Education initiatives vertically since 2000, analysis indicated that the dominant themes related to international education programs under the international and foreign language education programs between 2000 and 2019 included the following goals:

- Encourage foreign language acquisition.
- Focus on area studies.
- Build partnerships and research opportunities with select nations.
- Advance the Fulbright-Hays Scholarship Program.

- Expand centers for international business education.

Novel policies made by the public sector in the 2000s were intended to prepare globally competent students. Policies focused on (a) language acquisition in general and language acquisition in specific programs, such as the Less Commonly Taught Languages (LCTLs) program; (b) international business; (c) international outreach; and (d) social changes resulting from globalization. A prevalence of novel policies connected mostly to language training initiatives.

Language training for American students in higher education is undertaken under Title VI (HEA, 2008) as administered by the Office of Postsecondary Education at the Department of Education and by the Department of Defense's Defense Language Institute (Merkx, 2010). Under Title VI programs, data were analyzed from the LCTLs, which are offered through the National Resource Centers, the Language Resource Centers, and Foreign Language and Area Studies programs on U.S. campuses. Ninety-one percent of American students who enroll in foreign language instruction study French, German, Italian, and Spanish. Fewer students enroll in Chinese, Japanese, Yoruba, and Swahili, which accounts for the reason these languages have been less commonly taught on U.S. campuses (National Council on LCTLs, 2019). Two languages altered their LCTL status in the 2000s: Arabic and Chinese. In 1998, student enrollment in Arabic stood at fewer than 10,000 (Brecht & Rivers, 2000, p. 87). Between 2001 and 2002, approximately 5,050 American students enrolled in Chinese in University National Resource Centers nationwide (Office of Postsecondary Education, 2008).

According to Wiley (2010), following the events of September 11, 2001, language training in the U.S. was essentially confined to U.S. conflicts abroad and to "nations with

powerful new economies" (Wiley, 2010, p. 97). Interviews with key personnel involved in internationalization reiterated this view: "International education is a blend of economic competitiveness with a defense line" (Coordinator 3, personal communication, April 5, 2019). In 2002, a new program came to life under the National Security Education Program, and legislation encouraged universities to apply for grants to teach Arabic, Hindi, Chinese (Mandarin), Japanese, Korean, Persian/Farsi, Russian, and Turkish (Tessler, 2010, as cited in Wiley, 2010, p. 59). By 2007, Foreign Language and Area Studies enrollment in Chinese, Japanese, and Korean had increased (Wiley, 2010). By 2009, LCTLs under Title VI expanded to include 195 languages (Wiley, 2010, p. 89).

According to Merkx (2010), "Since September 11, 2001, the *increase* in the annual budget of the DLI [Defense Language Institute] alone has been greater than the total annual appropriation for all Title VI programs combined" (as cited in Wiley, 2010, p. 28). For personnel involved with internationalization policy, the relationship between language and defense is an intimate one: "There is a close marriage between language and defense; after 9/11, the defense angle ascended" (Coordinator 3, personal communication, April 5, 2019). According to personnel from the public policy-making sector, "LCTLs under Bush increased to meet national security needs" (Coordinator 1, personal communication, April 22, 2019). Changes brought to international education programs in the aftermath of September 11 accounts for criticisms that programs offered under Title VI were becoming politically tainted:

> After 9/11, the thinking [about international education programs] became
>
> polarized…. some Title VI programs have come under criticism for being
>
> political--namely, 'pro-Palestinian' or 'not pro-Israel,' so rules were put in place

requiring NRCs [National Resource Centers] to show they are neutral.

(Coordinator 3, personal communication, April 5, 2019)

At the commission on LCTLs, Eduardo Ochoa stated that "in FY 2011, over 50 percent of the Title VI National Resource Centers provided outreach services to community colleges and minority-serving institutions" (Ochoa, 2012). For its part, the American Association of Community Colleges stated that "we engage with several government departments and agencies to help them with policy development and to remind them how community colleges can be beneficial with respect to foreign policy" (Coordinator 4, personal communication, February 12, 2019).

Under President Obama the U.S.-led global war on terror continued in Afghanistan and Iraq, and between "2000 and 2010… the U.S. government's needs for languages for national security focused primarily on languages of the Middle East, Russia, and Asia" (Wiley, 2010, p. 98). The rationale for this focus was to "defeat Islamic militant fundamentalism" (p. 99). The rationale for focusing on Japanese and Chinese languages was to develop "better trade and economic policy negotiations with [Chinese and Japanese] governments and businesses" (Wiley, 2010, p. 100). Under the Obama administration, however, Title VI funding dropped from $126 million in 2010 to $72 million in 2014 and then plateaued at $65 million in 2015 (Association of American Universities, 2018; Department of Education 2019).

Since 2017, the Trump administration has not allocated funds to Title VI programs (American Association of Universities, 2018). As one participant confirmed, "There's been zero funding for Title VI under Trump so far" (Coordinator 3, personal communication, April 5, 2019). Typically, the Secretary of Education (in consultation

with federal agencies) seeks recommendations about areas of national need for LCTLs (Higher Education Act 1965 S. 601(c)(1)). The Secretary may then consider the recommendations when identifying areas of national need for Title VI International Education Programs (HEA, Sec.601(c) (20 U.S.C. 1121 (c)). The list of priority languages has remained at 78 since 2010 and has not been updated since (Department of Education, 2016).

In 2017, Senator Schatz urged the administration to increase funding for Title VI programs to protect the national security of the U.S. and to ensure the nation's economic success in the era of globalization (Schatz, 2017).

Voluntary sector. From the voluntary sector, the American Association of Universities (AAU) has called for increased spending on language training, stating that

> restoring Title VI to its historic level of funding is vital to ensuring its programs
> continue to contribute effectively to the long-term security, global leadership, and
> economic competitiveness of the U.S. (Association of American Universities,
> April 2018).

Private sector. In 2000, in collaboration with the American Council on Education, the Ford Foundation funded the *Ford Foundation Project on the State of Internationalization of U.S. Higher Education.* This report concluded that financial support for international education programs (including language training) in higher education had deteriorated during the prior 10 years:

> Federal funding for almost all postsecondary international areas has declined over
> the last decade. This includes support for educational and cultural exchanges,
> language study, and faculty research, as well as a number of other international

initiatives. The lone bright spots have been the National Security Education

Program (NSEP), begun in 1994 although cut significantly in 1995, and funding

since 1990 for the U.S. Department of Education Higher Education Act (HEA)--

Title VI Programs and Department of Education Fulbright-Hays Programs.

(Hayward, 2000, p. 3)

The report reflected hope that President Clinton's memorandum on international

education policy in higher education would increase funding for internationalization

policy (p. 3). In 2000, President Clinton's executive memorandum on international

education referenced globalization as a driving force for including international education

in higher education curriculum. He also emphasized language training as a necessity:

To continue to compete successfully in the global economy and to maintain our

role as a world leader, the United States needs to ensure that its citizens develop a

broad understanding of the world, proficiency in other languages, and knowledge

of other cultures. America's leadership also depends on building ties with those

who will guide the political, cultural, and economic development of their

countries in the future. (Clinton, 2000, p. 878)

In 2010, funding for Title VI programs stood at around $126 million, but by 2015,

the figures dropped to $65 million and remained there in 2019 (Association of American

Universities, 2018; Department of Education, 2019, p. 11; Coordinator 3, personal

communication, April 5, 2019).

Personnel development. The second area where novel policy efforts emerged in

the 2000s is personnel development. While minimal efforts emerged from the public

sector in personnel development, within the voluntary sector, novel internationalization at

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home policy efforts emerged in personnel development. Organizations within the private sector collaborated with organizations within the voluntary sector by funding aspects of international education research and personnel training.

Public sector. In 2017, the Department of Education launched its "Be Global Ready" Initiative" (Department of Education, 2019).The International and Foreign Language Education office debuted a series of images and messages to encourage U.S. students, teachers, and citizens to be "global ready"; however, models to achieve these steps have not been outlined.

Voluntary sector. By contrast, in the voluntary sector, several members of Cook's "Big Six" have been developing internationalization at home measures by providing training to key campus personnel to upgrade higher education curriculum in response to globalization. To report on such measures, the data below highlights the American Council on Education's model for comprehensive internationalization, the American Association of Community Colleges' international education toolkit, and the American Association of State Colleges and Universities' toolkit on educating internationally competent students.

In 2002, the American Council on Education's Center for Internationalization and Global Engagement (CIGE) published *A Comprehensive National Policy on Internationalization Education.* In this report, the American Council on Education outlined its model for comprehensive internationalization. The model called for articulated institutional commitment to internationalization; professional development for administrators, staff members and faculty members; global curricular and co-curricular

activities; student mobility; and international collaboration and partnerships (American Council on Education, 2019).

By 2003, the American Council on Education established an international laboratory to help higher education institutions achieve the steps outlined in its comprehensive internationalization model. In the same year, Madeleine Green and Christa Olson (2003) from the American Council on Education published *Internationalizing the Campus: A User's Guide*. In 2004, members of the Lumina Foundation for Education Project held a meeting with members of the American Council on Education to increase participation of community colleges in the American Council on Education Fellows Program Advisory Group (Center for Institutional Initiatives Records, 2004).

Since 2006, the American Association of Community Colleges has developed its own international education toolkit to support students, staff members, faculty members, administrators, and executive leaders in promoting global awareness through international engagement and understanding. The International Education Toolkit "contains case studies of innovative and promising practices at community colleges, talking points about the importance of global education, and a fact sheet" (American Association of Community Colleges, 2019, para. 2). The Case Studies in Global Studies Fact Sheet "highlights a diverse sampling of 5 community colleges that are engaging in innovative and promising globalization practices. The purpose of this document is to lay out that globalization at community colleges is possible regardless of the institution's size, location, or available budget" (American Association of Community Colleges, 2019, para 2.). Senior personnel from the American Association of Community Colleges

pointed out that "the importance of global education document provides talking points for community college leaders, which can help them effectively communicate the vital importance of global education to decision makers" (Coordinator 4, personal communication, February 12, 2019). Using data points, the document makes economic arguments for how globalization at community colleges can help create prosperous local communities, valued workers for the 21st-century workforce, and a civil society that can help ensure America's continued success and prosperity (American Association of Community Colleges, 2017).

In 2010, the American Association of State Colleges and Universities members published *Educating Globally Competent Citizens: A Toolkit* (American Association of State Colleges and Universities, 2010). The publication introduced a set of challenges that society faces: "The toolkit is designed to aid faculty in incorporating global challenges into new and existing courses and programs. As such, it includes case studies; teaching materials (including syllabi), handouts, assignments, and assessment tools; and teaching resources, including books, videos, and websites (American Association of State Colleges and Universities, 2012, para. 1.). The association further provides professional development for its members through the China Studies Institute, the Japan Studies Institute, and the JSI-Japan Seminar (American Association of State Colleges and Universities, 2019).

To date, the American Association of State Colleges and Universities' Global Learning Value Rubric, devised between 2007 and 2009, has been used to measure student global learning outcomes in the higher education sector (American Association of State Colleges and Universities, 2019). The rubric is adaptable to institutional curricular

and co-curricular activities and campus mission. Additionally, the rubric measures six

core dimensions of global learning--namely, global self-awareness, perspective taking,

cultural diversity, personal and social responsibility, and global systems and knowledge

application (American Association of State Colleges and Universities, 2019). In 2018, the

American Council on Education collaborated with Collaborative Online Learning

(COIL), which was developed by the State University of New York (SUNY) system to

expand access to global learning domestically using technology (ACE, 2019).

    Private Sector. In the private sector, during the period of investigation, the

Lumina Foundation has collaborated with the voluntary sector by funding aspects of their

international education research. This move has situated the importance of international

programs within the context of globalization, social justice, and workforce development.

In 2005, the Lumina Foundation funded the Institute for Higher Education Policy to

"better understand access to postsecondary education by recent immigrants, through

analysis of college admissions, financial access and college success" (Lumina

Foundation, 2005, Grants). Continuous training of immigrants to sustain economic

development also received attention from the foundation. In 2006, Lumina funded the

Corporation for a Skilled Workforce in order to "assess the potential of employer-

sponsored education programs for increasing Hispanic male immigrants' access to and

success in college" (Lumina Foundation, 2006, Grants).

    In 2006, the National Center on Education and the Economy was funded by

Lumina "to analyze the relationship of education to the rapidly changing dynamics of the

global economy in order to identify the best educational strategies worldwide that can

raise the productivity and effectiveness of the U.S. educational system" (Lumina

Foundation, 2006, Grants). In 2007, the Institute for Higher Education Policy was funded

"to analyze and report on the implications of the European Community's Bologna Process

for the U.S. higher education system and to assess the quality of international

comparative data on education attainment" (Lumina Foundation, 2007, Grants). In 2008,

the Institute of International Education and Lumina provided financial support for "travel

scholarships for community college professionals to attend a study abroad workshop"

(Lumina Foundation, 2008, Grants). In 2008, the American Council on Education and

Lumina collaborated "to assist postsecondary institutions to implement the Post 9/11

Veterans Educational Assistance Act of 2008" (Lumina Foundation, 2008, Grants).

Since 2017, during the Trump administration, Lumina has encouraged

international collaboration efforts through a global forum for the exchange of ideas. In

collaboration with the American Council on Education, Lumina has been working on

student success "to gather promising practices to [increase] attainment from across the

globe that can be synthesized and shared with US postsecondary institutions and

organizations" (Lumina Foundation, 2017, Grants). The 2018 Lumina Global Attainment

and Inclusion Network (GAIN) project, in conjunction with the American Council on

Education, "began creating a global learning community for the purpose of exchanging

innovative practices and increasing postsecondary degree attainment" (Coordinator 5,

personal communication, March 12, 2019). According to Lumina personnel, "As for

international education, Lumina has not sought to influence international education, but

we have examined different international practices to see how they might be applied in

the U.S. context with and without modification" (Coordinator 6, personal

communication, February 14, 2019).

International Student Recruitment (ISR)

International students are foreign nationals who enter the U.S. on a restricted non-immigrant visa for the purposes of studying at an accredited U.S. institution. Many government agencies impact this body of students. In the 2000s, judicial bodies within the public sector redesigned laws relating to international students. During this period, SEVIS was adopted to help the Department of Homeland Security monitor international students and hold higher education institutions accountable for international student mobility. Members of the voluntary sector (more specifically, some members of Cook's "Big Six" voluntary associations) continued to discuss the diplomatic value of international students on American campuses and advocated for reforms to immigration laws to allow international students to remain in the U.S. upon graduation. Members within the private sector reached out to international students in humanitarian ways. Novel international student recruitment policy efforts that emerged in each sector between 2000 and 2019 are represented in Figure 8.
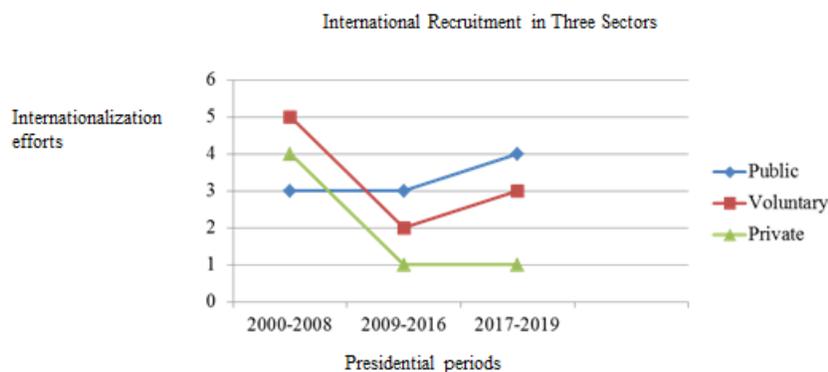
Figure 8. A visual representation of the number of novel international student recruitment policy efforts in each sector between 2000 and 2019.

In 2003, international student enrollment in general stood at 572,509 (Open Doors Report, 2018) (see Table 14). Although the numbers doubled to reach one million in 2015, international student enrollments increased under the Trump administration at a rate of 5% during a two-year period compared to a rate of 50% during a six-year period under the Obama administration. Between 2015 and 2016, international student enrollment stood at 1,043,839, and this number increased to 1,094,792 between 2016 and 2017 (Open Doors Report, 2018). Revenue from the international student market stood at $45 billion in 2018 (Institute of International Education, 2019).

Table 14

Number of International Students during Three Presidential Administrations

Administration	Year	No. of Int'l. Students
Bush	2003-2004	572,509
Obama	2009-2010	690,923
	2015-2016	1,043,839
Trump	2016-2017	1,078, 822
	2018-2019	1,094,792

(Source: IIE, Open Doors Report, 2018)

Public sector. In an effort to attract international students to the U.S., student visa requirements and processes should not be cumbersome. Since the World Trade Center bombing in 1993, the student visa process has been under review by the government, and the events of September 11 in 2001 escalated the review process. Electronic ways to track and monitor students enrolled in higher education were put in place by the government, and student visa reforms afforded international students work permits. The Deferred Action for Childhood Arrival (DACA) program of 2012 postponed the removal of a category of "international" students, allowing them to remain enrolled in higher education. By 2017, reforms under the Trump administration limited entry of

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international students from designated countries, limited work permits, and phased out DACA, unlocking a new period of visa restrictions for international students.

Student visas. As non-immigrant foreign nationals**,** international students wishing to study in the U.S.A. require a valid student visa issued abroad by the Department of State. The international student visa application process starts abroad in students' country of residence or country of origin. Scholars and researchers at higher education institutions enter the U.S.A. under a J-1 visa (Exchange Visitor Program 22 CFR 62). Most students who enroll in U.S. higher education institutions do so under an F-1 or M-1 student visa. F-1 student visas are issued to students enrolled in academic programs (8 CFR 214.2(f)), and M-1 student visas are issued to students enrolled in vocational programs (8 CFR 214.2(m). Both categories of students are entitled to bring dependents with them to the U.S.A. if they satisfy certain immigration law requirements pertaining to financial means (8 CFR 214.2(f)(15); 8 CFR 214.2(m)(3)). F-3 visas pertain to commuter students who travel into the U.S. by crossing the border from Mexico and Canada, typically on a daily basis.

In his 2000 memorandum on international education, President Clinton drew attention to the visa application process for international students. His statement acknowledged that the Immigration and Naturalization Services needed to improve the cumbersome student visa application process (Clinton, 2000):

> The heads of agencies, including the Secretaries of State and Education, and others as appropriate, shall review the effect of U.S. Government actions on the international flow of students… and take steps to address unnecessary obstacles, including those involving visa and tax regulations, procedures, and policies.

President Clinton's memorandum represented support by members within the public sector to facilitate in-bound international student mobility by referring to the removal of barriers to international student visas. Simplifying and accelerating the student visa process provides advantages in international student recruitment (Helms, 2015). As such, the Department of State and the Department of Homeland Security engaged in outreach efforts to make the visa application process less onerous for international students. As part of the Department of State, Education USA advisors are trained to help in-bound international students navigate the visa application process (Education USA, 2019).

Major changes in international student visa processing occurred following the events of September 11. An impetus for the electronic tracking process was the September 11 attacks on U.S. soil. Although organizations within the public sector recognized the value of international students on U.S. campuses, President Bush moved to combat terrorism through immigration policies, and ending the abuse of international student status provided a starting point. Consequently, some international students were denied visas, were subjected to background checks, and were denied access to training and education in certain fields of study (Homeland Security Presidential Directive-2, 2001). The 2001 Presidential Directive on Homeland Security stated the following:

> The Government shall implement measures to end abuse of student visas and prohibit certain international students from receiving education and training in sensitive areas, including areas of study with direct application to the development and use of weapons of mass destruction. The Government shall also prohibit the education and training of foreign nationals who would use such

training to harm the United States or its Allies. (Homeland Security Presidential

Directive-2, 2001)

In the aftermath of the September 11 attacks in 2001, the American Council on

Education pointed to the benefits of welcoming international students to the U.S.:

It would be very shortsighted of the United States to close its doors to students

from other nations because of the terrorist attacks. Educating international

students is an important way to infuse U.S. campuses with a variety of cultures to

impart cross-cultural understanding, spread U.S. values and influence, and create

goodwill for the United States throughout the world. (ACE Report, 2002, p. 18)

Despite this assertion by the American Council on Education, the USA Patriot

Act of 2001 put in place The Student and Exchange Visitor Program (SEVP), which is

administered by the U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) service, an

agency within the Department of Homeland Security. Amid other responsibilities, SEVP

manages the immigration status of international students on U.S. soil. The Student and

Exchange Visitor Information System (SEVIS) allows for electronic tracking and

monitoring of international students in the U.S.A. International student tracking until

2003 occurred only on paper. Nationwide compliance with SEVIS was reached in 2003

(Peng & Weber, 2019). Several upgrades have characterized the system since that time,

and the 2009 updated version (i.e., SEVIS II) became fully electronic based. For

example, students apply online and then provide an online electronic signature, allowing

government departments to exchange students' personal information electronically

(Grafeld, 2009). As a result, members of the Department of State, the Department of

Homeland Security, the Department of Justice, and the Federal Bureau of Investigation

have access to the information (DHS, Privacy Impact Assessment, 2009, p. 6). By mandating the electronic tracking and monitoring of international students, Congress raised concerns about international student rights. While the SEVIS/SEVP system assists in ensuring the security of American citizens, members of the voluntary sector have raised concerns pertaining to international student privacy rights and hardships that may arise due to technical errors in the SEVIS system.

When the SEVIS/SEVP system was deployed and began to impact the higher education community in 2003, the National Association of Foreign Student Advisers (the largest voluntary association that represents international student advisers) had already become involved through letter-writing campaigns. The purpose of these campaigns was to increase awareness about (a) the enforcement role of the Department of Homeland Security, (b) the level of the SEVIS fee, and (c) the method of fee collection through a system designed for domestic use when in fact fee payers were international students. More so, the National Association of Foreign Student Advisers rejected the policy in which higher education institutions would collect fees from international students for the government (Johnson, 2003). The National Association of Foreign Student Advisers worked with members of the public sector so that the Immigration and Customs Enforcement office would provide services to international students and not just assure regulatory enforcements (Johnson, 2003). The SEVIS/SEVP system remains under scrutiny by the National Association of Foreign Student Advisers. For example, through email updates, the association alerts its membership when the SEVIS system is not functioning, an occurrence which can potentially affect the legal status of international

students, especially if the system fails to record changes to student information (NAFSA, 2019).

In 2017, President Trump implemented several measures that impacted students from select Muslim countries and China. Through Executive Order No.13,769 (2017), President Trump "suspended for 90 days the entry of certain aliens from seven countries: Iran, Iraq, Libya, Somalia, Sudan, Syria, and Yemen" (S.1(b)(i)). These countries were deemed to represent concerns about terrorism. In the same year, President Trump issued Executive Order No.13,780 (2017), which suspended and limited entry into the U.S.A. from yet more countries: "The entry into the United States of nationals of the following countries is hereby suspended and limited… Chad, Iran, Libya, North Korea, Syria, Venezuela, Yemen" (S.2, Executive Order No.13,780, 2017). This executive order heightened scrutiny of visa seekers from countries the administration deemed to be involved in terrorist activities:

> I ordered a worldwide review of whether, and if so what, additional information would be needed from each foreign country to assess adequately whether their nationals seeking to enter the United States pose a security or safety threat. This was the first such review of its kind in United States history. As part of the review, the Secretary of Homeland Security established global requirements for information sharing in support of immigration screening and vetting. (Executive Order No. 13,780, 2017, para. 1)

The effect of the order was to restrict travel to and from select countries deemed to have "deficiencies in their information sharing systems with respect to screening and vetting processes of their nationals" (Executive Order No.13,780, 2017, para 1). The various

executive orders placed burdens on potential students from the nations on the list and negatively impacted international students from these nations (NAFSA, 2017).

In June of 2017, the Department of State sought to restrict student visas from five years to one year for Chinese students enrolled in robotics and aviation programs (Redden, 2019). The Trump administration has also worked against Chinese international students in the STEM fields, asserting that Chinese international students can potentially jeopardize U.S. national security by appropriating or easing the transfer of U.S. technology, intellectual property, and know-how with a view "to advance China's science, technology and military modernization goals" (Redden, 2019, p. 1). Following the 2018 government shutdown and by advocating for a wall to be erected on the border between the U.S.A. and Mexico, the presidential decision placed undue burdens on Mexican commuter students (Coordinator 4, personal communication, February 12, 2019).

Work permits for international students. In the 2000s, U.S. immigration laws were amended to retain highly skilled international students in the U.S. after graduation. By 2017, the policy was reversed by the Trump administration. In their quest to attract international students, other nations have offered work permits to international students enrolled in their higher education sector. In "the great brain race," allowing international students to seek employment after graduation has become a recruiting tool in other nations (Helms, 2015; Sá & Sabzalieva, 2018, p. 1). In the U.S., international students are allowed to work on campus while enrolled in full-time study (8 CFR 214.2(f)(9)(i)), and international students may work off campus in exceptional circumstances--for example, when faced with economic hardships (8 CFR 214.2(f)(9)(ii). International students are

eligible for curricular practical training in their discipline of study. Consequently, international students can undertake internships on or off campus for a limited period of time.

Novel policy efforts under President Bush and President Obama allowed international students issued with an F-1 visa to extend their length of stay in the U.S. and transition to an H1-B (work permit) visa. This policy effort benefited graduate students who completed a program within a STEM field of study in the U.S. (AAU, 2019). International students are entitled to extend their F-1 or M-1visas if they qualify for optional practical training in their STEM field of study (8 CFR 214.2(f)(10)(ii)(C)(7)(i)). Under the Bush administration (2008), international students graduating in certain STEM fields (i.e., from the STEM-designated degree program list) became eligible for an extended period of optional practical training (NAFSA, 2019). Optional practical training serves as an extension of the F-1 international student visa, which allows international students (a) to remain in the U.S. to gain work experience in their field of study for a period of two years after graduation and (b) to potentially switch to an H-1B work visa if sponsored by an employer. This pathway leads to permanent residence and to U.S. citizenship. The list of STEM training fields that benefited from optional practical training was extended in 2012 under the Obama administration (NAFSA, 2019). The Obama administration also made it less onerous for highly skilled non-nationals to work in the U.S. on an H-1B Visa. These measures became necessary based on (a) a shortage of skilled workers in the field of science and technology as well as (b) an aging U.S. population (Banks, 2014; Brookings, 2012; AAU 2012).

In 2017, the Buy American, Hire American Executive Order No.13,788 (2017) reformed the H-1B visa program for skilled workers, as adopted by the Obama administration, to limit the H-1B visa for graduate students in the STEM field by stating that

> in order to create higher wages and employment rates for workers in the United States, and to protect their economic interests, it shall be the policy of the executive branch to rigorously enforce and administer the laws governing entry into the United States of workers from abroad, including section 212(a)(5) of the Immigration and Nationality Act (8 U.S.C. 1182(a)(5)). (Executive Order No.13,788 (2017), S.2(b))

Cumulatively, the tone of executive orders issued by the Trump administration in 2017 pitched international students and workers on H1-B visas as potentially harmful to U.S. national security:

> The visa-issuance process plays a crucial role in detecting individuals with terrorist ties and stopping them from entering the United States. Perhaps in no instance was that more apparent than the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, when State Department policy prevented consular officers from properly scrutinizing the visa applications of several of the 19 foreign nationals who went on to murder nearly 3,000 Americans…. Numerous foreign-born individuals have been convicted or implicated in terrorism-related crimes since September 11, 2001, including foreign nationals who entered the United States after receiving visitor, student, or employment visas, or who entered through the United States refugee resettlement program. (Executive Order No. 13769 (2017), S.1)

DACA. Another category of non-U.S. national student includes students who arrived in the U.S. as under-aged minors without legal documentation. Generally categorized as a domestic and an international group, these students fall under the Deferred Action for Childhood Arrival (DACA) program put in place by the Obama administration in 2012. The program deferred removal of minors who entered the U.S. illegally, allowing them to remain in the U.S. on a renewable two-year period. In 2016, President Obama signed a directive for the DACA program, thus allowing DACA students to maintain their enrollment in U.S. higher education institutions during the deferral period (Obama, 2017). Following the inauguration of Trump in 2017, the Trump administration planned to phase out the DACA program, thereby impacting DACA students enrolled in higher education (Edelman, 2017).

Voluntary sector. In its Comprehensive Immigration Reform document, the Association of Public Land Grant Universities (APLU) advocated for what it deemed a "common sense approach" to immigration "that would benefit the nation" (APLU, 2013, p. 1). Some measures called for by the Association of Public Land Grant Universities and the "Big Six" included streamlining the green-card process for advanced STEM degree graduates to become permanent residents in the U.S. and eliminating per-country cap limitations (APLU, 2013).

In its Public Policy Agenda, the American Association of State Colleges and Universities (AASCU) has pronounced its opposition to arbitrary travel bans following the 2017 Trump Executive Order No. 13769 to ban travel to and from certain Muslim countries:

AASCU deeply values international educational exchanges and opposes efforts to arbitrarily restrict the participation of entire categories of prospective students or scholars in American higher education solely based on religion or countries of origin. As such, AASCU joins the rest of American higher education in opposition to arbitrary travel bans and other restrictive policies that undermine the ability of our institutions to recruit top students and scholars, to serve as academic destinations of choice for the rest of the world, and to promote American values to future world leaders. (AASCU, 2019, p. 13)

An interviewee from the American Council on Education stated that

[we have] done a fair amount of activities over the last few years, including letters to the Trump administration regarding the travel ban. ACE has crafted letters with respect to DACA. We have at least 600 higher education institutions and associations that have signed our letters. These go through government channels and we target specific issues" (Coordinator 5, personal communication, March 12, 2019).

Fearing deportation of DACA students enrolled in higher education, some members of Cook's "Big Six" (e.g., NAICU, ACE, AACC, and APLU) engaged in a collaborative letter-writing campaign requesting that DACA students enrolled in higher education not be deported (Mitchell, 2017). The American Council on Education, for its part, specifically set its priority on improving the experiences of the international student body. It has been working on a report to provide improved services to international students. As one participant commented:

In some of our research findings in 2016, we looked at international student

recruitment and state that support for international students is important. For me,

that is very important. It's not just about the number of international students; we

need to understand that support of international students is important. We are

looking at how to support international students from the time they are looking at

colleges to the time they are alumni--this is what is driving our current research.

(Coordinator 5, personal communication, March 12, 2019)

In general, the 2000s also saw efforts by some members of the voluntary sector to

recruit international students from several regions of the world. In 2003, the American

Association of Community Colleges launched a dynamic tool to promote U.S.

community colleges globally (Irwin, 2003). The association endeavored to explain the

benefits and affordability of U.S. community colleges to the world as it engaged in

international student recruitment through European tours in Poland, Bulgaria, Sweden,

and Turkey in 2004 (AACC, 2004). By 2005, it expanded tours across Asia, including

Seoul, Hong Kong, Jakarta, and Singapore (AACC, 2005). Inevitably, the number of

international students enrolled in community colleges has increased steadily from 70,616

in 2000 to reach 94,022 in 2016. According to Fast Facts data published by the American

Association of Community Colleges, in 2018, international students accounted for 2% of

enrollees at community colleges (AACC, 2018). According to West, most of the

international students enrolled at community colleges originate from China, Korea, and

Vietnam, and tuition from international students has kept community colleges "afloat"

during the recession (West, 2018, p. 1).

In 2018, the American Association of Community Colleges engaged in bilateral talks with Mexico during the U.S. government shutdown and following the Trump administration's proposal to erect a wall along the border between the U.S. and Mexico. The American Association of Community Colleges was concerned about Mexican students who live in Mexico and who cross the border on a regular basis to study in the U.S (Coordinator 4, personal communication, February 12, 2019).

Private sector. According to the Lumina Fact sheet (2018), the foundation's goal is "to prepare people for informed citizenship and success in a global economy" (p. 1). Since its inception in 2000, the foundation has provided aid to international students. Through the Institute of International Education, the Lumina foundation provided financial help to students from Sri Lanka and India whose source of income was affected by the 2004 tsunami in southeast Asia. Moreover, by funding the European Access Network in 2012, Lumina planned "the first in a series of Student and World Congresses on international student access to higher education" (Lumina Foundation, 2013, Grants).

On the other hand, the Ford Foundation has been credited for recognizing the need for scholarships in the post-WWII era (Ford Foundation, 1996). Through the Ford Foundation's International Fellowships Program, which existed during the 12 years between 2001 and 2013, students from emerging nations around the world were awarded scholarships to advance their studies in the U.S. and to help them lead the way in bringing social change in their home countries. The aim of the program was "to bring equity in higher education within developing countries" (Ford Foundation, 2019, para. 2).

Aside from awarding international students the opportunity to study in the U.S., the Ford Foundation provides grants for higher education internationalization policy (De

Wit, 2002). In 2016, the foundation funded the African America institute to study the African higher education landscape for the purpose of advancing institutional development. In 2019, the foundation provided two grants to the Institute of International Education (IIE) in order to (a) increase its global and learning fund and to (b) increase scholarships for refugee students (Ford Foundation, 2019).

Education Abroad (EA)

In the 2000s, new ways surfaced to ensure that American students spent educational time abroad. The voluntary sector rebranded the term "study abroad," which became "education abroad." In its 2017 report entitled *Mapping Internationalization on U.S. Campuses,* the American Council on Education recommended using the term "education abroad" to describe the plethora of student experiences abroad. Student experiences abroad include study-abroad programs, internships abroad, service opportunities abroad (i.e., service learning), and research abroad (ACE Report, 2017, p. 30). According to one member of the American Council on Education, "Only 10% of U.S. students travel outside around the world" (Coordinator 5, personal communication, March 12, 2019). Research further has indicated that "3.4% of all students enrolled in U.S. graduate degree programs participated in an overseas learning activity between 2016 and 2017 (Sangler & Mason, 2019, p. 6). In the 2000s, legislative measures to increase outbound student mobility failed to receive Congressional approval. Instead, measures were funded by the public sector to encourage in-bound student exchange programs to expose international students to U.S. culture. Figure 9 shows the number of education abroad efforts in each sector between 2000 and 2019.

Education Abroad Efforts in Three Sectors
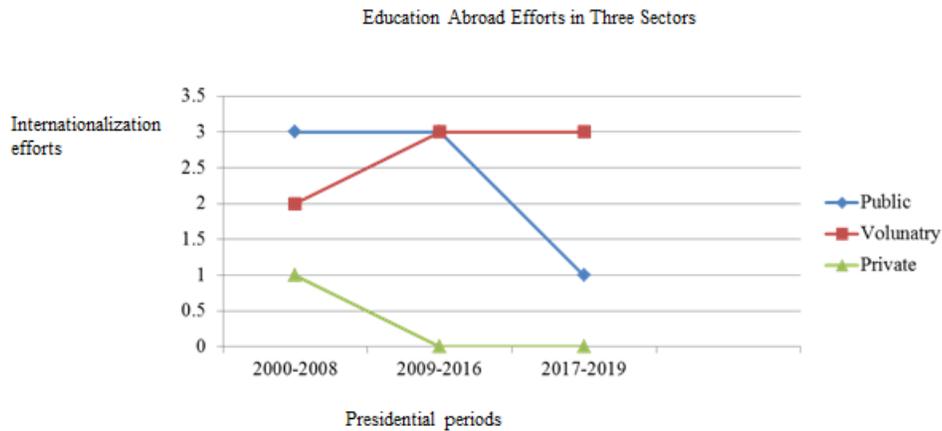
Figure 9. A visual representation that captures the number of novel education abroad efforts in each sector between 2000 and 2019.

Public sector. Although President Clinton's memorandum on international education "[did] not outline steps or programs to accomplish [the] broad goals [it stated]" (ACE, 2015, p. 30), by November of 2000, both the Department of Education and the Department of State were sponsoring international education week (IEW) on academic campuses to share world cultures and "highlight the benefits of international education exchange programs" (International Education Week, 2019). To meet the challenges of globalization, Congress submitted the *Commission on the Abraham Lincoln Study Abroad Fellowship Program Report* in 2005. The report acknowledged a need to democratize study-abroad programs in U.S. higher education. To meet this need, the report recommended that one million students should study abroad annually between 2016 and 2017 (U.S. Congress, 2005, p. ix). The report also stressed that study-abroad programs should (a) provide students with skills to address globalization and economic competitiveness, (b) address issues of national security, (c) provide U.S. leadership in an international context, and (d) help Americans become actively engaged in the

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international community. The report primarily stressed that study-abroad programs provide exceptional educational value: "Study abroad is a powerful educational tool. Research shows that students who study abroad still use a language other than English on a regular basis years after they return to the United States… [which] influence[s] their perspective on world events" (U.S. Congress, 2005, p. vi).

The Paul Simon Study Abroad Act, introduced in Congress in 2018, was designed to create a competitive grant program to fund higher education institutions and allow them to develop study-abroad programs. This Act was designed to (a) ensure that at least one million students study abroad every year, (b) increase the diversity of students studying abroad, (c) encourage study-abroad programs in nontraditional locations, and (d) strengthen the commitment of colleges and universities to expand study abroad opportunities (NAFSA, 2018). As of April 2019, this Act has not passed; however, various programs have been in existence at the government departmental levels to foster student exchanges into the United States as a way of fostering bicultural competencies.

Under the Bureau of Cultural and Education Affairs of the Department of State, data from one youth cultural exchange program indicated that in the 2000s, the events of 9/11 influenced existing exchange programs to extend outreach to the Arabic and Islamic world as a way of protecting U.S. national security. Programs were also designed to attract youth from Asian nations with high numbers of youths. What follows is a description of the FLEX program, the YES program, the A-SMYLE program, the YALI program, and the YSEALI program.

The Bureau of Education and Cultural Affairs of the Department of State administers the Future Leadership Exchange (FLEX) Program, which was established in

1992. The aim of the program is to invite high school students to visit the U.S. through an exchange program (Department of State, FLEX Program, 2019). The purpose of the FLEX program is to expose young foreign nationals (high-school age and beyond) to the diversity of American culture and American values while also enabling them to serve as agents of change when they return to their home countries (Aguirre International, 2003). The FLEX program is funded by the Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs within the Department of State to provide scholarships to students from 21 countries across Europe, Eurasia, and Central Asia.

The FLEX program served as a steppingstone for the 2003 Kennedy-Lugar Youth Exchange and Study (YES) program (Department of State, YES Program, 2019). Implemented under the Bush administration after September 11, 2001, the YES program provides scholarships to high school students from Muslim countries (e.g., Lebanon, Malaysia, Morocco, Pakistan, Thailand, Turkey), enabling them to spend a year in the U.S. with a host family (Department of State, YES Programs, 2019). By living with American host families and attending school, students "engage in activities to learn about American society and values, acquire leadership skills, and help educate Americans about their countries and cultures" (Department of State, YES Program, 2019, para. 1). As one participant shared, "The YES program was evaluated by USIA, and alumni from the programs were asked about core U.S. values--foreign investment, democracy, free elections. People who had experience in the U.S. scored highly; there was a clear attitudinal impact on those participating in it" (Coordinator 1, personal communication, April 22, 2019). By 2005, the American-Serbia and Montenegro Youth Leadership Exchange program, also known as the A-SMYLE program, was established to serve the

former Yugoslavian region and became part of the broader FLEX program in 2016 (Department of State, A-SMYLE Program, 2019).

In 2010, the Obama administration established the Young African Leadership Initiative (YALI) program. The program focused on the sub-Saharan region, and its goal was to develop outreach efforts to several African Muslim nations (Department of State YALI Program, 2019). YALI subsequently developed its flagship program under the Mandela Washington Fellowship program (Department of State Mandela Washington Fellowship Program, 2019). The aim of the fellowship was to empower individuals between the ages of 25 and 35 through leadership training, networking, and education. According to the YALI website, alumni from the program "have established records of accomplishment in promoting innovation and positive impact in their organizations, institutions, communities, and countries" (Department of State YALI Program, 2019, para. 1).

The Young Southeast Asian Leadership Initiative (YSEALI program) began in 2013. Information on the website *About the Program* reveals that it was driven by the fact that "65% of the population in countries that are members of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) is under the age of 35" (Department of State YSEALI program 2019, para. 2). YSEALI focuses on youth between 18 and 35 years of age and represents "an effort to harness the extraordinary potential of youth in the region to address critical challenges and expand opportunities" (Department of State, YSEALI Program, 2019, para. 3). More specifically, the Department of State website has stated that the U.S. is calling youth with a vision:

Young people in Southeast Asia are working to make tomorrow a brighter day, and the United States is here to help. We want to hear from you! What resources do young leaders need to tackle environmental issues, educate your generation, increase prosperity, and work for the good of your community? (Department of State YSEALI Program, 2019, para. 5)

For personnel involved with developing in-bound exchange programs, one participant stated, "Obama was good for exchanges… appropriations went up. In his speech in Cairo, he talked about young people coming to the U.S." (Coordinator 1, personal communication, April 22, 2019). More so, according to the Report on *Internationalizing U.S. Higher Education: Current Policies, Future Directions,* "President Obama's budget request for 2016 include[d] a 5.6% increase for State Department international exchange programs" (Helms, 2015, p. 39). New youth exchange programs have not emerged under the Trump administration.

Voluntary sector. From the voluntary sector, Cook's "Big Six" voluntary associations' novel policy efforts focused primarily on outbound study-abroad programs for American students in the 2000s. Since 2006, the American Association of Community Colleges has conducted case-study research on successful study-abroad programs at U.S. community colleges and has endeavored to increase community college participation in study-abroad programs (American Association of Community Colleges, 2019). According to the *Programs and Services Fact Sheet*, 7,105 community-college students studied abroad in 2015 (American Association of Community Colleges, 2019). According to one participant, in 2018, "Study-abroad programs between community

colleges expanded, and MOUs were signed to partner with France" (Coordinator 4, personal communication, February 12, 2019).

In 2015, the President of the Association of Public Land-grant Universities, Peter McPherson, supported funding for study-abroad programs by emphasizing APLU's

support for incentive grants to colleges and universities to leverage institutional commitment to study abroad. Such grants would allow institutions to expand study abroad through innovative partnerships and collaboration, removing on-campus barriers to study abroad, and diversifying and integrating opportunities for all students, regardless of their major or socio-economic status, to study abroad. (McPherson, 2015)

The 2017 American Council on Education report, entitled *Mapping Internationalization on U.S. Campuses*, indicated that up to that time, study-abroad programs had been increasingly successful:

Study abroad is the most common model for outbound mobility and is also the area of education abroad that saw the most upward movement in participation rates in recent years. Almost three-quarters of respondents reported that the number of students studying abroad from their institutions increased or remained the same in the last three years. (p. 30)

The report further stated that certain types of study-abroad programs began to level off:

Recent years showed smaller shifts in participation rates for other types of education abroad. For international internships, service opportunities, and research abroad, no more than a quarter of institutions reported increased student participation, while around one-third indicated there had been no change. (p. 30)

According to the 2016 *Open Doors Report*, "313,415 American students received academic credit for study abroad in 2014-2015… yet the rate has slowed in recent years" (Helms, 2017, p. 32).

International Institutional Partnerships (IIPs)

The 2000s saw a proliferation of international institutional partnership initiatives (IIPs) in the higher education sector, a process whereby U.S. institutions enter into agreements with foreign institutions to collaborate on research, course delivery, and faculty and student exchanges. This section examines IIPs in general without delving into details about branch campuses, dual degrees, and international accreditation efforts. Organizations within both the public sector and the voluntary sector actively sought to develop strategic and long-lasting partnerships with academic institutions abroad (see Figure 10).

International Institutional Partnership Efforts in Three Sectors
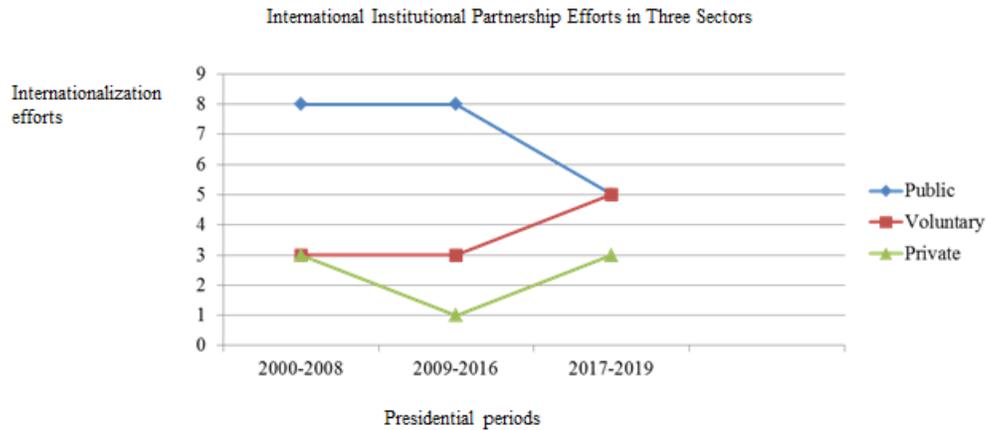
Figure 10. A visual representation that captures the level of novel International Institutional Partnership efforts in each sector between 2000 and 2019.

Public sector. In the public sector, the Department of State funded the Global Innovation Initiative to support collaborative research in STEM fields between the U.S.,

the U.K., and other nations (Institute for International Education, 2019). Through various government funds, efforts have been made to help nations such as Myanmar develop their higher education potential and build diplomatic relations with other nations (Institute for International Education, 2019). Through programs from the Fund for the Improvement of Postsecondary Education (FIPSE), which began in 1997 but persisted well into the 2000s, the Department of Education funded initiatives in partnership with multiple countries to "focus on challenging policy issues, improve institutional collaboration, raise student mobility, and advance global curricula efforts" (Department of Education, 2009). These efforts included the European Union-United States Atlantis Program, which funded joint or dual undergraduate degrees in academic and professional disciplines. The consortium consisted of (a) various EU countries funded by the EU and the U.S.; (b) higher education institutions funded by FIPSE; (c) the North American Mobility in Higher Education Program, which funded collaborative consortia between Canada, Mexico, and the U.S.; (d) the U.S.-Brazil Higher Education Consortia program, which also funded collaborative consortia in higher education between the U.S. and Brazil; and (e) a program between the U.S. and Russia entitled Improving Research and Educational Activities in Higher Education. The aim of the latter program was to improve understanding between the U.S. and Russia (Department of Education, 2019).

In the 2000s, the U.S. provided technical assistance to the former Soviet Bloc, albeit at a reduced rate. Assistance came from federally funded program grants and from members of the private sector. The goal of the Bilateral Commission (2009) by President Obama and President Medvedev of Russia, which continued under President Putin, was for the two countries to cooperate in order to strengthen strategic stability, international

security, economic well-being, and the development of ties between the Russian and American people (U.S.-Russian Bilateral President Commission, Joint Annual Report, 2013). More specifically, under the EURECA program, which was funded under the U.S.-Russia Foundation (2008), university programs were designed not only to improve the research capabilities of Russian universities but also to improve entrepreneurial capacity in that country (Johnson & Weeks-Earp, 2015, p. 30).

Voluntary sector. Based on the assumption that IIPs had been evolving, the American Council on Education acknowledged in 2016 that strategic international partnerships were becoming better organized. According to Helms (2016), "Strategic international partnerships represent a very popular topic in higher education right now. Collectively, this sector seems to be moving away from an initial philosophy of 'let's sign as many MOUs with foreign institutions as we can' to an approach that emphasizes careful planning; deliberate action; and attention to quality, depth, and sustainability" (p. 1).

IIPs increased in the 2000s both through individual IIPs and through facilitation of IIPs through Cook's "Big Six." At least 40% of higher education institutions have "articulated a formal strategy for international partnership development or are in the process of developing such a strategy" (Helms, 2017, p. 33). Sixteen percent of institutions have offered collaborative degree programs (p. 35). In 2016, 5% of U.S. institutions delivered entirely or largely face-to-face instruction abroad, while 9% delivered instruction via technology, and 5% used a hybrid modality to deliver instruction (Helms, 2017, p. 37).

In the 2000s, voluntary associations provided information to facilitate IIPs between their members and international partners. The American Association of State Colleges and Universities provides seminars to help participants better understand Japan through its Japan Studies Institute and also supports a Teaching English while Learning Chinese Program (TELC) (American Association of State Colleges and Universities, 2019). The American Council on Education sponsors a Collaborative Online International Leadership (COIL) leadership academy with Japan, where it partners with Japan through technology to promote international learning (Helms, 2017). As one participant stated:

> ACE has to build the connections, establish foreign relations, and establish relations with counterpart organizations…. We have to recognize that higher education institutions are becoming more globalized… mobility of students, mobility of scholars… we need to model that. We need to work with access and equity around the world. The U.S. has a role in those conversations…. We need to map the baseline of understanding, look at big trends in internationalization, and drive policy recommendations. (Coordinator 5, personal communication, March 12, 2019)

According to its *Mapping Internationalization on U.S. Campuses 2017* document, ACE reported that China was the number-one country for institutional partnerships, followed by Japan in second place and the United Kingdom in third place (Helms, 2017). China was also the number-one country in terms of being targeted for future expanded activity, followed by India in second place and Brazil in third place (Helms, 2017).

Through its Vocational Education and Leadership Training partnership with the China Education Association for International Exchange (CEAIE), the American Association of Community Colleges has been working with China since 2008. The aim of this venture has been to share community college staff structure with China (AACC, 2008; Coordinator 4, personal communication, February 12, 2019). Senior personnel from the American Association of Community Colleges also stated that efforts have been ongoing to strengthen international relationships through discourse and discussion:

> We have tried to connect our colleges with other international organizations and institutions in other countries. I represented the Association in bilateral dialogues with India, Mexico, China… U.S./China dialogue on career and technical education. We are going to have a delegation from South Africa soon. (Coordinator 4, personal communication, February 12, 2019)

Private sector. The private sector maintained its interests in international institutional partnerships. As changes occurred abroad in the field of institutional partnerships, the Lumina Foundation funded the Institute on Higher Education Policy to consider the implications of the Bologna process on U.S. higher education in 2007 (Lumina Foundation, Grants, 2007). In 2016, the Ford Foundation funded the study of the African higher education landscape (Ford Foundation, Grants, 2016). By 2017, the American Council on Education and the Lumina Foundation formed several initiatives to better understand the landscape of international institutional partnerships, such as the Alliance for Global Innovation in Tertiary Education (Lumina Foundation, Grants, 2017) and the Global Forum for the Exchange of Ideas (Lumina Foundation, Grants, 2017), and the Global Attainment and Inclusion Network (Lumina Foundation, Grants, 2018).

Factors that Influenced Internationalization Policy

As I analyzed data from the three sectors (i.e., public, voluntary, private), I noted events mentioned in association with internationalization efforts to provide context for the study. The codes that emerged during data analysis were (a) globalization/global world order/global, (b) interconnected world, (c) smaller world due to technology, (d) immigration/immigrants, (e) changing face of America, (f) growing population overseas, (g) trade with other countries, (h) cooperation with other countries, (i) helping other countries, (j) terrorist attacks on the U.S., (k) wars overseas, (l) international politics, and (m) national security. I regrouped the codes under five themes or five factors influencing novel internationalization policy efforts. The five factors are connected yet distinguishable: (a) globalization, (b) technology, (c) demographics, (d) global trade, and (e) geopolitics (see Figure 11).
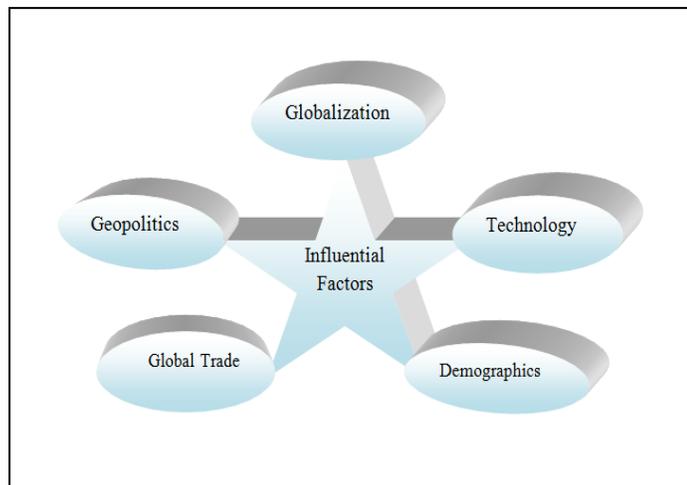
Figure 11. A visual illustration of factors that influenced novel internationalization policy efforts between 2000 and 2019.

Globalization

Document analysis revealed that "the end of the Cold War and the emergence of the digital era have brought the United States face to face with a set of phenomena that

characterize the end of the twentieth century: globalization, democratization, and the preeminence of the United States as the world's lone superpower" (Brecht & Rivers, 2000, p. 83). According to one participant, globalization was a driving force in internationalization policy: "New terms were bounced around; a new word you heard a lot in the 2000s is 'globalization…' can't forget that; it started with 9/11, or at least you heard it more" (Coordinator 3, personal communication, April 5, 2019). For practitioners, globalization is an issue that needs to be addressed in education. As one participant stated, "You see we are preparing students to live, work, and flourish in a world where globalization has happened, so students need global competencies to function" (Coordinator 5, personal communication, March 12, 2019). From the Association of Community Colleges, one participant stated with respect to global education that "our goal is to encourage community colleges to internationalize their campus… association wide, we have had initiatives to spread international competencies" (Coordinator 4, personal communication, February 12, 2019).

Since 2000, and to a large extent as a result of globalization, the United States has experienced political, social, economic, and technological changes. Navigating such changes requires cultural competencies (De Wit, 2002; Friedman, 2009; Gopinath, 2009; Green & Siaya, 2005). Consequently, one mission of the American Association of State Colleges and Universities "is to support member institutions in their mission to prepare students who can be demonstrably competitive and effective in an economy and society that requires global literacy" (AASCU, 2019, para. 7). One participant, however, pointed out that "globalization has winners and losers… there are people who reject globalization – think of the Brexit movement, America first… global has become a slur… neo

imperialism before globalization was great" (Coordinator 3, personal communication, April 5, 2019). Nonetheless, for practitioners, novel policy efforts were impacted by "factors inherent to globalization of the world" (Coordinator 5, personal communication, March 12, 2019).

Technology

For Stromquist (2002), globalization is "a phenomenon whose impact has been compounded by technological advances in… communication and transportation" (p. 5). In early 2000, scholars stated that the U.S. witnessed technological advances that enhanced cross-border interactions in cyberspace and escalated movement of peoples between nation states. The Internet extended the global space and revolutionized communication systems by introducing new ways of accessing information, working, and delivering education (Friedman, 2009; Stiglitz 2003). For example, technology was used to provide a virtual alternative to actual education-abroad experiences to American students. In this vein, "since 2003, ACE has promoted the use of technology to help students acquire global competencies: the attitudes, skills, and knowledge to live and work in a multicultural and interconnected world" (Ward, 2016, p. 1).

This endeavor continued to mature over the years and the American Council on Education has extended the effort through its Collaborative Online Learning program (ACE, 2019). One participant stated that "the world in which we live is very competitive, it is changing rapidly, and there is more interconnectedness…. it is important to prepare students to be globally competent, to realize we are interconnected with other countries" (Coordinator 4, personal communication, February 12, 2019).

Movement of peoples between nations reached new heights due to advances in transportation technology, allowing tech-savvy workers to serve American companies in the local space or from overseas (Friedman, 2009; Stiglitz, 2003). This new phenomenon amounted to yet another reason for the movement of peoples between nations, and tech-savvy workers arrived in the U.S. from China and India (Banks, 2014). In the case of higher education, one participant pointed out that "we have to recognize that higher education institutions are becoming more globalized--think mobility of students, mobility of scholars… we need to model that" (Coordinator 5, personal communication, March 12, 2019).

Demographics

As the cultural makeup of U.S. society shifted towards a level of ethnic diversity previously unknown in the U.S., scholars called for changes in academic offerings to reflect multiculturalism (Banks, 2014; Green & Siaya, 2005). In the 2000s according to Banks (2014), "The United States […] experience[ed] its largest influx of immigrants since the 1900s" (p. 22). Immigrants arrived from Asian countries, especially from China, India, Korea, and the Philippines. Immigrants also arrived from Latin America and the Caribbean (U.S. Census Bureau, 2012). According to Mather, Pollard, and Jacobsen (2011), the U.S. census estimated that people of color accounted for 36.3% of the U.S. population in 2010 and predicted that by 2042, people of color would account for 50% of the U.S. population (as cited in Banks, 2014, p. 22). In 2001, the U.S. was the most diverse religious nation on the planet, making America "a complex reality of encyclopedic dimensions" (Eck, 2001, p. 4), where Islam was the fastest-growing religion (Cesari, 2004). Practitioners on the ground stated that "we are marvelously

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diverse… everybody is a citizen diplomat" (Coordinator 2, personal communication, April 19, 2019). Higher education institutions provide learning opportunities in English for incoming immigrants. In the words of one participant, "Community colleges are set up to focus on needs of local communities, and they service immigrant communities… they provide English proficiency courses" (Coordinator 4, personal communication, February 12, 2019).

Equally relevant to the higher education sector, America had an aging population, while other countries nurtured a younger population. In 2012, BRIC nations (i.e., Brazil, Russia, India, and China) together represented "55 percent of the world's enrollment in higher education" (Altbach, 2016, p. 51). However, fall enrollment in U. S. degree-granting institutions decreased by 6% between 2011 and 2016 (National Center for Education Statistics, 2019). According to one participant, "we can help other countries like China and India with educating their youth… we have a lot of competitors who are wise enough to recruit international students. The U.S. style today is counter to attracting international students" (Coordinator 2, personal communication, April 19, 2019). Keeping in mind the demographic explosion in other parts of the world, another participant stated:

> We took delegations of community college personnel on recruitment tours. We were looking to educate folks, explaining to them that community colleges are accredited institutions… we wanted to share the community college mission and explain that community colleges are subsidized in ways that make it cheaper to study at community colleges; community colleges facilitate transfer to four-year colleges and have flexible English requirements…. We educated folks about OPT

and how community colleges connect with local businesses; therefore, we can find courses on the latest technology at community colleges. (Coordinator 4, personal communication, February 12, 2019)

However, another participant pointed to new trends in immigration law since 2017. Pointing to the impact these trends bore on international education, the participant stated, "The premise was contested for international education; it is visible in immigration laws… we started losing international students… the polarized situation." (Coordinator 3, personal communication, April 5, 2019).

Global Trade

For members of the voluntary sector, "the importance of global education is that is has an economic focus" (Coordinator 4, personal communication, February 12, 2019); namely, "we want globally competent students [because] work happens around the world" (Coordinator 5, personal communication, March 12, 2019). Also, the federal government engages with other nations on various fronts. As one participant indicated,

there is a lot going on with the federal government with China and Mexico. In November 2018, I took a delegation to Paris. The trip was partially subsidized by the French Embassy, and the Institute of Technology in Paris is ready for engagement. It is happening fast… areas are changing. (Coordinator 4, personal communication, February 12, 2019)

Workforce development efforts are important for both the government and the associations representing the interest of higher education. In the words of one representative of the voluntary sector,

It is difficult to find a company that is not engaged internationally or engaged in

international trade… the global focus is to make the workforce competitive…

federal and state government [are] instrumental in local and national

[internationalization policy] initiatives. (Coordinator 4, personal communication,

February 12, 2019)

Related to workforce development and global trade is the economic value of

international students. China joined the World Trade Organization (WTO) in the 2000s

following the enactment of the China-PNTR in the U.S.A. The effect of the legislation

was to open the Chinese market to American manufactured goods, farm products, and

services (White House Archives, 2000). Under the General Agreement in Trade and

Services as administered by the World Trade Organization, higher education became a

"lucrative trade market" as part of international trade in services (Knight, 2008, p. 149).

An upcoming manufacturing hub, China moved towards both "massification and

internationalization" of its higher education system in the 2000s (Yang, 2000, p. 320).

Between 2006 and 2014, the percentage of Chinese students in higher education grew

from 21% to reach 39%, and China partnered with western nations (including the U.S.A.)

to provide education services to Chinese Students (UNESCO-UIS, 2014, as cited in

OECD Report, 2016). Through collaborative measures, education services to Chinese

students were delivered in both the U.S. and in China. As one participant confirmed,

"Our CEO sits on the Advisory Council for U.S.-China collaboration" (Coordinator 4,

personal communication, February 12, 2019). This participant then elaborated on the

nature of relationships between Chinese and American institutions:

We have a number of Memorandum of Understanding [MOUs] around the world.

Recently with China, we partnered with the Chinese Association for International

Exchange. We started the Vocational Education Leadership Training program

(VELT). Chinese [institutional] presidents came together; we were set to pair

them with community colleges to learn about administration structures at

community colleges through job shadowing. They looked at different job titles at

community colleges. This will result in further MOUs for further engagement

between different institutions. Through the VELT program, the Chinese will bring

a delegation to our annual conference, [and] we also organize site visits. We go to

their conference in Beijing, and they provide us with site visits. (Coordinator 4,

personal communication, February 12, 2019)

Geopolitics

A technologically interconnected world and advances in transportation technology

introduced new styles of global warfare in the 2000s. Discontent over U.S. foreign

policy, which previously occurred in faraway corners of the globe, became manifest at

home. Geopolitics (or more specifically, U.S. involvement in the politics of the Middle

East) shook U.S. society in numerous ways in the 2000s. According to Banks (2014),

"We are living in a dangerous, confused, and troubled world that demands leaders,

educators, and classroom teachers who can bridge cultural, ethnic, and religious

borders… in the recreated world of the 21st century" (p. 23). An often-cited event across

novel policy efforts within documents as well as the interviews I conducted was the

events of September 11. As one participant shared, this event catapulted national defense

to the forefront of international education:

2001 turned everything on its head; we were caught by surprise, and the focus of international education went back to defense. The 1990s was all about neo liberalism, the economy, economic competitiveness, learn a language, cultural expertise, the rhetoric of defense became secondary. In 2001 defense became a priority. (Coordinator 3, personal communication, April 5, 2019)

The attacks on American institutions by mostly Saudi Arabian nationals on September 11, 2001, provided a starting point for many conversations about international education in the U.S. In the aftermath of the attacks, the American Council on Education advocated for a national policy on international education in its International Policy paper entitled *Beyond September 11: A Comprehensive Policy on International Education Policy* (ACE, 2002). However, by 2013, the call for a national policy dissipated. In the words of one participant from the American Council on Education,

We started the comprehensive internationalization. For a while, we thought we needed to have internationalization separately; then we moved to a hybrid position and we thought we needed a presence… staff dedicated to it, but also infuse it in leadership programs. We coined the term 'comprehensive internationalization.' It is the framework for our work on internationalization. Internationalization is not about recruiting international students alone; it is about developing global student competencies--look at our report on U.S. policies on internationalization. ACE recanted on unified policy. We do not need a unified internationalization policy given the diversity and breadth of our higher education institutions. We need better coordination with our higher education institutional community. ACE has shifted from what it said in that report I sent you… we have

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more time and people working on the issue now. (Coordinator 5, personal

communication, March 12, 2019)

The attacks on September 11, 2001, represented a new source of terrorist impact

on U.S. infrastructure and institutions, changing the American psyche politically,

socially, economically, and academically. In the aftermath of the attacks, the U.S. waged

wars on several Muslim nations (e.g., Afghanistan, Iraq, Syria, Yemen), including the

invasion of Arab nations (e.g., Iraq). As a result, the focus on Muslim nations influenced

internationalization policy efforts. As one interviewee indicated,

> There is fashion in every culture--[for example,] cattle shows; in the field of
>
> student exchange, it's youth programs, the need to empower women… Before the
>
> USSR disintegrated, we had programs for the USSR. After 9/11, we went for
>
> exchanges with Muslim countries: Nigeria, Indonesia, the Middle East, Saudi
>
> Arabia. (Coordinator 2, personal communication, April 19, 2019)

In 2009, President Obama delivered a speech in Cairo, Egypt, in which he stated,

> I have come here to seek a new beginning between the United States and Muslims
>
> around the world--one based upon mutual interest and mutual respect… and one
>
> based upon the truth that America and Islam are not exclusive and need not be in
>
> competition. (Obama, 2009)

The voluntary sector partnered with the public sector, namely with the

Department of State, on in-bound exchange programs to bring Muslim students to the

U.S. In the words of an American Association of Community College representative,

"We have helped with the International Visitor leadership program, which is a

Department of State initiative" (Coordinator 4, personal communication, February 12, 2019).

Terrorist attacks by Muslims in the U.S.A. escalated. Between 2000 and 2019, at least 34 attacks were perpetrated by Muslims on U.S. soil. Attacks on the American Jewish community, African Americans, and other ethnic minorities also occurred on U.S. soil (see Appendix D). In 2017, through Executive Order 13780, President Trump issued a travel ban on several Muslim countries deemed terrorist nations. International education is embroiled in current affairs and politics, and the military has strengthened its hold on international education training. One participant mentioned that

> the military are doing their own thing. They train in languages and culture, and Congress has defended this. It has been a bipartisan effort. In 2019, the military asked for $109 million. We got $109 million over 11 years for Title VI; remember, I worked for the Department of Education; the program needs funding, otherwise there is nothing. (Coordinator 3, personal communication, April 5, 2019)

Summary

Chapter 4 presented the findings of the study. Horizontal alignment of policy-making sectors revealed that all three sectors contributed to novel policy efforts in the 2000s. National higher education internationalization policy emerged to serve the higher education sector as one homogeneous sector, regardless of institution type. In summary, policy did not emerge to serve the unique needs of the community college sector. Efforts to cater to community colleges specifically came from the voluntary sector and the private sector and, to a lesser extent, from the public sector. Novel policy efforts

undertaken by the three sectors were aligned vertically and categorized under four policy strands: (a) internationalization at home (language training, personnel training), (b) education abroad, (c) international student recruitment, (d) international institutional partnerships.

In the 2000s, the sectors focused on different aspects of internationalization at home. Novel internationalization-at-home policy efforts in the public sector focused on language training. Less commonly taught languages, such as Arabic and Chinese, became more commonly taught on campuses as a result of wars in the Middle East and due to increased economic ties with China. In the voluntary sector, novel policy efforts surfaced in personnel development training to focus on curriculum development, rubrics for global educational outcomes, and language training, especially in Chinese and Japanese (countries with institutional partnerships). In the private sector, two foundations collaborated with organizations within the voluntary sector to fund aspects of international education research and personnel training. The foundations situated international programs within the context of globalization, social justice, and workforce development.

Novel international student recruitment policy efforts were adopted by the public sector to help the Department of Homeland Security monitor international students and hold higher education institutions accountable for international student mobility. Members of the voluntary sector reiterated the diplomatic value of international students on American campuses and advocated for reforms to immigration laws to allow international students graduating in STEM fields to remain in the U.S. upon graduation. Members within the private sector reached out to international students in humanitarian

ways and repurposed the role of international students studying on foundation

scholarships (Ford Foundation). The voluntary sector rebranded the term "study abroad,"

which became "education abroad." While the voluntary sector advocated for outbound

student experiences, the public sector developed novel in-bound student exchange policy

efforts. Education abroad as a policy strand received little attention from the private

sector.

Novel policy efforts pertaining to international institutional partnerships surfaced

in all three sectors in the 2000s. Agreements were designed (a) to ease collaborative

international research, (b) to deliver courses internationally, and (c) to increase

international faculty and student exchanges between institutions. International

institutional partnerships emerged as the dominant internationalization policy strand in

the 2000s.

Multiple factors influenced novel internationalization policy efforts in the three

sectors in the 2000s. The five factors that influenced novel policy efforts were

globalization, technological advances, demographics, global trade, and geopolitics. In

general, the public sector relied mostly on political and economic rationales for novel

policy efforts. The voluntary sector relied on political, economic, academic, and socio-

cultural rationales for novel policy efforts. The private sector relied on academic and

socio-cultural rationales for its policy efforts. In 2000, President Clinton positioned

international education within the context of economic globalization. By 2001, the war on

global terror during the Bush administration positioned national security as the defining

factor. In 2009, under President Obama, social factors and immigration laws contributed

to fashion internationalization policy. Finally, in 2017, President Trump's nationalism

and anti-globalization sentiments guided policy decisions.

Chapter 5

Discussion of Findings, Conclusions, and Recommendations

Situated within the context of globalization, the purpose of this historical policy analysis study was twofold. First, the study aimed to identify and describe the ways in which multiple actors have shaped national higher education internationalization policy within the U.S. Secondly, the study aimed to capture the emerging direction in higher education internationalization policy at the national level between 2000 and 2019. The guiding research question for this study was as follows: How has national higher education internationalization policy been shaped, and how has the policy evolved in novel ways since 2000?

Summary of Research Findings

When tracing national higher education internationalization policy between 2000 and 2019, I mapped a plethora of novel policies, practices, and initiatives from three policy-making sectors at the national level. The multi-sector approach to internationalization policy-making offers a smorgasbord of terms (e.g., policy, practice, initiative), all of which describe the distinct efforts undertaken by each sector when shaping national higher education internationalization policy. In this study, I employed the term "policy efforts" to reflect this collection of terms. The term "policy efforts" captures the variety of policy efforts undertaken by organizations within the different sectors that together define national internationalization policy. In this study, the term "novel policy efforts" refers to internationalization policies, practices, and initiatives undertaken in the 2000s.

Data for this study was collected in two phases--through documents and through interviews. During the first phase, I analyzed the content of (a) documents from the websites in digital archives of the three sectors, (b) scholarly articles, and (c) newspaper reporting. During the second phase of data collection, I interviewed policy-makers from the three sectors to gain information-rich personal perspectives about novel policy efforts and factors that influenced national higher education internationalization policy between 2000 and 2019.

Participants from the public sector had experience with international education in the Department of Education and in the Department of State. These two government departments are major providers of federal international education programs (Wiley, 2010, De Wit, 2002). From the voluntary sector, I interviewed policy-makers from two of Cook's "Big Six" voluntary associations. I interviewed key international education personnel from the American Council on Education. In the diverse landscape of higher education institutions, the American Council on Education is an institution-based umbrella organization that represents the diverse higher education sector at the federal level. I also interviewed key personnel involved with international education at the American Association of Community Colleges. Within Cook's "Big Six" voluntary associations, the American Association of Community Colleges represents the interests of the growing community college sector--a very diverse sector--at the federal level.

From the private sector, I interviewed policy-makers and researchers from the Ford Foundation and the Lumina Foundation because these foundations have been heavily involved with novel higher education internationalization policy measures. A well-established foundation, the Ford Foundation, has a history of involvement with

international education (De Wit, 2002). The Lumina Foundation came into existence in 2000 at the starting point of this study, making it relevant to the temporal context of the current study. The Lumina Foundation appeared as a regular collaborator on international education with the American Council on Education and exerts influence on higher education policy through support of policy area (Harcleroad & Eaton, 2005).

To present the complex nature of the U.S. policy-making ecology, I analyzed both political as well as nonpolitical policy-making institutions. Collectively, these institutions have been categorized into three sectors that Harcleroad and Eaton (2005) have described as the public, the voluntary, and the private sectors. After aligning the three sectors horizontally, I found that all three sectors were simultaneously involved in internationalization policy-making between 2000 and 2019. First, policy emerged as the three sectors worked together or worked against each other. In the process, the sectors complemented, supplemented, and opposed each other's efforts to shape what I describe as U.S. national higher education internationalization policy. Secondly, the findings indicated that although multiple actors from different sectors were involved in policy making at any given time, different sectors put their weight behind specific policy strands. Third, national higher education internationalization policy emerged to serve the higher education sector as one homogeneous sector, regardless of institution type.

The study did not set out to map all internationalization policy efforts; its purpose instead was to capture the emerging direction in higher education internationalization policy efforts at the national level between 2000 and 2019. In this light, novel policy efforts and novel movement in existing policy efforts, as identified by available data and participants, provided the central focus of this study and guided analysis on policy

evolution between 2000 and 2019. To describe policy evolution, the time frame between 2000 and 2019 was divided into three presidential periods: (a) Clinton/Bush 2000-2008, (b) Obama 2009-2016, and (c) Trump 2017-1019. I aligned policy efforts from the three sectors vertically in chronological order under each presidential period, categorized the policy efforts, and noted factors which influenced these policy efforts. From the plethora of policy efforts, four dominant policy strands defined policy direction: (a) internationalization at home, (b) international student recruitment, (c) education abroad, and (d) international institutional partnerships. Organically, at any given time, the sectors focused on different policy strands or on different aspects of a specific policy strand. Although multiple factors influenced internationalization policy efforts in the three sectors, the five dominant factors were (a) globalization, (b) technology, (c) demographics, (d) global trade, and (e) geopolitics. Scholars have identified four dominant rationales for adopting internationalization policy: (a) political, (b) economic, (c) socio-economic, and (d) academic. Under each presidential period, rationales for policy adoption shifted.

Discussion of Research Findings
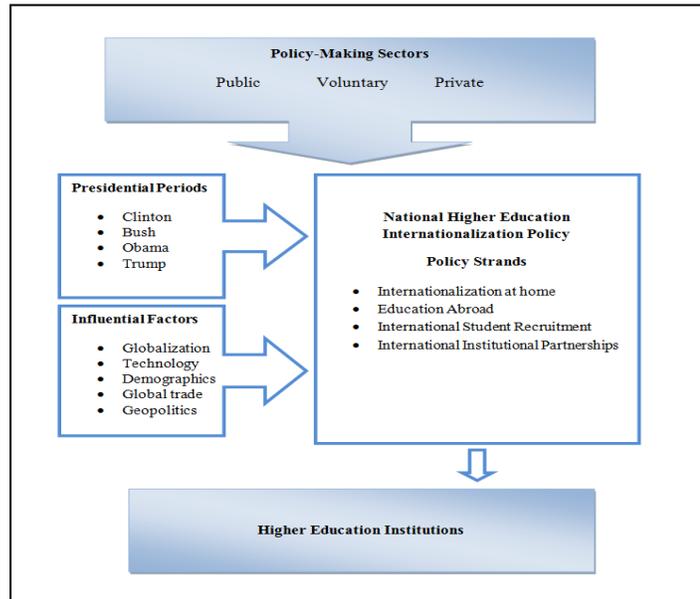
Figure 12. A visual representation of three sectors, four presidential periods between 2000 and 2019, four policy strands, and five factors that influenced national internationalization policy in higher education in the 2000s.

Horizontal alignment of three sectors yielded two outcomes. First, data analysis confirmed prior research on policy analysis to show that multiple actors from different sectors contributed to higher education internationalization policy-making in general. Extending prior research, the findings indicated that the same multi-sector approach applied to national higher education internationalization policy-making. Secondly, the findings indicated that, at any given time, different sectors put their weight behind specific policy strands. Third, national higher education internationalization policy emerged to serve the higher education sector as one homogeneous sector, and policy did not emerge to serve the unique needs of the growing community college sector.

Vertical alignment of novel policy efforts yielded three outcomes. First, interest in policy strands wavered over the years, with the current emphasis in all three sectors on international institutional partnerships. Secondly, multiple factors influenced policy

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efforts in the 2000s. Third, although set within the context of globalization, national

security was a dominant policy rationale during all three presidential periods. The

following discussion delves into the details of these major findings in response to the

study's two research question.

Shaping of National Higher Education Internationalization Policy

The 112 novel policy efforts undertaken by the three sectors between 2000 and

2019 demonstrated that the three sectors simultaneously shaped higher education

internationalization policy at the national level. These sectors shaped policy by

complementing each other's efforts (see Figure 13), by supplementing each other's

efforts (see Figure 14), or by merely opposing each other's efforts (see Figure 15).
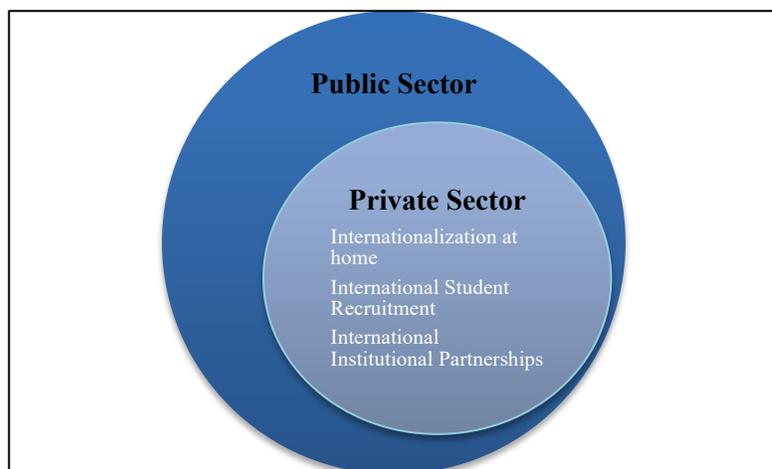
Figure 13. Illustrates the ways the public and the voluntary sectors complemented each
other's efforts with novel efforts on three policy strands.

The findings indicated that the public sector and the voluntary sector worked to

complement each other's efforts on internationalization at home. The public and the

voluntary sectors contributed to different aspects of internationalization at home efforts in

the 2000s. The two aspects of internationalization at home, which experienced most

novel policy efforts, were considered in this study: (a) language training and (b) personnel training. Whereas the public sector put its weight behind language training, the voluntary sector was most active in regards to personnel training. In the 2000s, language training efforts emanated from the Department of Education to protect national security (Arabic) and to serve economic interests (Chinese). Minimal efforts surfaced from the voluntary sector to promote language training. However, the voluntary sector led the way on personnel training efforts, with minimal efforts emerging from the public sector.

   With respect to international student recruitment, organizations within the public sector redesigned international student visa processes and implemented student tracking and student monitoring mechanisms. As a result, higher education institutions became liable for international student mobility. The voluntary sector sought to improve international student services. International institutional partnership efforts were undertaken by both the public and the voluntary sectors, and in general, two countries (China and Japan) received attention from the public and the voluntary sectors. While the public sector focused on institutional partnerships, the voluntary sector (a) narrowed its focus on educating its membership on the scope of international institutional partnerships, (b) provided personnel training to attain international institutional partnerships, and (c) offered language training relating to international institutional partnerships.
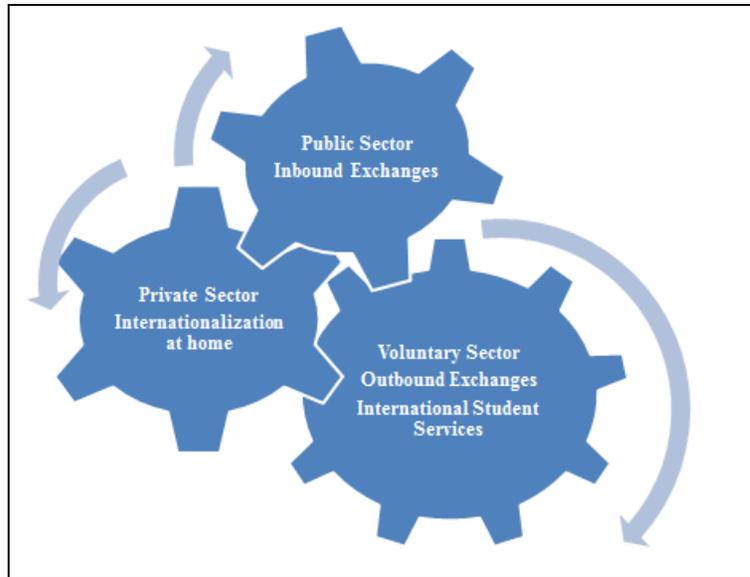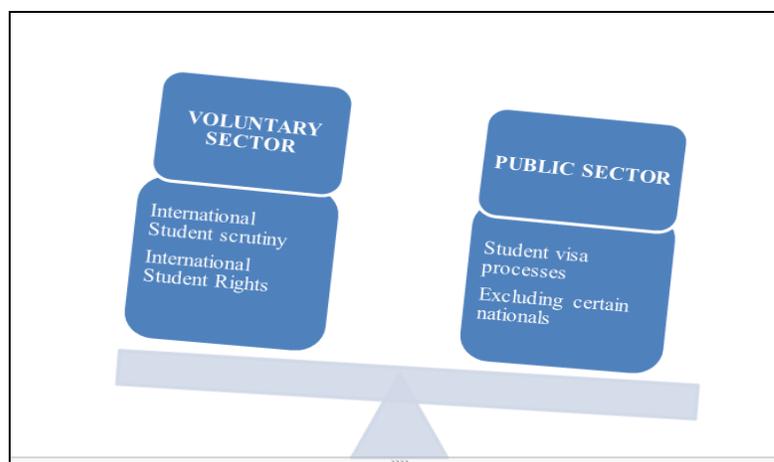
Figure 14. Illustrates the ways the public, the voluntary, and the private sectors supplemented each other's efforts on novel policy strands.

Members of the public sector and the voluntary sector supplemented each other's efforts to foster study-abroad programs. While members of the voluntary sector pushed for outbound study-abroad programs, members of the public sector, namely the Department of State, developed in-bound student exchange programs. Members of the private sector supplemented internationalization at home efforts and helped define the future roles of international students from emerging nations. The two foundations also (a) funded research on internationalization at home by the voluntary sector, (b) provided humanitarian assistance to international students, (c) supported international students to promote social justice abroad, (d) funded research on international student access to higher education, and (e) provided help for refugee students.

Figure 15. Illustrates the ways the public and the voluntary sectors opposed each other's efforts on policy strands by putting their weight behind select aspects of a policy strand.

A defining moment in international education was the September 11, 2001, attacks on the U.S. In its aftermath, members of the public sector placed certain barriers on the international student visa process. Arguably, the measures burdened international student recruitment by members of the voluntary sector. Drawing attention to the policy efforts by the public sector, organizations within the voluntary sector opposed (a) policy efforts that placed international student rights at risk and (b) measures that proposed to turn higher education institutions into fee collectors for the government. The voluntary sector also engaged in letter-writing campaigns to oppose public sector policies that negatively impacted international students (e.g., DACA, Travel Ban, H1B visas for skilled workers). Such opposition pushed organizations within the public sector to address concerns raised by organizations within the voluntary sector. By forcing the public sector to take action or refrain from taking action on policy efforts, organizations within the voluntary sector influenced the characteristics of U.S. national higher education internationalization policy between 2000 and 2019.

In sum, the novel internationalization policy efforts reflected contributions from multiple sectors, confirming Hajer's (2003) assertion that the public and the civic policy-making sectors at the national level ("[other] political spaces") work to shape policy symbiotically (p. 176). In other words, "public policy is not one single actor's brainchild"; rather, a compilation of efforts from multiple sectors help define national internationalization policy (Kingdon, 2011, p. 71). According to Estler (1988), historical analysis has indicated that public policy-making is not a rational process undertaken by one government institution; rather, it is a messy, irrational process that involves a community of actors. For Firestone (1989), the role played by each actor in the policy-making arena cannot be trivialized. While the findings of this study align with existing research on higher education policy-making in general, this study contributes to research by drawing on empirical data to extend policy-making analysis to U.S. national higher education internationalization policy.

At any given time, different sectors put their weight behind specific aspects of policy strands. In this approach to policy-making, no well-outlined strategy for national policy emerged. Policy efforts reflected the area of interest of the sectors, not areas of need, which the policy should address. For example, while international student visa requirements guided international student recruitment in the public sector, international student rights guided international student recruitment in the voluntary sector, and humanitarian assistance guided international student recruitment in the private sector. In such a policy-making model, disparate aspects of policy strands received attention from disparate sectors. Such an approach to policy-making solidifies conclusions by public policy scholars that problems, choices, and solutions are often grouped together while

policymakers wait for policies to emerge or to be selected for convenience (Kingdon, 2011; Zahariadis, 2014). Contributing to a more informed understanding of the policy-making process, the findings of this study indicated that in the absence of a well-articulated overarching policy to define the scope of policy strands and the roles of the multiple policy-making sectors, each sector put its weight behind specific aspects of policy strands in an *ad hoc* manner as it deemed convenient.

Finally, the internationalization policy efforts that emerged in the 2000s were made in a general manner for the higher education sector. This approach to policy-making overlooks the diverse nature of the U.S. higher education landscape and ignores the unique characteristics of higher education institutions within this landscape. As a result, within the higher education landscape, some institutions have remained less internationalized than others. The marginal status of internationalization in the growing community college sector can be partially attributed to the national higher education internationalization policy-making process. Policy did not emerge to serve the unique needs of the growing community college sector. Specific measures for community colleges did not emerge from the public sector. Instead, sporadic policy efforts emerged from the private sector (e.g., the Lumina Foundation funded community college faculty members to attend a study-abroad workshop). In general, internationalization policy efforts for the community college sector emerged from the American Association of Community Colleges, a voluntary association designed to represent its interests.

Emerging Direction: National Higher Education Internationalization Policy

The second part of this study's research question focused on capturing the emerging direction in higher education internationalization policy at the national level

between 2000 and 2019. Because Presidents provide the emerging direction for national policy efforts, to best capture policy evolution, the time frame between 2000 and 2019 was divided under three presidential periods: (a) Clinton/Bush 2000-2008, (b) Obama 2009-2016, and (c) Trump 2017-2019. Policy efforts from the three sectors were aligned vertically in a chronological order under each presidential period. Policy efforts undertaken in the 2000s were then categorized to identify emerging trends. Factors that influenced policy efforts were identified, and rationales for policy adoption during the three presidential periods were noted.

Four Policy Strands

One hundred and twelve novel internationalization policy efforts within the three sectors were aligned vertically in a chronological order. This alignment revealed that policy efforts emerged in reaction to events and not in preemption of events. Novel policy efforts under four strands were predominantly in (a) international education at home (language and personnel training), (b) international student recruitment, (c) education abroad, and (d) international institutional partnerships.

Internationalization at home. Historically, language training has been undertaken by the Department of Education under Title VI of the Higher Education Act as reauthorized in 2008. In the 2000s, funding for Title VI programs peaked in the aftermath of the September 2001 attacks and followed a continuous downward turn into 2019. In the aftermath of the September 2001 attacks on the U.S., the global war on terror provided the impetus for Title VI funding. More specifically, language training--and in particular, less commonly taught languages as part of Title VI programs in the public sector--evolved to serve national security and economic interests.

The events of September 11, 2001, and ensuing wars waged by the U.S. on Muslim countries played a crucial role in elevating interest in the Middle East and the Arabic language. Arabic evolved from being a less commonly taught language to becoming more commonly taught on campuses. To protect U.S. national security, the focus on less commonly taught languages in the public sector included Middle Eastern languages, such as Farsi, and languages spoken in the Muslim world, such as Urdu, Uzbek, and Tadjik. In addition, language training in the public sector was increasingly offered by the military, namely the Department of Defense. The effect has been to link language training to politics and geopolitics. As a result, an academic rationale for language training seemed to be absent. The effect of such an approach to language training limits the value of a broad-based liberal education in course offerings.

In the Far East, China's accession to the World Trade Organization in 2001 increased interest in the Chinese language on campuses. Chinese evolved from being a less commonly taught language to becoming more commonly taught on campuses. Asian languages, namely Chinese, Korean, and Japanese, received attention for economic reasons. The focus on languages of the Asian economic powerhouses enhanced trade with Asian nations with growing populations. Languages from other Asian nations did not receive attention. The effect of this approach to language training lessens student general interest in languages and undermines an academic rationale for language instruction.

In the 2000s, the voluntary sector played an active role in designing professional development for campus personnel, reflecting a high level of activity related to internationalization at home. The focus was on curriculum development, establishing

rubrics for global educational outcomes, and personnel training in languages. The voluntary and the private sectors supported internationalization-at-home efforts at community colleges. Further collaboration between the two sectors revolved around general funding for research on internationalization policy.

In the 2000s, language training efforts emanated from the Department of Education to protect national security (Arabic) and to serve economic interests (Chinese). Minimal efforts surfaced from the voluntary sector to promote language training. However, the voluntary sector led the way in personnel training efforts while minimal efforts emerged from the Department of Education. The private sector worked in collaboration with the voluntary sector to fund research on internationalization. At the dawn of 2000, collaborative research by the two sectors concluded that funding for international education was on the decline (Hayward, 2000).

International student recruitment. Figure 16 shows that between 2000 and 2019, the public and the voluntary sectors were the biggest actors in the realm of international student recruitment. During this period, the focus of organizations within the public sector was on redesigning student visa processes, extending visas for students enrolled in STEM fields, and restricting student visas for select nationals. Organizations within the voluntary sector sought to encourage international student recruitment in order to advance soft diplomacy and to provide improved services to international students. Organizations within the private sector provided social and humanitarian assistance to international students and refugee students.
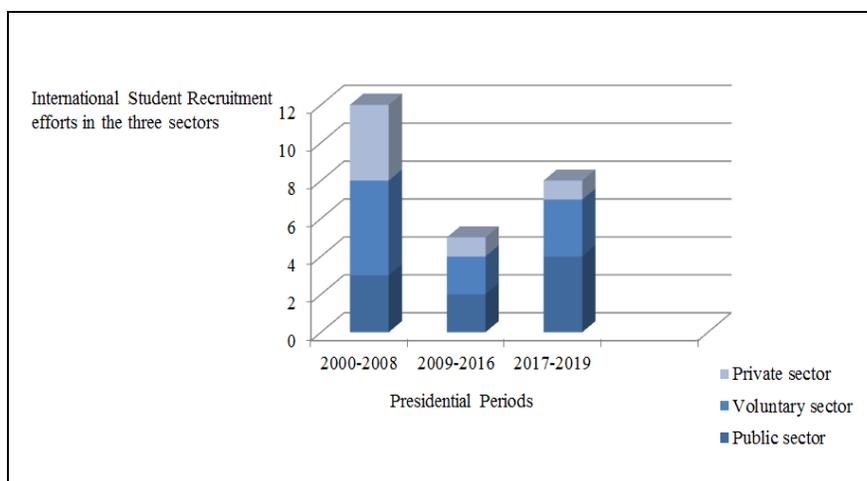
Figure 16. A visual representation of international student recruitment efforts in the public, voluntary, and private sectors between 2000 and 2019.

Although in the 2000s the process for international student visas was redesigned to include student tracking and monitoring, international student enrollment grew at a fast rate until 2017. International student numbers rose to coincide with the 2008 U.S. economic downturn. Ensuing funding attrition in the higher education sector paved the way for international student recruitment to creep in as a revenue stream in higher education. The rise in international student numbers was further facilitated by demographic explosions in BRIC nations, a lack of educational infrastructural capacity in China, and a sharp decrease in domestic student numbers due to an aging American population. The American Association of Community Colleges promoted community colleges abroad and pursued international student recruitment in Eastern Europe and East Asia. The number of international students enrolled in community colleges increased in the 2000s.

Also relevant were technological advancements that required skilled workers in the U.S. Attracting international students to study in select STEM fields in the U.S., along with offering an eventual pathway to settle in the U.S., was a workable solution

that received support from organizations within both the public and the voluntary sectors. However, by 2017, the Trump administration directed hostility at international students through both political rhetoric and modifications to immigration rules. Nationalist rhetoric contributed to a slowed growth in international student numbers. The Trump administration banned travel to and from certain Muslim countries, restricted visas for Chinese students, and limited visas for skilled workers.

International student recruitment increased at an unprecedented rate in the 2000s. The economic might of this growing body of students has led to the assumption that internationalization of higher education means international student recruitment.[2] As international student numbers grew, few efforts were made to tap into the cultural minefield that international students bring to American campuses, leaving an aspect of internationalization at home unexplored. As a result, scholars have pointed to the colonial mindset that undergirded student recruitment in the 2000s. In 2017, Patel stated that "internationalization favors an international education corporate agenda with a key focus on the corporatization of international education, specifically targeting the recruitment, retention and assimilation of international learners" (p. 65). The economic value of international students remained at the forefront of institutional concerns, and steadily the voluntary sector recalibrated its focus to address the needs of this ever-increasing and ever-present student body on U.S. campuses. In collaboration with the private sector, novel research is addressing the various facets of international student mobility on campuses.

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[2] The Institute of International Education report (2019) placed revenue from the international student market at $45 billion in 2018.

Education abroad. A federal bill to promote outbound education-abroad experiences for American students enrolled in higher education did not pass through Congress, leaving public sector support for American students to study abroad at a low point. Education abroad at community colleges gained traction in the 2000s, although the efforts were anemic. A proliferation of exchange programs emanated from the Department of State to bring students from predominantly Muslim nations to the U.S. to (a) strengthen bicultural understanding, (b) showcase American culture and political values, and (c) offer the opportunity to share various Muslim cultures with American host families and their communities.

The proliferation of in-bound student exchanges at the expense of outbound student exchange efforts resulted in two nefarious effects: (a) cultural insularity, and (b) American hegemony. A lack of support for Americans to study abroad promotes an insular mindset among U.S. students. In-bound exchange programs with Muslim countries displayed a sense of American cultural hegemony. By inviting students to come learn and (advertently or inadvertently) emulate our style of democracy and political structure, the exchange programs were impervious to the lessons of post-colonialism. Political culture plays a vital role in developing and sustaining political institutions, and imposing western-style political institutions on countries carved out by former colonial states has proved largely unworkable in the post-colonial era (African nations, Middle Eastern nations, Southeast Asian nations). Logically, it would be preferable to educate Americans about other cultures to diversify student perspectives on world cultures and politics. Such an approach would help improve American understanding about the impact

of American foreign policy and geopolitics. Such an approach also would negate the impact of American supremacy sentiments on other cultures.

        International institutional partnership. In the 2000s, the range of novel internationalization policy efforts led to novel themes and dimensions. International institutional partnerships flourished in the 2000s. Institutional partnerships with different countries continued to grow based on efforts established in the 1990s. Partnering with nations abroad, especially China, the characteristics and unique value of community colleges were paraded abroad to solidify international institutional partnerships.

        American higher education institutions also embraced advances in technology to deliver education overseas from their home base in the U.S. Globalization forces and processes included this trend. After corporate dominance in trade, conglomerates of international institutions, which hail from western nations, settled to profit from the education sector, large numbers of youths, and a growing middle segment in emerging nations. Novel policy efforts focused on international institutional partnerships emerged in the 2000s. In general, support for international institutional partnerships was a growing trend in all three sectors in the 2000s. Since 2017, interest in international institutional partnerships in the public sector has been declining (see Figure 17).
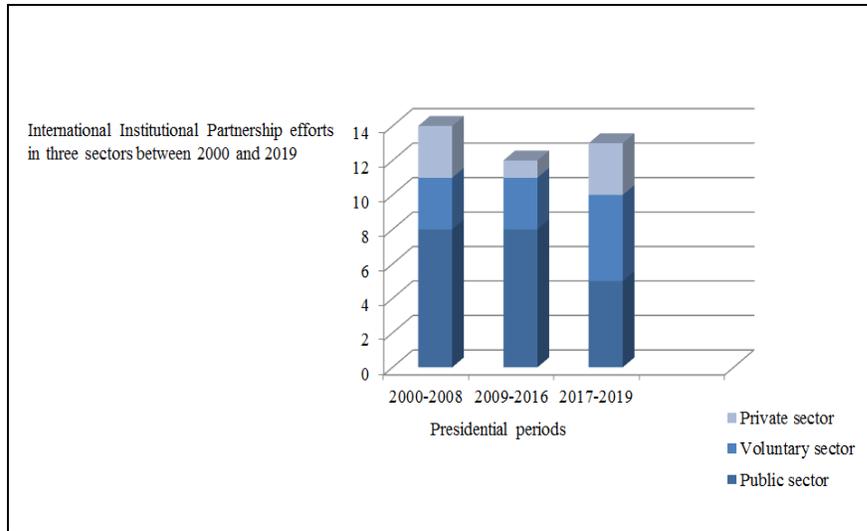
Figure 17. A visual representation of international institutional partnership efforts in the three sectors between 2000 and 2019.

The three sectors under investigation in this study demonstrated a growing interest in international institutional partnerships. Although a favorable trend that benefits academic research and collaboration, this trend raises the question of who will set the academic styles and standards in the growing international institutional partnerships space. As a leader in higher education, the United States and its standards unlikely will dominate this new institutional order. Potential criticism is likely to hinge on American hegemony.

Influencing Factors and Policy Rationales
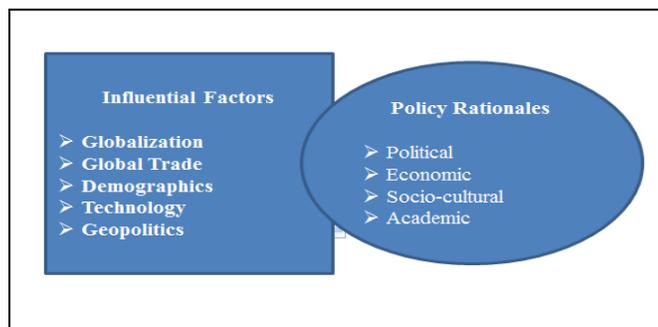
Figure 18. A visual representation of factors and rationales influencing novel policy efforts.

In general, factors that influenced policy are interrelated, yet different rationales exist for adopting policy (see Figure 18). Five prevalent factors emerged as influencing novel internationalization policy efforts in the 2000s. Rationales for adopting policy shifted under each presidential period based on prevalent factors. Under presidential periods, policy focused on national security (political rationale), trade with the Far East (economic rationale), and demographics (socio-cultural rationale). During the first presidential period (2000-2008) policy rationales focused on political and economic rationales and during the second (2009-2016) and third presidential periods (2017-2019) policy rationales focused on political, economic and socio-cultural rationales (see Figure 19).
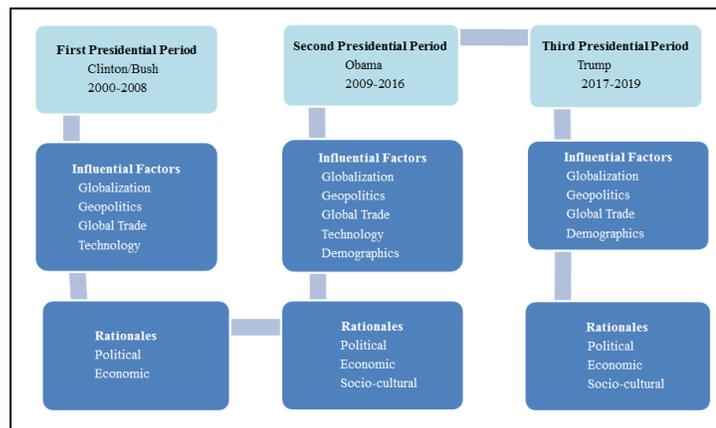
Figure 19. A visual representation of factors that influenced policy and rationales for policy under three presidential periods.

Five prevalent factors emerged as influencing novel internationalization policy efforts in the 2000s: (a) globalization, (b) technology, (c) demographics, (d) global trade, and (e) geopolitics. While the factors are interrelated, different reasons existed for adopting policy during different presidential administrations. Specifying reasons or rationales for undertaking policy efforts by different sectors provides a guiding

framework to trace policy evolution. Knight (1999) and De Wit (2002) have outlined four broad rationales for internationalization policy in higher education. The four rationales are (a) political, (b) economic, (c) socio-cultural, and (d) academic (De Wit, 2002, p. 83). For Mestenhauser (1998), there is also a humanitarian rationale, which serves as an overarching rationale for internationalization policy. The rationales are neither self-contained nor mutually exclusive. Each of the factors identified in this study can be linked to the rationales that have been outlined.

First presidential period 2000-2008: Clinton/Bush. Under the first presidential period, the shift in policy rationale moved from globalization (economic rationale) to national security (political rationale). The economic liberalization process, which escalated in the 1990s, brought the globalization process closer to American society in 2000. Contested by some, globalization caused political leaders to pay attention to its impact. In his memorandum on international education, President Clinton provided an economic rationale for injecting international education into higher education (Clinton, 2000). However, the events of September 2001 broadened the focus of policy efforts to include a political rationale. Molded under the globalization cloak, national security and geopolitics helped define the contours of internationalization policy efforts after September 11, 2001. Policy strands were guided by political rationales as characterized by increases in Arabic language instruction, limits on student visas, the establishment of in-country caps, and exchange programs with Muslim countries.

Second presidential period 2009-2016: Obama. During the second presidential period, economic and political rationales for internationalization policy grew to include a socio-cultural rationale. An aging population in the U.S. affected local student

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demographics and population growth in certain countries (BRIC nations) and also impacted international student demographics (socio-cultural rationale). Under the Obama administration, retaining international students in the U.S. upon graduation and attracting highly skilled workers to serve a knowledge-based economy became a driving force for the policy. An increase in international student recruitment also coincided with the 2008 U.S. economic downturn. An influx of high-fee-paying international students helped supplement the lean budgets of higher education institutions, bringing an economic rationale into play. Language instruction in Chinese and Japanese and institutional partnership with China and Japan, namely the Asian economic powerhouses, further anchored an economic rationale for the policy. The presence of a political rationale is evidenced by the expansion of exchange programs to include Muslim African nations and continued support for Arabic language training as wars in the Middle East escalated.

Third presidential period 2017-2019: Trump. The third presidential period was predicated on nationalist and anti-globalization sentiments; as a result, the dominant rationales for the policy were political, economic, and socio-cultural. President Trump imposed protectionist tariffs on trading partners (China) (economic rationale), redesigned immigration rules to phase out DACA, banned travel to and from certain Muslim countries (political rationale), limited international students from China, and reduced H1-B visas for highly skilled workers to favor hiring Americans in the workforce (socio-cultural). Language used in Executive Orders issued by the Trump administration institutionalized racism in one American political institution by linking international students and immigration to terrorism (Executive Order No. 13769 (2017), S.1). This ran counter to visions that have shaped national higher education internationalization policy

since WWII. In the aftermath of WWII, President Truman sought to encourage international collaboration and build peace in the world through internationalization policy in public higher education. Using nationalist and anti-globalization rhetoric, President Trump's measures have contradicted the historical vision of U.S. national internationalization policy efforts, putting him at odds with other policy-making sectors.

Based on various influential factors, rationales for policy efforts shifted under each presidential period to establish and define policy trajectory at the national level. In 2000, President Clinton positioned international education within the context of economic globalization, and internationalization policy efforts in the 2000s ignored other aspects of globalization (e.g., cultural, political), especially as they impact the domestic front. Novel policy efforts were set in the context of international trade, thus keeping America economically competitive. Following the September 11, 2001, attacks and ensuing wars in the Middle East, national security (namely, a political rationale) became dominant during all three presidential periods, and the focus of policy efforts was outbound. In 2009, under President Obama, socio-cultural rationales fashioned novel policy efforts also in support of the economy. Finally, in 2017, President Trump's nationalist and anti-globalization sentiments guided policy decisions, resulting in a rift with the interconnected world order and cultural diversity (economic, political, socio-cultural rationale). Policy efforts to serve academic and humanitarian internationalization policy rationales were largely non-existent in the public sector during the 2000s. Ignoring an academic rationale for internationalization policy undermines the quality of education meted out to Americans in a global world order, and the absence of a humanitarian

rationale for internationalization policy disregards the opportunity to develop a more socially responsible and humane citizenry through education.

Across time, the purposes, impetuses, and reasons for including internationalization policy in higher education have evolved. Although the federal government does not set national higher education policy, it is nonetheless the guardian of the quality of education in the nation, and the federal government historically has used higher education as an instrument to develop various facets U.S. society. In the 2000s, the globalization process brought individual nation states closer, and local events became global events (Covid-19, 2019). In this process, multiple factors influenced internationalization policy efforts at the national level. Novel policy efforts emerged in an *ad hoc* manner in response to these factors and focused more on the international front than on the domestic front. Within the complex ecology of political and non-political policy-making institutions, similar factors influenced policy efforts in all three sectors in the 2000s; and, each sector engaged in its own "policy game" to respond with policy efforts within the purview of its policy-making realm (Long, 1958; Lubell, 2013, p. 538). A well-outlined strategy for internationalization policy at the national level in the context of globalization did not provide a holistic and informed vision to better prepare future leaders and citizens (i.e., students) for the reach and implications of a global, or "flat" world order.

Limitations of the Study

Every study is subject to limitations that extend beyond the control of the researcher (Lunenburg & Irby, 2008). This study is subject to several limitations. First, because of its historical approach, the study is interpretative. The research methodology

allows for ambiguity to be part of the data collection process, and the study is therefore not generalizable. According to Edson (2005), "Because we can never know the whole truth about the past, historical interpretations will always be partial and incomplete" (p. 46).

Second, the primary purpose of the study was not to map all internationalization policy efforts; its purpose instead was to capture the emerging direction in higher education internationalization policy efforts at the national level between 2000 and 2019. In this light, one limitation of the study was that it did not track long-standing policy efforts in internationalization at the national level.

Third, the comprehensive nature of the document analysis rested on the availability of documents in the public domain. As a result, the available documents were necessarily "fragmentary" (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016, p. 53). Although the scope of this project prevented an analysis of every potential document, I trusted that the documents obtained provided a sufficiently complete picture, and I kept in mind that the documents used for this study were not produced exclusively for the purpose of my research.

Fourth, information was collected from a microcosm of actors from three sectors involved with internationalization policy. I identified actors who were heavily involved with novel policy efforts during the last two decades. Actors came from purposefully selected groups of national policy-making organizations. In my selection, I followed a set of criteria: (a) the actors were required to be identified by higher education experts as sources of valuable information, (b) the actors were required to have been involved in novel policy efforts during the past two decades; (c) the policy efforts by the actors were required to have broad impact on higher education institutions; and (d) the actors were

required to be most visibly involved with internationalization policy efforts in higher education and where other institutions referred to their initiatives.

From the public sector, information was collected from the Department of Education and the Department of the State. The two departments are major providers of federal international education programs (Wiley, 2010; De Wit, 2002). From the voluntary sector, six presidentially based associations, which Cook refers to as the "Big Six," were considered (Cook, 1998, p. 71). Cook's "Big Six" associations are (a) the American Association of Community Colleges (AACC), (b) the American Council on Education (ACE), (c) the Association of Public Land-grant Universities (APLU) (formerly NASULGC), (d) the American Association of State Colleges and Universities (AASCU), (e) the American Association of Universities (AAU), and (f) the National Association of Independent Colleges and Universities (NAICU). From the private sector, the Ford Foundation was considered because it has a history of supporting international education, which it began funding in the 1950s (as cited in Wiley, 2010, p. 25). The Lumina Foundation was also considered because it has been cited as one of the "national… large [and] well-known foundations" that can influence higher education through its "choice of area of support" (Harcelroad & Eaton, 2005, p. 256). The data and findings of the study are interpreted within the limitations of the chosen actors.

Interviews were conducted with voluntary participants from the Department of Education, the Department of State, the American Council on Education (the umbrella organization that represents different types of higher education institutions at the federal level), the American Association of Community Colleges (which is within Cook's "Big

Six" and represents the interests of a very diverse sector at the federal level), and the Ford and Lumina foundations.

The participants who responded to my enquiries did so voluntarily. As a result, the information collected from these individuals might be biased, and participants may have had an interest in the study. Although involved with internationalization policy, the sectors and the participants may not be representative of all actors involved in national higher education internationalization policy-making. Finally, whereas the first presidential period covers seven months from one presidential period and two full presidential periods, the second presidential period covers two full presidential periods, and the last presidential period covers a shorter time span to accommodate an arbitrary end of the study. As a result, the study does not account for policy measures adopted beyond April 2019.

Implications for Theory and Practice

Studies have not used a policy lens to show how national higher education internationalization policy has been shaped and to capture the emerging national policy direction between 2000 and 2019. Using an empirical approach, the current study traced the contribution of three policy-making sectors in shaping national higher education internationalization policy during the 2000s. I analyzed both political as well as nonpolitical policy-making institutions. Collectively, these institutions have been categorized into three sectors, which Harcleroad and Eaton (2005) have described as the public, the voluntary, and the private sectors.

All three sectors (public, voluntary, private) were simultaneously involved in internationalization policy-making between 2000 and 2019. Policy emerged as

organization within the three sectors worked together or worked against each other. In the process, organization within the sectors complemented, supplemented, and opposed each other's efforts to shape U.S. national higher education internationalization policy. The sectors played different roles in shaping policy direction, and the sectors operated to influence policy, even if the policy strand was beyond the sector's policy-making domain. For example, immigration law falls within the purview of the public sector (federal government), yet the voluntary sector's efforts influenced immigration policy outcomes regarding international students during the 2000s. Such findings can assist practitioners in their advocacy efforts. Lobbying efforts by representatives of the higher education sector can target all three sectors because ultimately the three sectors shape policy symbiotically.

Findings from this study challenge the argument that the U.S. does not have a national higher education internationalization policy. National policy exists; it is pluralistic in nature, and it emanates from multiple policy-making institutions at the national level. Together, a compilation of policy efforts from various sectors at the national level amount to U.S national higher education internationalization policy. The plurality of the policy-making process may indicate the absence of an integrated strategy.

Although no central actor dictates an integrated strategy for internationalization policy, the executive branch of government can set the tone for policy direction. This tone, however, can be limited or extended by another policy making sector. For example, laser focus on immigration laws and the actions of a sitting president may reveal that student visas are being scrutinized and denied to international students from China; however, focus on internationalization at home would show that technology is being used

to improve cultural skills for both American and international students located abroad (from China and elsewhere). Existentially, this circumvention of limits on policy or extension of policy by different sectors allows the policy to exist to serve one of its historical purposes (the policy emerged in 1947 after the Second World War to bring peace through collaboration) as opposed to serving the ideologies of a sitting president. As such, strategically policy efforts can continue to grow regardless of the ideologies of a sitting president.

Existentially, the plurality of the policy-making process allows the policy to operate as a living organism that branches out from several sectors (more specifically, from several groups within a sector), and morphs itself to respond organically to demands on the ground. This accounts for an eclectic and expansive policy that is vibrant and adapting. For example, recognizing a need for personnel training, organization within the voluntary sector designed frameworks to provide personnel training to its members without waiting for the public sector to approve or disapprove their efforts. The private sector provided humanitarian assistance to international students in the absence of actions by other sectors. The ecology of such a policy-making environment allows policy efforts to emerge from a plurality of sources and covers various strands within the scope of the policy.

Within this multi-sector policy-making ecology, extremist policy can potentially be fettered. Behind the scenes, before policies emerge, the sectors are able to push and pull on policies. Data from this study has provided examples that have illustrated this "game," leading to the conclusion that a national policy emanating from one specific sector under a particular administration can be undesirable. In the current political

climate, if the U.S. were to adopt a national policy designed by one branch of government with crass populist ideologies, it can be counterproductive to our interdependent nation states.

In the ecology of national policy-making, national higher education internationalization policy emerged to serve the higher education sector as one homogeneous sector, and specific policy based on institution type did not emerge. For example, specific policy for the growing community college sector did not emerge between 2000 and 2019. In the absence of deliberate policy efforts to internationalize community colleges indiscriminately, students are poised to be denied a vital learning outcome that enhances education quality and economic opportunity in a global knowledge economy. Ignoring America's democracy colleges is dangerous in a knowledge economy; it lays the groundwork for a poorly trained workforce, which in turn undermines the economy. Also it deprives students of cultural competencies and valuable general knowledge.

This study examined the emerging direction of policy efforts during three presidential periods. From the plethora of policy efforts, four dominant policy strands defined policy direction: (a) internationalization at home, (b) international student recruitment, (c) education abroad, and (d) international institutional partnerships. The study has provided data to advocate for improved efforts in certain policy strands. International student recruitment needs to be watched closely. Concrete actions related to personnel training should emanate from the public sector to focus on the broader implications of internationalization at home. International student recruitment should move beyond BRIC nations; student services for international students needs to be

improved to consider the emotional well-being of international students in a nationalist climate. Lacking in public sector support, education abroad should be financed to reach a broad range of institutions--for example, community colleges. In 2019, all three sectors demonstrated a penchant for international institutional partnerships, a likely result of globalization. As a process, globalization favors conglomerations, and in the higher education sector this is manifested through international institutional partnerships. Efforts towards internationalization at home existed, international student recruitment was steady, and education abroad was anemic. As a result, findings from this current study point to areas in need of action and attention for future healthy policy development.

Prior studies in this area have not used a policy lens to consider factors that influenced national higher education internationalization policy in the 2000s. Analysis of policy efforts from three sectors yielded five factors that influenced the policy in the 2000s: (a) globalization, (b) technology, (c) demographics, (d) global trade, and (e) geopolitics. According to Kingdon (2011), "Windows are opened either by the appearance of compelling problems or by happenings in the political stream" (p. 20). Arguably, the five influential factors identified in this study opened the window of opportunity for novel national higher education internationalization policy efforts to be made in the 2000s. In practical terms, future objective policy analysis can rest on the influential factors identified in the study to evaluate policy content and efficacy.

Historically, Mestenhauser (1998) identified three phases of U.S. internationalization between the 1960s and 1990s, leaving a fourth phase unaccounted for. Building on his work, this study contributes a fourth phase in internationalization policy. In the 2000s, public-sector funding for internationalization stagnated (e.g.,

funding for title VI programs). However, technology, one influential factor identified in this study, provided a lifeline for internationalization. The prevalence of the use of technology in human lives since the 2000s has created "the global tech order." In the global tech order, factors beyond the purview of policy-making sectors have contributed to shape national internationalization policy. These factors are technology in the form of the Internet and advances in transportation (other technological advances as well). The Internet has been used to provide education across national borders, and advances in technology have lowered transportation costs, allowing learners to travel across borders to gain an education. Bypassing outdated immigration practices and transportation security systems, advances in technology facilitated terrorism in America in 2001. This reality was unforeseen in the 1990s, yet it influenced three sectors to shape internationalization policy in the 2000s. Technology has been used to offer cross border instruction and has also facilitated the tracking and monitoring of international students domestically, allowing the voluntary sector to raise concerns regarding international student rights. The role and impact of technology on internationalization is underscored. Pinpointing this factor, this current study contributes to research and knowledge in the field.

Scholars have identified four dominant rationales for adopting internationalization policy: (a) political, (b) economic, (c) socio-economic, and (d) academic. Under each presidential period under investigation, rationales for policy adoption shifted. Globalization represented a changed context for policies in the 2000s, and the process engendered economic, cultural, and political changes; however, the nature and content of internationalization policy did not reflect this context. Instead, national higher education

internationalization policy emerged haphazardly and in disregard of the various facets of the globalization process. This is evidenced by focus on policy rationales at the executive level and the emergence of policy in the 2000s. Novel policy efforts from the public sector focused on national security, economic ties abroad and demographic changes. Policy that addressed the impact of the globalization process domestically was absent. A lack of data-driven, advanced policy planning for internationalization policy within the context of globalization disregards the pervasive nature of the new world order and is potentially perilous for a nation state. Although disliked by some, the impact of globalization is felt at the local level in nation states. The complex reach of this flat world order warrants attention when training human capital in the twenty-first century. Students must be made aware of novel perspectives in order to address emerging changes posed both domestically and internationally.

Recommendations for Future Research

Following Harcleroad and Eaton's categorization of three sectors involved in the higher education policy-making ecology, this study examined at a microcosm of actors from the public, the voluntary, and the private sectors to trace novel policy efforts in higher education internationalization policy based on the preponderance of novel policy efforts in the period between 2000 and 2019. This study considered two key players from the public sector, yet numerous additional government departments and agencies are involved in internationalization policy. Similarly, only six voluntary and two private-sector foundations were analyzed. Future studies may explore how other government departments, other government agencies and, other members of the voluntary and the private sectors have shaped internationalization policy in the 2000s.

Next, comparative research can attempt to measure the level of internationalization in higher education by comparing the U.S. to a federal nation state that has adopted a central national higher education internationalization policy--the purpose of which is to evaluate whether a central national policy means more pervasive internationalization policy outcomes in higher education. Finally, although scholars have outlined four major rationales for injecting internationalization policy into higher education, contained within these rationales is an underlying humanitarian rationale. Although the humanitarian rationale is an overarching pervasive rationale within the four major rationales, I argue the humanitarian rationale is a rationale in its own right. As such, future studies may undertake to measure how the humanitarian rationale is imbued in educational offerings in order to understand cultural diversity in an interdependent world order or to place a humanitarian face on the world's increasing refugee population.

Summary

The first part of this study's research question aimed to identify and describe the ways in which multiple actors have shaped national higher education internationalization policy within the U.S. To address this part, the public, the voluntary and, the private sectors were aligned horizontally for analysis. Horizontal alignment yielded two outcomes. First, organizations from the public, the voluntary and the private sector worked symbiotically to shape higher education internationalization policy in the period between 2000 and 2019. The study extended prior research to show that the multi-sector approach to policy-making applies to national higher education internationalization policy. Secondly, the findings of the study indicated that although multiple actors from different sectors are involved in policy-making at any given time, different sectors put

their weight behind specific policy strands. For example, under internationalization at home, the public sector focused on language training while the voluntary sector focused on personnel development. With respect to international student recruitment, the public sector focused on international student visa processes, the voluntary sector focused on services to international students, and the private sector focused on humanitarian aid to international students. Within the ecology of national higher education internationalization policy-making, policy emerged to serve the higher education sector as one homogeneous sector, and specific policy for the growing community college sector did not emerge between 2000 and 2019.

The second part of this study's research question aimed to capture the emerging direction in higher education internationalization policy at the national level. To best capture policy evolution, the time frame between 2000 and 2019 was divided under three presidential periods (Clinton/Bush 2000-2008, Obama 2009-2016, Trump 2017-1019). Policy efforts from the three sectors were aligned vertically in chronological order under each presidential period. Policy efforts undertaken in the 2000s were then categorized to identify emerging trends. Factors that influenced policy efforts were identified, and rationales for policy adoption during the three presidential periods were noted. From the plethora of novel policy efforts, four dominant policy strands emerged to provide the direction of policy efforts between 2000 and 2019: (a) internationalization at home, (b) international student recruitment, (c) education abroad and, (d) international institutional partnerships.

The findings of this study indicated that first, over the years, interest in policy strands waivered among all three sectors, and the current focus is on international

institutional partnerships. Secondly, multiple factors influenced internationalization policy efforts in the three sectors: (a) globalization, (b) technology, (c) demographics, (d) global trade, and (e) geopolitics. Third, set within the context of globalization, national security provided a dominant rationale for the policy under all three presidential periods. Rationales for policy shifted under each presidential period. In 2000, President Clinton placed international education within the context of economic globalization (economic rationale). By 2001, under President Bush, the global war on terror defined policy rationale (political rationale). Under President Obama, national and international demographics guided policy efforts (socio-cultural rationale). Finally, under President Trump, nationalism and anti-globalization shifted policy focus on all three rationales: economic, political, and socio-cultural.

This study is subject to the following limitations. Using an historical approach, this study is interpretative. I relied on the availability of documents in the public domain. The documents were not compiled for the purposes of my research, and therefore documents could be fragmentary. Data for the study was collected from a microcosm of actors from three sectors, and interviews were conducted with voluntary participants based on their availability.

From the perspective of higher education internationalization policy at the national level, this study contributes to knowledge by providing data on how several sectors simultaneously shape national higher education internationalization policy. Policy efforts emerge at the national level following convergence and divergence between sectors. The pluralistic policy-making ecology trumps the need for a national policy that emanates from one specific policy making institution or administration. Because

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internationalization policy emanates from several sectors (more specifically, from several groups within sectors), the policy is eclectic, alive, and not amenable to extremist ideologies. Future research can explore how other sectors and other government departments have shaped internationalization policy. Future research may (a) draw on comparative analysis between the U.S. and a federal nation with a central national policy or (b) identify and measure how a humanitarian rationale is imbued in education offerings.

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Appendix A

Legal Cases

Dartmouth Coll. v. Woodward, 17 US 518 (1819)

Dixon v. Alabama State Board of Education, 294F. 2d 150 (5th Cir.1961).

(Brown v. Board of Education, 347 U.S. 483 (1954).

U.S. v. Fordice, 505 U.S. 717 (1992).

Regents of the University of California v. Bakke, 438 U.S. 265 1978)

Appendix B

Novel Internationalization Policy Efforts in

three Sectors between 2000 and 2019

Presidential periods	Public sector policy	Voluntary sector policy	Private sector policy
2000-2008 Clinton/ Bush 2000 Memorandum on international Education 2000 China PNTR 2001 Bush Policy Directive/Student visa 2001 DLI programs 2001USA Patriot Act 2002 NSEP 2003 SEVIS electronic tracking of international students 2008 STEM extension	Title VI programs FLAS/LCTL Undergraduate International Studies and Foreign Language Program National Security Language initiative for Youth (2000) Fund for the Improvement of Postsecondary Education Advancing Internationalization through Institutional Self-Assessment Program (2001-2002) Extension of Youth exchange programs to Muslim countries YES programs (2003) Extension of Youth exchange programs (A-SMYLE program to Serbia & Montenegro) (2005) Commission on the Lincoln Study Abroad program (2005) FIPSE Institutional partnerships since (2000 – 2008) EU-U.S. Atlantis program Program for North America Mobility in higher education U.S. Russia program: Improving research and educational activities in higher education U.S. Brazil Higher Education Consortia Program	APLU Renewing the covenant … in a new and different world (2000) AACC International Programs at community colleges (2001) ACE & Ford Foundation Project (2000) ACE Hayward & Siaya, Public Experience, Attitudes, and Knowledge…Two National Surveys about International Education (2001) ACE Brief Beyond 9/11 (2001) ACE A Comprehensive National Policy on International education (2002) AACC Dynamic tool to recruit International Students (2003) ACE Internationalization in action (2003) ACE Internationalizing the Campus (2003) ACE/ Carnegie Corporation proposal on Internationalizing the Disciplines, (2003-2004) APLU The Presidential role in internationalizing the campus (2004) ACE & Lumina Fellows Program Advisory Group (2004) AACC Community college USA and	ACE & Ford Foundation Project (2000) Ford Foundation Scholarship to International Students from emerging nations (2001-2009) Lumina & IIE aid to international students after Tsunami (2004) ACE & Lumina Fellows Program Advisory Group (2004) Lumina access to higher education by immigrants (2005) Lumina Worker training for Hispanic male immigrants (2006) Lumina funded NCES education and the global economy (2006) Lumina funded IHEP to consider the implications of the Bologna process on U.S. higher education (2007) Lumina funded community college personnel to Study Abroad workshop (2007) ACE & Lumina aided higher Education to implement post 9/11 VA (2008) Lumina with European Access network looked at international student

Presidential periods	Public sector policy	Voluntary sector policy	Private sector policy
		International Students (2005) AACC International Education Toolkit (2006) AASCU Global Learning Value Rubric (2007) AACC and China partnership CEAIE (2008) ACE Project on Campuses and Programs Abroad (2008)	access to higher education (2012)
2009-2016 Obama DLI programs 2012 STEM list extension 2012 DACA 2014 Immigration Initiatives in favor of highly skilled workers	Title VI programs FLAS/LCTL Undergraduate International Studies and Foreign Language Program Russia bilateral commission (2009) Extension of Youth exchange programs to Africa (YALI Program) (2010) Mandela Washington Program (2012) Extension of Youth exchange programs to South East Asia (Y-SEALI program) (2013) Global Innovation Initiative (2013) USAID African Higher education (2014) ED & Lumina - To provide support to the Department of Education for the White House Initiatives on Historically Black Colleges and Universities, Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders, and Educational Excellence for Hispanics to host convening and for project management support (2015)	AASCU Educating Globally Competent Citizens: A Toolkit (2010) AASCU China & Japan Studies institute (2010) AAU Report Partnering for a Prosperous and secure future (2012) AACC Reclaiming the American Dream (2012) APLU Comprehensive Immigration Reform (2013) AAU Principles & Guidelines for establishing JT academic programs and campuses abroad (2014) AACC develop Study Abroad (2015) APLU's President supports Study Abroad (2015) APLU Commission on international initiatives (2016)	Ford Foundation Scholarship to International Student from emerging nations (2009-2013) Lumina - support to the Department of Education for the White House Initiatives on Historically Black Colleges and Universities, Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders, and Educational Excellence for Hispanics to host convening and for project management support (2015) Ford funded the study of the African higher education landscape (2016) Lumina Achieving the Dream - To support Achieving the Dream's research and practice development for articulating non-credit to credit pathways for community college students (2016)

Presidential periods	Public sector policy	Voluntary sector policy	Private sector policy
	FIPSE Institutional partnerships since (2009 – 2016) EU-U.S. Atlantis program Program for North America Mobility in higher education U.S. Russia program: Improving research and educational activities in higher education U.S. Brazil Higher Education Consortia Program		
2017-2019 Trump DLI programs 2017 Travel Ban Executive Order 2017 BAHA Executive Order 2017 Restrict Chinese student visas 2017 Phase out DACA	Title VI programs FLAS/LCTL Undergraduate International Studies and Foreign Language Program Letter by senator Schatz increase Title VI funding FIPSE Institutional partnerships since (2016– 2019) EU-U.S. Atlantis program Program for North America Mobility in higher education U.S. Russia program: Improving research and educational activities in higher education U.S. Brazil Higher Education Consortia Program Be GlobalReady Initiative. The International and Foreign Language Education (IFLE) office debuted a series of images and messages to encourage U.S. students, teachers, and citizens to be "global ready" (ED, 2017) AACC Work in conjunction with DOS	*Big Six* letter-writing campaign against Travel Ban, DACA (2017) AAU,ACE,APLU NAFSA Value of international students (2017) APLU Pervasive Internationalization (2017) AACC MOUs includes France (2018) AACC bilateral talks with Mexico over impact of border wall on CC students (2018) ACE & Lumina Global Forum for the exchange of ideas (2017) ACE Report Mapping Internationalization suggest using Education Abroad (2017) APLU Summit Report (2017) ACE COIL with SUNY New York (2018) ACE & Lumina GAIN network (2018) AASCU Public Policy Agenda (2019) AACC Work in conjunction with DOS on its International Visitor Leadership Program DOS (2019)	ACE & Lumina - Alliance for Global innovation in Tertiary Education (2017) ACE & Lumina Global Forum for the exchange of ideas (2017) ACE & Lumina GAIN network (2018) Ford Foundation grant to the IIE to increase global learning ((2019) Ford Foundation increase scholarship for refugee students (2019)

Presidential periods	Public sector policy	Voluntary sector policy	Private sector policy
	on its International Visitor Leadership Program DOS (2019)		

Appendix C

Presidents and Congress between 2000 and 2019

Presidents 2000-2019

Year	President	Party
1993- 2000	Bill Clinton	Democrat
2001- 2008	George W. Bush	Republican
2009 - 2016	Barack H. Obama	Democrat
2017 - 2020	Donald J. Trump	Republican

Congress

Senate	Democrats	Republicans	Other
106th 1999-2001	45	55	
107th 2001-2003	50	50	1
108th 2003- 2005	48	51	1
109th 2005-2007	44	55	1
110th 2007-2009	49	49	2
111th 2009- 2011	56-58	40-42	2
112th 2011-2013	51	47	2
113th 2013-2015	53	45	2
114th 2015- 2017	44	54	2
115th 2017- 2019	46/7	52/51	2
116th 2019- 2021	45	53	2

Source: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Party_divisions_of_United_States_Congresses

House of Representatives

Year	Democrats	Republicans	Other
2000	212	221	2

Year	Democrats	Republicans	Other
2002	205	229	1
2004	202	231	2
2006	233	198	4
2008	256	178	1
2010	193	242	0
2012	201	234	0
2014	188	246	1
2016	194	241	0

Source: https://web.education.wisc.edu/nwhillman/index.php/2017/02/01/party-control-in-congress-and-state-legislatures/

Appendix D

Synopsis of Major Events 2000-2018

Year	Event
2000	Executive Memorandum in support IE (Bill Clinton)
2000	China joins WTO
2001	President Bush signs Executive order allowing U.S. military to indefinitely detain non-citizens who are believed to be involved in terrorism
2001	President Bush refuses to endorse Kyoto Protocol
2002	International Court of Criminal Justice is founded in the Hague
2002	Former Yugoslavian leader Slobodan Milosevic goes on trial at the Hague
2006	Former leader Saddam Hussein of Iraq executed
2007	Saffron Revolution in Burma
2008	First black President Barack Obama elected in U.S.A.
2009	President Obama injects $75bn in US economy and bails out GM
2009	President Obama orders the closure of Guantanamo Bay and ends controversial CIA interrogation techniques
2010	Republican Tea Party formed to counter Obama spendings
2011	Osama Bin Laden is killed
2014	Rise of ISIS in northern Syria causing refugee crisis

Year	Event
2016	Donald Trump wins presidential election in U.S.A.
2016	Five Russian diplomats expelled from D.C. by President Obama (Reports on hacking into 2016 presidential elections)
2017	North Korea fires ballistic missiles over Sea of Japan
2017	President Trump issues executive order - travel ban against 7 Muslim countries
2018	President Trump detains children separately from parents at the U.S. and Mexico border

Terrorist attacks on U.S. soil 2000-2018

Year	Location	Attacks by Muslim	Attacks by White	Attack against Sikh	Attack against Mexican Consulate
2000-18	U.S.A	34	6	1	1

U.S. involvement in Wars

Country	Year
Afghanistan	2001
Iraq	2003
Syria	2011
Yemen	2015

Advances in Technology USA

Year	Breakthrough
2000	First humans arrive on international space station (2 Americans; 1 Russian)
2000	Wikipedia is launched by (Jimmy Wales & Larry Sanger)

Year	Breakthrough
2001	Working draft of Human genome is published
2004	Facebook founded by Mark Zuckerberg
2005	Youtube is launched by Chad Hurley, Jawed Karim, Steve Chen
2006	Twitter is launched by Jack Dorsey, Biz Stone, Noah Glass, Evans Williams
2007	Apple releases iphone
2007	Google indexes 1 trillion unique URLs
2012	Driverless car is launched based on international collaboration
2012	Mars Lab explores the red planet
2012	Voyager I crosses heliport
2013	American scientist using a three D printer grow a live ear
2013	The first creation of human embryonic stem cells by cloning
2013	NASA launches LADEE (Lunar Atmosphere and Dust Environment Explorer)
2014	The global average internet connection is broadband (South Korea has the fastest speed of any country
2017	Space X launched to facilitate space tourism

Advances in Technology China

Year	Breakthrough
2013	China overtakes USA in scientific research
2013	China's first unmanned moon landing
2016	China makes the world's largest single aperture telescope

Advances in technology India

Year	Breakthrough
2014	India launches its first Mars mission

Russian aggression

Year	Action
2009	Russian & Chinese cyberattack on USA
2011	Russian involvement in Syria
2014	Russia annexes Ukraine
2016	Russian involvement in U.S. Presidential election

Sources:
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https://www.futuretimeline.net/21stcentury/2010-2019.htm
https://americasbesthistory.com/abhtimeline2010.html
https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Terrorism_in_the_United_States