The Climax of Globalisation: The Endurance of Internationalisation[1]

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Abstract

This article examines the contradictory trends in globalisation and their impact on internationalisation in higher education. It argues that the rapid global spread of the COVID-19 pandemic, that has posed one of the most formidable challenges to globalisation and internationalisation, was made possible precisely because of the advanced stage of development that globalisation had reached. The lockdowns and near total restriction on international mobility, closure of schools and universities, and other effects and responses to the pandemic add to the restrictions on internationalisation imposed by conservative regimes in the North and the South. The article focuses on three issues: i) the contradictory trends in globalisation as relevant to internationalisation; ii) Trumpism and deepening neoliberal globalisation; and iii) networks and institutions in promoting internationalisation in the Global South. It argues that Trumpism and Brexit involve a renegotiation of the terms of engagement and attempts to reposition and re-assert the hegemony of certain players in the global economy. The article argues that, although certain aspects of internationalisation in higher education have become more difficult to preserve, it has deepened in other ways and taken new forms, thanks to the extensive use of new communications media and technologies. Internationalisation has not always been, and will not always be, 'intentional', but it can be harnessed to being about a more equitable form of globalisation.

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Cet article examine les tendances contradictoires dans la mondialisation et leur impact sur l'internationalisation dans l'Enseignement supérieur. Il démontre que la propagation mondiale rapide de la pandémie de COVID-19, qui a soulevé un des défis les plus impressionnants posés à la mondialisation et à l'internationalisation, a été rendu possible précisément à cause du stade avancé du développement que la mondialisation a atteint. Le confinement et la restriction presque totale de la mobilité internationale, la fermeture des écoles et des universités, et les autres effets et réponses à la pandémie ajoutent aux restrictions d'internationalisation imposées par les régimes conservateurs du nord et du sud. L'article se concentre sur trois problèmes: i) les tendances contradictoires dans la mondialisation ayant un effet sur l'internationalisation; ii) le trumpisme et l'intensification de la mondialisation néolibérale; iii) les réseaux et les institutions dans la promotion de l'internationalisation dans les pays de l'hémisphère sud. Cet article soutient que le trumpisme et le Brexit entraînent une renégociation des conditions d'engagement et des tentatives de repositionnement et réaffirmation de l'hégémonie de certains acteurs dans l'économie mondiale. Cet article maintient que, bien que certains aspects de l'internationalisation dans l'Enseignement supérieur soient devenus difficiles à conserver, elle s'est accentuée d'autres manières et a endossé de nouvelles formes, grâce à l'usage intensif des nouveaux moyens de communication et des nouvelles technologies. L'internationalisation n'a pas toujours été, et ne sera pas toujours « intentionnelle », mais elle peut être maitrisée pour demeurer une forme équitable de mondialisation.

Mots-clés: mondialisation, internationalisation, COVID-19, trumpisme, pays de l'hémisphère sud

It is a paradox that the rapid global spread of the COVID-19 pandemic, that has posed one of the most formidable challenges to globalisation and internationalisation in higher education, was made possible precisely by the advanced stage of development globalisation had reached. The pandemic broke out six months after the conference at which this article was presented as a paper. Little did we know then that the contradictions of globalisation were going to be manifested in such a brutal and direct way. The pandemic brought international travel to an abrupt halt. With the closure of schools and universities and the lockdowns, human mobility and trade in goods and services were seriously restricted both internationally and within countries. At the same time, we witnessed an extraordinary expansion of web-based distance learning. Online courses and international webinars are bringing together people located in places that often stretch across the world. All these developments are shedding new light on the climax of globalisation and the endurance of internationalisation[2].

However, Trumpism combined with the COVID-19 pandemic made matters more complex. The generalisation of distance learning in universities based in the United States (US), which is part of the response to the pandemic, was taken by the Trump administration as a reason to deny US entry visas to foreign students attending those universities. The mobility of students, teachers, and scientific ideas is an important aspect of internationalisation. Thanks to the formidable development of communications technology and the Internet, restrictions on student mobility will not necessarily lead to the closure of academic and intellectual spaces.

While the use of the concept of internationalisation in higher education is relatively recent[3], the notion of engaging in a collective effort involving people of different countries to produce knowledge, and build knowledge commons and a community of scholars is not really new. I illustrate this with a personal note.

This article builds on analysis in an earlier article that a Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa (CODESRIA) colleague, Ibrahim Oanda, and I wrote for the *International Journal of African Higher Education* (IJAHE). It is also based on my experience of working for many years for CODESRIA and TrustAfrica, and on my research. I have been with TrustAfrica, a Pan-African foundation, for just two years. My CODESRIA experience is much longer: executive secretary for eight years (April 2009 to June 2017); and before that Head of Research for five years. I had also been Programme Officer for Academic Freedom for six years. I have thus dealt with internationalisation from very different angles.

CODESRIA was established with a view to transcending disciplinary, language, gender, regional, political and other boundaries that could limit knowledge production and the scientific understanding of our realities and of the world. Those who met in Dakar in 1973 to form CODESRIA as we know it felt that the best way to overcome the extreme fragmentation of African knowledge systems and to secure a place for the continent in the

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2. "The coronavirus (COVID-19) pandemic and resulting lockdowns have affected nearly every sector of the global economy, but some have been upended. One of these is the higher education sector. Students have gone home, staffing has been reduced, and many academics are now working from home. Even as lockdowns ease, campus life will not return to normal. Although domestic applications may remain high, international students will be scarce, while many institutions now intend to do at least some of their teaching online. The long-term implications could be far-reaching. With finances shaken by the crisis, some institutions may no longer be viable, while others will need to rethink their business model entirely." (*Covid-19 and the crisis for Higher Education. A Report by The Economist Intelligence Unit*, 2020; source: https://www.eiu.com/n/campaigns/covid-19-and-the-crisis-for-higher-education/; last accessed: 29/06/2020)

3. See Jane Knight, "Updating the Definition of Internationalization", in *International Higher Education 33*, Fall.

global knowledge community was to ensure that such boundaries do not become epistemological obstacles. Although the social science faculties of African universities and the individual scholars engaged in CODESRIA networks and working groups did not call it 'internationalisation', the CODESRIA project was a very intentional move towards making knowledge production a collective endeavour in Africa; the aim being to produce, from a multiplicity of disciplinary and other perspectives, knowledge that would enhance the freedom and well-being of humanity from where we are; i.e., Africa.

The remainder of this article is divided into three parts:

Part I discusses globalisation today: the contradictory trends (with, on the one hand, what Teferra calls "the climax", but also, on the other, the deepening of globalisation), and the emerging counter-trends[4], all of which are relevant to our discussion on internationalisation.

The second part looks at internationalisation in the context of Trumpism[5], the rise of populist movements, Brexit, etc., but also in the context of what I would call the deepening of neoliberal globalisation; it examines the enduring aspects of internationalisation with respect to the challenges posed by both the climax and the deepening of globalisation.

The third part examines the various ways in which certain institutions and networks of the Global South have been promoting internationalisation within their respective regions, but also across the South. Most of the examples are from Africa[6], but I also discuss the South-South initiatives launched by CODESRIA - the Latin American Council of Social Sciences (CLACSO) and International Development Economics Associates (IDEAS), specifically their collaborative South-South programme, as well as the South-South Sustainability Forum (SSSF), the Global University for Sustainability, and the South-South Think Tanks Forums).

1. Globalisation[7]: The Climax, the Deepening and Enduring Aspects, and Emerging Counter-Trends

On the face of it, never before has neoliberal globalisation seemed to be challenged from within the key centres it has been propelled from for many years (the Global North) as it is now being challenged, mainly by conservative forces. However, we should not forget the 'Occupy' movement in the US, the 'Yellow Vests' movement in France, and the protest movements led by young people across Africa, as well as the older World Social Forums, all of which are/were responses to globalisation from progressive standpoints.

What we are really talking about now is neoliberal globalisation. Global processes occurred for centuries before they took the dominant forms they have now taken, with the formidable development of means of transport and communications, and the contraction of time and space, or rather, the multiplication and juxtaposition of times, spaces, cultures, and spiritualties.

'Trumpism', Brexit, and the spread of narrow nationalisms and fundamentalisms *on all continents* are, in many respects, threats to this dominant form of globalisation.

However, we should perhaps refine our analysis of the evolution of even this dominant form of globalisation and responses to it such as Trumpism. In a think-piece in 2019, Kate Meagher of the London School of Economics argues that:

"We need a clear understanding of the prevailing economic processes at play." I would say the same about the prevailing global political processes. "From my perspective, there are two key processes that require our attention. The first is the shift from deregulation-focused neo-liberalism to 'inclusive neo-liberalism'. Inclusive neo-liberalism refers to the rise of new forms of social engagement, such as cash transfers and social protection, to re-legitimize markets and create new, cheaper forms of labour. The second key process is the rise of financialization. Inclusive liberalism relates to the ways neo-liberalism is reinventing itself to re-legitimize markets, reshape the state, and create new forms of labour. By financialization, I don't mean derivatives and sub-prime mortgages, but the various ways in which sectors and aspects of economic life are being transformed into asset

classes, including the financialization of agriculture, health, water, infrastructure, aid, poverty and labour." [8]

These processes (inclusive neoliberalism and financialisation) are aspects of the deepening of globalisation occurring even with Trumpism and Brexit, including in education and higher education (HE), particularly with the marketisation of these sectors that the Trade in Higher Education Services (TRIPS) and the General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS) have further accelerated (Knight 2002).

Latin America and Africa have been at the receiving end of globalisation since the European Renaissance, with experiences ranging from the conquest of the indigenous peoples of the Americas, slavery, colonialism, neo-colonialism, to forced structural adjustment and economic liberalisation.

Henrique Dussel, and Latin American decolonial scholars such as Anibal Quijano, Walter Mignolo, and Ramon Grosfoguel[9] have argued that the ordering of the peoples of the South began with the emergence of Europe as the new centre of the world, the centre with reference to which history, cultures, languages, religions, politics, and economies, and the dominant values and knowledges of the world were redefined.

However, we know that this is only one side of the story.

Firstly, because history has been decentred, there is a movement to de-centre theory (Comaroff and Comaroff, 2012). There are movements led by Asian, African, Latin American and Arab peoples to decentre politics and reclaim sovereignties and civilizations. These peoples and their diasporas are not only in the geographical South; they are also very present in the West/North with their cultures, music, foods, religions and knowledges, and they have contributed to the shaping of Euro-American lifestyles and knowledges.

"We live in a world of structural heterogeneity" (Beigel, Connel and Oue-draogo, 2017), despite the inequalities.

Globalisation is also about the dominant development and governance models, and it is about the global nature of certain challenges such as

climate change, all of which should make the case for internationalisation of HE even stronger. However, both what we could call the 'climax' of glo-balisation, to borrow Teferra's expression, and its deepening and enduring aspects, pose serious challenges to internationalisation[10].

Even before Brexit, the difficulties faced by foreign students in obtaining student visas to the UK were such that *The Economist* called British foreign policy "unintelligent" given the huge loss of revenue for British universities and, more generally, the British economy that they led to. I would therefore argue that Trumpism, Brexit and the rise of populist and far right move-ments are part of what has been called the 'climax' of globalisation, but they are certainly not the beginning of the contestation of certain aspects of globalisation that pose serious challenges to internationalisation.

Secondly, financialisation and the deepening of neoliberal globalisa-tion have led to the marketisation and extreme fragmentation of the HE and knowledge systems, with certain institutions, types of disciplines and knowledges, often because of their market value, being considered supe-rior to others that are seriously marginalised. Competition for resources and space is ferocious. While almost all universities are managed more and more like businesses, some are behaving very much like private mul-tinational companies – Steve Fuller talks about "academic imperialism". This doesn't help internationalisation. Or rather, it is an aspect of interna-tionalisation that creates problems for the weaker institutions, particularly historically disadvantaged ones in both the North and the South.

2. Internationalisation

As defined by Jane Knight, "*Internationalization at the national, sector, and institutional levels is defined as the process of integrating an international, intercultural, or global dimension into the purpose, functions or delivery of postsecondary education" (Knight 2003)*. In their definition of internation-alisation, De Wit, Hunter, Howard and Egron-Polak, internationalisation of HE present it as an *intentional* process. Internationalisation, according to them is "the intentional process of integrating an international, inter-cultural or global dimension into the purpose, functions and delivery of post-secondary education, in order to enhance the quality of education and research for all students and staff, and to make a meaningful contri-bution to society" (De Wit et al., 2015). The International Association of

8. Meagher, K. (2019). Think-Piece written for the planning meeting of the conference on *Challenging Ortho-doxies in Economic Thinking*, jointly organised by TrustAfrica and the Institute for Economic Justice (University of Witwatersrand, South Africa); Johannesburg, 9-10 May 2019.

9. Dussel, E. (1995). *The Invention of the Americas: Eclipse of "the Other" and the Myth of Modernity.* New York: Continuum; Quijano, A. (2007). Coloniality and modernity/rationality. *Cultural studies* 21(2-3), 168-178; Walter D. Mignolo. (1995). *The Darker Side of The Renaissance: Literacy, Territoriality and Colonization.* Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press; Walter D. Mignolo (2011). *The Darker Side of Western Modernity: Global Futures, Decolonial Options.* Durham and London: Duke University Press; Sabelo Gatsheni-Ndlovu. (2013). *Coloniality of Power in Post-Colonial Africa: Myths of Decolonization.* Dakar: CODESRIA; C. B. Rougier, P. Colin, P. and Ramon Grosfoguel. (2014). *Penser l'envers obscur de la modernité: une anthologie de la pensée décoloniale latino-américaine.* Limoges: Presses Universitaires de Limoges; Samir Amin. (2009). *Eurocentrism: Moder-nity, Religion, and Democracy A Critique of Eurocentrism and Culturalism.* New York: Monthly Review Press. 2nd edition.

10 . With respect to the 'climax' and its negative consequences for internationalisation (restrictions on the mobility of scholars; violations of academic freedom…), see the contributions of Professors De Wit, Varghese and others in this issue of the IJAHE.

Universities (IAU) has adopted this definition.[11] I return to the issue of the 'intentional' nature of internationalisation.

Africa is home to some of the oldest universities in the world; indeed, the very oldest, the University of al-Qarawiyyin in Fez, Morocco, was founded by Fatima al-Fihri, a woman, in 859, followed by the Al-Azhar University in Cairo founded in 970 or 972.

African intellectuals were mobile, moving from one centre of learning to another. Fez in Morocco, Alexandria and Cairo in Egypt, Kairouan in Tunisia, Timbuktu in Mali, and Pir in Senegal are among the cities and towns that were known as centres where great intellectuals converged, (Kane, 2016). Timbuktu was where Sankore and other universities were based, to which intellectuals came from many other parts of the continent and the Arab World to study (Jeppie and Diagne, 2008; Kane, 2016).

The introduction of the modern university led to a major shift. Old universities and non-Europhone intellectuals and knowledges were devalued and side-lined in favour of the modern university that was modelled on European universities. That university was and still is Eurocentrist (Western-centrist), and remains the dominant HE model institution. What the 2010 *World Social Science Report* calls "knowledge divides" are many. These divides are closely linked to inequalities within the global HE and knowledge systems, which are themselves mirror images of the dominant world order.

Efforts continue to re-member (re-assemble) and build unified, equitable and inclusive scholarly communities and knowledge systems at the global level, and within our respective regions.

The pursuit of what the Declaration of the African HE Summit of 2015 called "**mutually-beneficial internationalization initiatives**"[12] should also be about bridging the knowledge divides, and the opening of spaces for all knowledges, the ultimate aim being to comprehend and respond to global challenges and build a better world, "**leaving nobody behind**" (to borrow the

formulation of the United Nations' September 2015 Summit that adopted the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs)).

Thus, while we do "live in a world of structural heterogeneity", inequality is embedded in the internationalisation that is occurring, with the rankings being just one example.

Altbach and De Wit (2018) provide an excellent analysis of the major issues relating to the advent of Trumpism, Brexit and, more generally the emergence of trends that seem to go against the tide of globalisation, as well as what could be seen as grounds for continued optimism about the future of internationalisation. They argue that with Trumpism,

> "The global landscape for higher education internationalisation is changing dramatically. What one might call 'the era of higher education internationalisation' over the past 25 years (1990–2015) that has characterised university thinking and action might either be finished or, at least, be on life support.
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> The unlimited growth of internationalisation of all kinds – including massive global student mobility, the expansion of branch campuses, franchised and joint degrees, the use of English as a language for teaching and research worldwide and many other elements – appears to have come to a rather abrupt end, especially in Europe and North America (…)"

They add that, with "Trumpism, Brexit and the rise of nationalist and anti-immigrant politics in Europe", the landscape of global HE is changing. "We are seeing a fundamental shift in higher education internationalisation that will mean rethinking the entire international project of universities worldwide" (Altbach et al., 2018).

One can also talk about the rise of narrow nationalist-populist movements in reaction to the dominant form of globalisation, which is neoliberal. The spread of these movements poses serious challenges to the internationalisation of HE. Orban's closing of the Central European University is a good example.

> "The major European mobility and collaboration scheme, Erasmus+, remains firmly in place – and might even receive additional funding. The ASEAN – Association of Southeast Asian Nations – region is moving in similar directions as the European Union in promoting harmonisation of its academic structures, improving quality assurance and increasing regional mobility and collaboration in its higher education sector.
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> 'Internationalisation at home' and comprehensive internationalisation have entered the vocabulary of higher education around the world" (Altbach et al., 2018).

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11. "Over the years, the concept of internationalization has evolved and different definitions exist, IAU adopts the following: '[Internationalization of Higher Education is] the intentional process of integrating an international, intercultural or global dimension into the purpose, functions and delivery of post-secondary education, in order to enhance the quality of education and research for all students and staff, and to make a meaningful contribution to society.' *(De Wit, H., Hunter F., Howard L., Egron-Polak E. (Eds.) (2015)* "Internationalization of Higher Education", European Parliament, Brussels: EU). This recently refined definition emphasizes the fact that **internationalization** is an **intentional process**, not a passive experience. It underscores that internationalization is not a goal in itself, but a means of enhancing quality and excellence of higher education and research. In addition, the definition notes that internationalization needs to serve societal needs, rather than focusing solely on economic rationales and returns. Although globalization affects all institutions, HEIs experience different pressures; they exist in different contexts, and have different needs. Therefore, **there is no "one size fits all" model or approach for internationalization**, rather, each **HEI must find its own way of internationalizing**. At the same time, all HEIs can **benefit from the best thinking and good practice** from other institutions around the world." https://www.iau-aiu.net/Internationalization?lang=en

12. The full text of the Declaration and Action Plan of the 2015 African Higher Education Summit can be found at: http://www.trustafrica.org/images/Executive%20SummaryFINAL.pdf

Other less spectacular, but perhaps equally problematic developments include the introduction of higher fees for foreign, non-European students in France and Norway – something that the UK and Australia did several decades ago.

In Norway, conservative politicians' reactions to the high and growing number of foreigners among lecturers in Norwegian universities provoked an interesting debate on the value of internationalisation.[13]

What we often overlook is the fact that in several African countries, students from other African countries pay much higher fees; Nigeria, and Ghana are just two examples. The justification, in some cases, is to use the revenue to subsidise the education of national students. This is a challenge to student mobility within the continent, and an illustration of the challenges posed by the non-existence of an African HE space.

While many African countries now issue visas upon arrival, some countries are making it so difficult for people, including scholars, to obtain visas that one now thinks many times before deciding to hold an international conference in those countries if the idea is to invite other Africans.

One should also consider other kinds of threats to internationalisation from within Africa and the Global South, particularly terrorism and fundamentalism. The rise of fundamentalism in Algeria in the late 1980s and early 1990s led to the killing and exile of many intellectuals[14]. Rebel movements have been raiding university campuses since the Sierra Leonean civil war, if not before. On 3 April 2015, four Al-Shabab jihadists entered Garissa University College campus in Kenya and opened fire, killing 148 people. The capture of the 200 Chibok schoolgirls of Nigeria by Boko Haram is still fresh in our memories and illustrates the extreme nature of some of the threats to internationalisation. Many years earlier, the Taliban of Afghanistan showed the same kind of hostility to girls' education.

Of course, these are not only threats to globalisation and internationalisation, but to human civilisation, if I may put it that way. Some also argue that these movements were in some respects consequences of globalisation.

It is important to view these developments within the HE field in the context of the more general restriction of human mobility between continents. This is very true of South-North, but also of South-South mobility. Legal migration to the North is becoming almost impossible for many people, because it is more and more selective. The Trump administration's ban on citizens of certain countries entering the territory of the US is another good illustration of the challenges to internationalisation posed by

Trumpism. Lockdowns and the more or less prolonged closure of schools and universities almost all over the world following the spread of COVID-19 have made mobility for academic or scholarly purposes impossible.

On the other hand, there is the extraordinary dynamism and creativity in internationalisation. This is partly due to the rapid development of new information and communications technologies that have led to the diversification of institutional types (virtual universities, 'traditional' universities setting up satellite campuses in other countries, etc.); diversification of delivery modes and knowledge modes (remember the debates on Modes I and II knowledges?); and the formidable explosion of Massive Open Online Courses (MOOCs), etc. There is also a proliferation of universities calling themselves 'international' universities. The United States International University ((USIU) in Kenya is just one; there are many others in Africa. This is also where internationalisation has been thriving, particularly with the COVID-19 pandemic.

The questions that have often been posed are:

- What has been driving these developments (economic liberalisation – the structural adjustment programmes of the 1980s and 1990s; the GATS and TRIPS[15]; the commodification of knowledge and the marketisation of HE and the social sciences;[16] technological developments)?

- How do they impact on internationalisation?

- What are the implications for the institutions of the South, and how have the HE institutions, governments and regional organisations of the South, particularly those of Africa responded to these developments?

I would argue that, all these developments are part of neoliberal globalisation. In the face of them, are Trumpism and other forms of narrow nationalism that are championed by conservative governments in Brazil and India capable of stopping internationalisation? While they are certainly major obstacles, it is yet to be proven whether they are capable of really doing so. It seems to me that Trumpism and Brexit represent re-negotiation of the terms of engagement and attempts to reposition and re-assert certain players' hegemony in the global economy.

For the universities of Africa, one of the questions is how to avoid being locked into new forms of dependency. For instance, MOOCs are a formidable global resource, but will African universities be mere users or eternal 'consumers' of MOOCs produced elsewhere, after all the struggles to Africanise these universities and their curricula?

13. See Jan Petter Myklebust, "Norway: Debate over foreign researcher numbers, quota proposal", in UWN, 11 August 2017. https://www.universityworldnews.com/post.php?story=20170808151805217 (accessed 13 August 2017.
14. See Ali El Kenz's article in CODESRIA Bulletin, Issue No 2/1995.

15. See Jane Knight's work on TRIPS and GATS (Knight, 2002).
16. See Michael Burawoy's articles on the marketisation of the social sciences, and Paul Tiyambe Zeleza on the 'four Cs'—Commodification, commercialisation, corporatisation…

A Word on Language

The language of education and research is also set to become an important issue, particularly the questioning of the use of English:

> "In the Netherlands, arguably one of the most internationally minded countries in the world, an intense debate about the limits of internationalisation has started, in the media, in politics and in the higher education sector itself. In other countries, including Germany and Denmark, there is also debate about the negative impact of English on the quality of teaching. In Italy, an intense fight at the Polytechnic University of Milan about the use of English in graduate education resulted in a recent court ruling that might limit the use of English in Italian higher education drastically on constitutional grounds. Social scientists in many countries are expressing concern that the demands for publishing in English international academic journals are making it difficult for them to stay active in their national discourse. English will remain the predominant language of scientific communication and scholarship, but its dominance may be reaching a ceiling" (Altbach and De Wit, op. cit).

We should remember that for Africa the introduction of European languages was done in ways that led to a kind of linguicide, or the killing of African languages. Decolonial scholars (Anibal Quijiano, Walter Mignolo, Ramos Grosfoguel, Sabelo Gathsheni Ndlovu, and Boanevtura de Souza Santos[17]...) have been raising this issue for a long time. The struggle has therefore been to rehabilitate and bring African languages into schools and higher education institutions (HEIs), and with the languages, indigenous and local knowledges. This is part of the attempt to reclaim and reassert African identities and sovereignties, even as the English language continues to be highly valued.

III. Enduring Internationalisation: African and Southern Examples

"Knowledge remains international (...). Five million students still study outside their home countries" (Altbach et al., 2018).

As noted above, Africa has an age-old tradition of mobility of students and scholars. The desire to transcend disciplinary, linguistic, national, gender and regional boundaries, overcome obstacles and create epistemic communities was from the start a defining feature of Pan-African research councils like CODESRIA.

There have therefore been phases in the internationalisation of HE and research in Africa:

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17. See footnote 7; also see Santos, B. de Sousa (2014). *Epistemologies of the South. Justice Against Epistemicide.* Boulder: Paradigm Publishers.

- The international movement of scholars that pre-dates the European Renaissance and colonisation.[18]

- The European Renaissance, the European Enlightenment, colonialism and the introduction of the modern university and the social sciences led to the birth of new institutions. A good example is Dakar University which was, until 1971, the 18th University of France; hence the outward orientation of the new institutions, and their strong links to the North. The 'modern university' displaced or overshadowed the old institutions of higher learning that predated it in Africa.

- With independence, breaking the colonial linkages, and Africanising institutions and the curricula became the major preoccupations for many African countries. With Africanisation, intra-African student mobility led to the emergence of poles of attraction (certain countries, within which certain institutions became centres towards which students and scholars gravitated); they include Egypt, Morocco, Senegal (Dakar), Ghana, Uganda (Makerere), Tanzania (Dar es Salam), Nigeria (Ibadan and other Nigerian universities), Fourah Bay in Sierra Leone; Mauritius and Kenya (Nairobi). Post-apartheid South Africa has also become a major attraction point (following the active boycott of South African universities during the years of apartheid).

- Over the past 25 years, CODESRIA has been actively collaborating with South African institutions, including the Human Sciences Research Council, *National Institute for the Humanities and Social Sciences*, Council on Higher Education, University of South Africa, University of Cape Town and University of KwaZulu-Natal. The CODESRIA Small Grants for Thesis Writing Programme launched in 1988 has benefitted thousands of MA and doctoral students across the continent. The CODESRIA-NIHSS "African Pathways for PhD Development" – a recommendation of the Charter for Humanities and Social Sciences developed for the South African Ministry of HE – has helped to bring more than 100 African doctoral students to South African universities during the first five years of the NIHSS. The experience of the South Africa Netherlands research Programme on Alternatives in Development (SANPAD) is also worth mentioning. CODESRIA, OSSREA, the Association of African Universities, the African Academy of Sciences, the Association of African Women for Research and Development (AAWORD), and other institutions did much to create a community of African scholars, with links to the diaspora, including summer institutes, national working groups, comparative

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18. Shamil Jeppie, and Souleymane Bachir Diagne. (2008). *The Meanings of Timbuktu.* Pretoria and Dakar: HSRC Press & CODESRIA; Ousmane Oumar Kane. (2016). *Beyond Timbuktu. An Intellectual History of Muslim West Africa.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

research networks, multinational working groups, Deans' conferences, and the launch of bilingual scholarly journals which increased the number of publishing outlets while increasing the possibilities for mutual engagement and debates across the English-French language divide; the Africa Review of Books; open access policy; and the African Citation Index.

- More recent developments include attempts to transform what was for a long time seen as a problem, the 'brain drain', into something positive: 'brain gain'/'brain circulation' by organising the movement and engagement of the academic diaspora with African universities. Examples include the Carnegie African Diaspora Fellows and CODESRIA's African Diaspora Support to African Universities programme that includes intra-African diaspora.

- Think tanks forums (China-Africa, Brazil-Africa, Turkey-Africa, India-Africa).

As noted by Professor Varghese in a HEFAALA Master Class in 2019, inter-university collaboration is a major form of internationalisation. Examples include the issuance of joint degrees by several universities, and South-South and triangular (South-North-South) collaborations.

It can be argued that as far as South-South scholarly relations are concerned, the major regional research councils and networks of the South (particularly CODESRIA and the Latin American Council of Social Sciences (CLACSO)) have tried to keep the 'Bandung Spirit' alive. The need to first challenge modernisation theory, and later the global knowledge divides and project Southern voices on the global stage motivated progressive Latin American, African, Asian and Euro-American scholars to draw inspiration and learn from one another's experiences, and build close collaborations:

- Raoul Prebisch and the United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America (UNECLA)'s challenge to modernisation theory inspired scholars across the South;

- CODESRIA, in its current form, was partly inspired by the formation of CLACSO, whose inaugural assembly was attended by Samir Amin and other scholars from Africa and Asia;

- CODESRIA, CLACSO and the Asian Political and International Studies Association (APISA, later replaced by IDEAs) developed a joint South-South programme that organised summer institutes (30 students, ten from each continent, hosted in a different continent each year); research workshops; joint publications and awarded advanced research grants. They then began planning the development of a South-South University. About five years ago, a group of scholars from the North and the South formed what they call a 'Global University for Sustainability', a kind of knowledge commons.

- Other South-South exchanges of scholars include the South-South Exchanges on the Histories of Development (SEPHIS), whose secretariat was in Amsterdam, but had centres in every region: CODESRIA, Dakar for Africa; Salvador de Bahia in Brazil; etc. Activities included visiting lecturers, where prominent scholars from one continent of the South presented several lectures in the other continents of the South; and research methodology workshops. This programme was unfortunately cut short due to funding problems (the main funder, The Netherlands government, decided to withdraw after having supported it for many years).

- An Asian Studies Network has now been formed in Africa.

All these are more or less independent initiatives of institutions and scholars of the South, reaching out to one another. There are also many South-South academic exchanges and scholarly cooperation initiated or supported by governments and inter-governmental organisations. These are very diverse in terms of the form they take, and the issues and disciplines covered, etc. India, China, Malaysia, Brazil and South Africa host many foreign students from other regions of the South. In 2010, a China-Africa Research and Academic Exchange Programme was launched by the Chinese government in Beijing during the first edition of the China-Africa Think Tanks Forum, and the Chinese government announced its intention to provide massive support for academic exchanges between Africa and China. With the launching of Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa (BRICS) alliance, a BRICS Think Tanks Forum was also launched.

Within the African continent, perhaps the most important inter-governmental initiative is the creation of the Pan-African University, with sub-regional hubs specialising in different fields, and the adoption of the Continental Education Strategy for Africa (CESA) 2016-2025.

Concluding Remarks

Both the 'climax' and the deepening of neoliberal globalisation have had impacts on internationalisation that are not entirely positive. Internationalisation in HE should also be subjected to critical analysis given that, as Teferra has rightly argued, in Africa, it was partly forced and given the knowledge divides (World Social Science Report, 2010) and the inequalities and power dynamics that exist within the world of HE. While internationalisation has not always been, and will not always be 'intentional' because

it is, in some respects, a site of struggle, Africa as a region, and individual African institutions and countries can make strategic choices.

I would therefore argue that the internationalisation we should promote is one that can contribute to the building of a much more open, inclusive and equitable global HE space in which the South is not just at the receiving end, but is also an effective, legitimate and recognised contributor. Internationalisation ought to promote universal values and help to address the challenges facing our planet so that all its inhabitants (humans, flora and fauna) feel secure and acknowledged, and are able to live in harmony.

For Africa, internationalisation should be transformative; our universities have critical roles to play in the structural transformation of African economies as well as in the re-negotiation of the continent's position in the global epistemological, economic and governance orders. The starting point is the creation of an African HE space. This was the subject of the CODESRIA Conference of Deans of Humanities and Social Science Faculties held in Rabat, Morocco in December 2011. It was also the subject of the African HE Summit of 2015: *Revitalizing African HE for Development*. The Dakar Declaration of the 2015 African Higher Education Summit and CESA 2016-2025 are important milestones in the journey to build an African HE space. Individual HEIs, countries and sub-regions should position themselves in these dynamics at the regional and global levels. Hopefully, the Pan-African University will play a key role in the whole process.

We also need to see internationalisation as part of the effort to bring about a more equitable form of globalisation which, I believe, is what the SDGs are also about. Thus, Africa should envision internationalisation as part of what will make Agenda 2063 a reality.

This also means that HE should be an important contributor to what can make the Continental Free Trade Area a reality. That does not seem to be the case at the moment, but the Free Trade Area will be missing something important if HE is divorced from it.

For Africa, internationalisation should also be forward looking: how are our universities and other HEIs preparing the current and future generations of Africans to face emerging challenges, including i) the demographic explosion we are moving towards (the population of the continent will be more than two billion by 2050) and all that it implies in terms of social and physical infrastructure development, job creation, urban development, governance and so on; ii) global environmental challenges; iii) the Fourth Industrial Revolution; and other significant challenges.

The COVID-19 pandemic has been hugely disruptive for HE and internationalisation. However, it has also revealed the enduring nature of internationalisation and created new opportunities for the development of new delivery modes in HE[19].

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19. "On a positive note, this threat – and the approaches to overcome it – may be catalytic for long-lasting changes in African higher education. Among others, diversified means of educational delivery, in particular a non-residential model, may become more mainstream, more acceptable and more respectable" (Tamrat and Teferra, 2020).

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