

The Drive and Nature of Internationalisation of Higher Education in Zambia

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Abstract

While internationalisation of higher education is a topical issue in global scholarship, it attracts limited scholarly attention in the Zambian context. This article engages with the drive and nature of internationalisation of higher education in Zambia. Informed by a descriptive multi-site case study of six higher education institutions (public and private) in which data were collected through document analysis, interviews and questionnaires, the article shows that internationalisation was largely motivated by economic, academic, and social and cultural factors. While limited and constrained, it was characterised by student and staff mobility, teaching and learning resources, and research and collaboration, with the context of Zambian higher education shaping the motives for and nature of internationalisation. The article also argues that limited funding had implications for the internationalisation of higher education in Zambia.

Key words: Internationalisation, higher education, nature, motive, Zambia

Tandis que l'internationalisation de l'Enseignement supérieur est un thème actuel dans l'offre mondiale des bourses d'études, elle attire une attention académique limitée dans le contexte zambien. Cet article s'intéresse au moteur de et à la nature de l'internationalisation de l'Enseignement supérieur en Zambie. Se fondant sur une étude de cas descriptive multi-sites de six institutions (publiques et privées) d'Enseignement supérieur - les données ayant été collectées à travers des analyses de documents, des entretiens et des questionnaires - l'article montre que l'internationalisation a été gran-

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dement motivée par des facteurs largement économiques, académiques et sociaux-culturels. Bien que limitée et contrainte, elle a été caractérisée par la mobilité étudiante et du personnel, les ressources d'enseignement et d'apprentissage, et la collaboration et la recherche, avec le contexte de l'Enseignement supérieur zambien forgeant les motivations pour et la nature même de l'internationalisation. L'article maintient également que l'insuffisance des fonds avait des conséquences pour l'Enseignement supérieur en Zambie.

Mots clés: internationalisation, Enseignement supérieur, nature, motivation, Zambie

Introduction

Internationalisation of higher education (HE) is a topical issue in global scholarship on HE. However, there is a paucity of critical analyses of internationalisation of HE at different levels in Zambia. This is because Zambian scholarship on HE has generally been preoccupied with financing (Seshamani and Shalumba, 2011, Menon, 2012; Masaiti and Shen, 2013) and current provision (Masaiti and Simuyaba, 2018, Mkandawire and Ilon, 2019, Mwale and Simuchimba, 2019). Internationalisation related studies have also focused on the establishment of Confucius Institutes by the Chinese government in some African universities. For example, Krage-lund and Hampwaye (2015) focused on the newly established Confucius Institute at the flagship university, the University of Zambia. Internationalisation of HE has also been covered as one of the trends in this sector in the country. For example, Masaiti and Mwale (2017) list internationalisation as one of the achievements of the University of Zambia without accounting for its motives and benefits at institutional level.

It is against this background that this article examines the drive and nature of internationalisation of HE in Zambia. The study on which it is based addressed three research questions: (i) What is the nature of internationalisation of HE in the selected institutions in Zambia? (ii) What are the reasons for internationalisation at university level? and (iii) What are the perceived benefits of internationalisation in the Zambian context? The article argues that limited financing of the sector had implications for the internationalisation of HE in the country.

The article commences by briefly sketching the global and African context of internationalisation of HE, as well as the Zambian HE context. This is followed by a discussion on the methodological approaches employed and the study's main findings.

Internationalisation of Higher Education in the Global and African Context

This inquiry is situated in the global growing trend of internationalisation of HE. In the past two decades, universities across the world have recorded rapid growth in activities between countries and continents, accompanied by student and staff mobility in cross-border HE (Knight, 1999; Alemu, 2014; Teferra and Altbach, 2004; Teferra, 2014; de Wit, 2002, 2006; Hunter and de Wit, 2016; Jibeen and Khan, 2015).

Studies have focused on the framework of HE, enhancement of its scope, scale and importance, and transformation of its world, as well as the manner in which relationships between countries have been reshaped (Alemu, 2014). Conceptually, global scholarship has engaged in debate on the concept of internationalisation, with terms such as transnational education, borderless education, offshore education, and cross-border education being associated with this phenomenon. In general, internationalisation has been regarded as a process of integrating an international, intercultural or global dimension into the purpose, functions and delivery of postsecondary education (Knight, 2003, 2004, 2005).

In developing countries, internationalisation of HE is associated with their role in knowledge production and distribution (Knight, 2004). More powerful universities play a central role and are suppliers of knowledge, whereas weaker institutions and systems with fewer resources and lower academic standards occupy a peripheral position and are consumers (Knight 2004, 2007; Alemu, 2014). There are also disproportionate mobility flows resulting in a brain drain from the South, and the infiltration of policies, systems and models into the South (Enders, 2007; Krstic, 2012). Thus, internationalisation has further marginalised developing and emerging regions, not by participation but by omission (Teferra, 2014). In the case of Zambia, despite various attempts to enhance the benefits of internationalisation, it appears that the country's HE system remains peripheral, with disproportionate and unequal relationships.

Internationalisation is also characterised by bilateral collaboration, imported policies and models and student mobility which are driven by international agents, aid providers and institutions. Such collaborations are closely linked to aid, which is laden with conditionalities and has a strong impact on national policies and systems, as well as on academics (Teferra and Greljn, 2010). As Knight (2013, p. 5) observes, "the original goal of internationalisation to help students from developing countries to complete a degree in another country and then return home to contribute to national development is fading fast as nations compete in the 21st century brain race". Given that most students and academics who travel abroad for education never return home, internationalisation is perceived as a new mode of imperialism (Sichone, 2006, Teichler, 2004, Knight, 2013).

Internationalisation is influenced by the HE environment. The challenges confronting African HE thus have a bearing on universities' participation in this process. These include a shortage of faculty and poor faculty development; poor and unstable governance, leadership and management; problems relating to quality and relevance; weak research and innovation capacity and facilities; financial austerity and the inability to diversify funding resources; poor physical facilities and infrastructure; and low levels of access and equity (Sy Habib, 2003; Teferra and Altbach, 2004; Sawyerr, 2004; Teichler, 2004; Knight, 2013). Teferra and Greljn (2010) observe that, given its poorly developed knowledge systems, Africa confronts globalisation not from a position of strength, but from one enmeshed in weaknesses that have arisen from the confluence of historical, economic, educational, financial and paradigmatic factors.

The benefits and risks of internationalisation of HE have also been subject to debate. Knight (2007) notes that these vary in developed and developing countries. The benefits include opening up new opportunities, more internationally oriented staff and students, improved academic quality, national and international citizenship, revenue generation, and brain gain (Knight, 2007; Zeleza, 2012; Otieno et al., 2013). Magagula (2005) notes that internationalisation enables nationals to access HE in other countries, especially when local institutions have not kept up with demand. Other benefits include cultural and political alliances between and among countries with different cultural and political orientation; improved curricula and income generation (Kayanja, 2004; Magagula, 2005; Knight, 2007).

The main risks of internationalisation of HE are commercialisation and commodification of education programmes, brain drain, loss of cultural or national identity, downgrading of the quality of HE and homogenisation of curricula (Bleiklie, 2005; Knight, 2007; Zeleza, 2012). It has been noted that internationalisation reinforces and reproduces inequalities in HE and raises questions about quality control and the transferability and recognition of qualifications (Magagula, 2005; Zeleza, 2012).

The Higher Education Context in Zambia

The HE landscape in Zambia has undergone a process of transformation, particularly since the adoption of the liberalisation policies of the 1990s. Following the 1996 national policy document, *Educating our Future*, private provision of HE was encouraged and the sector is now home to both public and private institutions. As at 2017, the country had 68 universities of which seven were public and 61 were private, and 304 Technical Education, Vocational and Entrepreneurship Training (TEVET) Colleges, 25 of which were public and 279 were private (Higher Education Authority, 2017).

Higher education is also guided by other policy documents such as Vision 2030 (2006-2030), Zambia's long-term plan to become a prosperous middle-income country by 2030 (GRZ, 2006:33). The Higher Education Act (Act No. 4 of 2013, previously the University Act of 1999) established the Higher Education Authority (HEA) that regulates university education. Other regulatory bodies include the Technical Education, Vocational and Entrepreneurship Training Authority (TEVETA) and the Zambia Qualifications Authority (ZAQA).

The major challenges confronting Zambian HE are improving educational and learner support; design, testing and implementation of new curricula and academic programmes; recruitment, retention, motivation and development of well-trained faculty; increasing access to disadvantaged students and conducting both basic and applied research (Nkanza, 2019). Masaiti and Simuyaba (2018) note that most public universities confront a multitude of challenges including financial austerity; accessibility; faculty recruitment and retention; massification; a lack of true autonomy; and ageing facilities. Research funding is also insufficient to sustain basic and innovative research (Masaiti and Mwale, 2017). All these challenges have implications for internationalisation of HE.

Internationalisation of this sector is as old as the country's HE system. Introduced in the 1960s, Zambian HE was modelled on the coloniser's system. Sehoole (2006) asserts that internationalisation involved exporting HE systems to colonies, and later independent states. This was also evident in the dissemination of research, individual mobility of scholars and students and the language of instruction. Designed to meet demand for human resources at independence, HE in Zambia had international dimensions in both its origins and development.

In the contemporary Zambian context, new trends have emerged in the internationalisation of HE. These include international collaboration between scholars; joint programmes; distance learning; eLearning and online programmes; exchange programmes and recruitment of international staff. For example, in a quest to foster international cultural exchange, the University of Zambia hosts the Confucius Institute (UNZA, 2018). This has prompted debate on how the institute impacts the university's independence in determining (and funding) its own vision and strategy (Kragelund and Hampway, 2015) and new forms of cultural indoctrination (Sishuwa, 2019).

Methodological Approaches and Design

Our analytical lens is anchored on the conceptual categories of internationalisation of HE and its drivers. We take the view that internationalisation includes two key aspects, namely, internationalisation abroad and at home.

Internationalisation abroad relates to all forms of education across borders, while internationalisation at home is related to the integration of global perspectives, especially in the curriculum.

In terms of the drivers of internationalisation, the article is informed by the four broad categories of rationales identified by scholars like Knight (2004), McClellan (2008) and De Wit and Hunter (2018), among others. These categories, which vary from country to country, include academic, economic, social and cultural, and political factors. It should be noted that these broader rationales also include national and institutional rationales that shape how academic, political, economic and social and cultural rationales influence internationalisation.

Methodologically, the article draws on a descriptive multi-site case study that involved six HE institutions, both public and private. This enabled in-depth understanding of internationalisation. The six institutions were selected based on their institutional size (Cohen et al., 2007) that was deemed significant for understanding the nature of internationalisation in Zambian HE. They included *Institution A*, the country's largest flagship university; *Institution B*, the second largest public university; *Institution C*, a successful self-financing institution involving a public-private partnership; *Institution D*, a largest private university with an international mandate; *Institution E*, a self-sustaining private institution mainly offering Business and Accountancy courses; and *Institution F*, a vibrant private university. The use of six institutions was not for purposes of comparison but rather to enable in-depth understanding of the motives for and nature of internationalisation in Zambian HE. The study covered the five-year period from 2015 to 2019.

The main data collection methods were document review of institutional policies, reports, adverts, newsletters and other related documents, and interviews and questionnaires administered to administrators of the six institutions. While the qualitative data from the interviews were thematically analysed, the quantitative data were analysed inductively and deductively in relation to the analytical lens on the approaches and drivers of internationalisation.

Findings

The findings are presented using the three thematic areas, namely, the nature of internationalisation, the reasons for internationalisation and its perceived benefits in Zambia.

The Nature of Internationalisation in Higher Education in Zambia

The study found that the nature of internationalisation of HE in Zambia was aligned to the recruitment of international students and staff and

joint programmes; publications; research; collaboration in international research projects; provision of facilities for international students; distance learning, e-learning programmes/ massive open online courses; campuses abroad; integration of refugees; international students' participation in social and cultural life; work or study places and volunteering; and student and staff exchange programmes.

Recruitment of Staff and Students and Joint Programmes

The findings in Table 1 show that all six institutions had international staff and students and five had joint programmes.

Publications, Collaboration, Research with International Partners, Facilities for International Students

The findings in Table 2 reveal that all six institutions had joint publications, research, and international collaborations, with the public universities reporting more publications and collaborative research.

Table 1. Recruitment of International Students and Staff and Joint Programmes, 2015-2019

Name of Institution	Current Total Number of Students	Current Total Number of Staff	No. of International Students	No. of International Staff	Country of Origin	Joint Programmes
Institution A	24,843	900	800	89	Namibia, South Africa, Cameroon, Congo, Malawi, Tanzania, Kenya, Botswana, Burundi, Congo, India, Somalia, Zimbabwe, Japan	2 active joint programmes: With Zimbabwe Open University 2+2 Zambia – China Degree programmes
Institution B	14,000	400	500	60	Angola, Congo, South Africa, Zimbabwe, Malawi	3 joint programmes under the school of Engineering with other international institutions
Institution C	6,000	100	800	20	South Africa, Zimbabwe, Namibia, Malawi, Tanzania	Nil
Institution D	7,000	178	1,500	24	South Africa, Malawi, Zimbabwe, Tanzania, Namibia, Uganda, Kenya	2 collaborations University of KwaZulu-Natal and Macro Economic Financial Management Institute of Eastern and Southern Africa (MEFMI)
Institution E	2,800	100	250	5	Angola, Congo, South Africa, Zimbabwe, India, Namibia	3 joint programmes in collaboration with University of Greenwich, University of London and Athlone Institute of Technology
Institution F	5,500	125	500	10	Kenya, Zimbabwe, Namibia, Angola, Malawi, Botswana, South Africa and Tanzania	Joint programmes in collaboration with University of Sunderland (B.A Business and Management)

Table 2. Publications, Collaboration, Research with International Partners, Facilities for International Students, 2015-2019

Name of Institution	Number of Publications with International partners	Collaborating Countries and Organisations	Participation in International Research Projects	Facilities for International Students
Institution A	220	200 collaborations (Kenya, South Africa, Botswana, Tanzania, Namibia, Zimbabwe, Japan)	Kenya, South Africa, Botswana, Tanzania, Namibia, Zimbabwe, Japan, Egypt, Ghana etc.	Provision of accommodation Airport pickups Identification of good boarding houses
Institution B	146	125 collaborations (Kenya, South Africa, Botswana, Tanzania, Namibia, Zimbabwe, Japan)	15 international conferences	Provision of standard accommodation Developing eLearning platforms
Institution C	45	20 collaborations (Kenya, South Africa, Botswana, Namibia, Zimbabwe)	5 international conferences	Provides separate standard accommodation Introducing the Moodle platform
Institution D	36	More than 10 collaborations (Zimbabwe, Kenya, South Africa)	5 international conferences	Construction of hostels Creating more study and learning space for international students
Institution E	58	50 collaborations (Namibia, South Africa, Kenya, Tanzania)	10 international conferences	Introduced the Moodle eLearning platform
Institution F	22	More than 25 collaborations (Nigeria, Kenya, Malawi, Namibia, Zimbabwe)	40 conferences	Provision of standard accommodation to international students

Distance, E-Learning Programmes /Open Online Courses, Campuses Abroad and Integration of Refugees

Table 3 illustrates that all the institutions had embraced digital modes to deliver their programmes in order to broaden access and that the two public universities and one private university had integrated refugees. However, only one private institution had campuses abroad.

Table 3. Distance, E-Learning Programmes/Open Online Courses, Campuses Abroad and Integration of Refugees, 2015-2019

Name of Institution	Distance, eLearning Programmes and Massive Open Online Courses	Establishment of Branch Centres and Campuses Abroad	Integration of Refugees
Institution A	Has over 30 distance and eLearning programmes	Nil	Integrated refugees from Rwanda, Burundi, Angola and Congo
Institution B	Has over 15 distance and eLearning programmes	Nil	Integrated refugees from Congo, Rwanda and Angola
Institution C	Has over 30 distance and eLearning programmes	Nil	No refugees integrated
Institution D	Has over 20 programmes	Nil	No refugees integrated
Institution E	Has over 20 programmes	Nil	No refugees integrated
Institution F	Has over 5 distance and online programmes	Has 10 branch centres and campuses (Nigeria, Kenya, Zimbabwe, Malawi, Namibia)	Has been integrating refugees from Angola

International Students' Participation in Social and Cultural Life, Work or Study Places/ Opportunities for International Volunteering and Student and Staff Exchange Programmes

As shown in Table 4 below, all six institutions facilitated international students' participation in social and cultural life, while only the two public universities had embraced internationalisation modalities that allowed for student and staff exchange.

Table 4. International Students' Participation Social and Cultural Life, Work or Study Places/ Opportunities for International Volunteering and Student and Staff Exchange Programmes

Name of Institution	Encouraging International Students to Participate in the Social and Cultural Life of the University	Work or Study Places/ Opportunities for International Volunteering	Student and Staff Exchange Programmes
Institution A	Visits to cultural places and traditional ceremonies. Promoting cultural dress and performance Encouraging international students to participate in social and cultural days and sports day	Has 2 work or study places/opportunities for international volunteering in partnership with Hiroshima University and Inland University	Received 350 international students from Finland, Japan, Czech Republic, Norway, Sweden, China, Kenya and other countries
Institution B	Encourage students to participate in various sporting activities Encourage students to participate in cultural activities on Cultural Day	Has 3 work or study place/opportunities for international volunteering programmes under the school of Engineering	Received over 150 international students from Finland, Japan, Czech Republic, South Africa, Tanzania, Norway, Sweden, China, Kenya and other countries
Institution C	Encourage students to participate in various sporting activities Embark on cultural visits	Nil	Nil
Institution D	Encourage students to participate in various sporting activities	Nil	Nil
Institution E	Encourage students to participate in various sporting activities	Nil	Nil
Institution F	Encourage students to participate in various sporting activities	Nil	Nil

Reasons for Internationalisation of Higher Education in Zambia

The findings further revealed that the reasons for internationalisation were diverse and centred on adapting to local and global cultural diversity, academic ranking, broadening knowledge and knowledge transfer. The results are presented in Table 5 below.

Table 5. Reasons for Internationalising Higher Education in Zambia

Reasons for Internationalisation
To increase the ranking of the institution
To encourage broadening of knowledge
To promote knowledge transfer among researchers
To enhance and promote brand marketing
To expand the number of international students and staff
Earn higher margins and profits
To promote cultural assimilation, diversity and cultural tolerance

As expressed by some of the participants, the most prominent reasons were enhancing brand marketing, income generation, institutional ranking and broadening knowledge:

We have gone into partnerships with international institutions to promote and strengthen academic and scientific co-operation (Participant B).

Our university mandate is to serve the needs of the country, the region and the world. Collaborating with international institutions helps us realise this objective. It helps to make our brand known out there. So it is a way of exposing our students and staff to the globalised world (Participant D).

Benefits of Internationalisation of Higher Education in Zambia

The institutions that embraced internationalisation were driven by clearly perceived benefits for students, staff, the institution and the global knowledge economy:

We are in a global economy, so internationalisation helps to sell our institutional brand enriches our students' knowledge base and prepares them to be world class experts (Participant B).

It has the advantage of making the institution visible and fosters globally recognised research. This enables the university to become a recognised member of the global knowledge economy (Participant A).

For both local and international students and staff, internationalisation enriches their experiences and enables them to have multicultural understanding. This is key for fostering tolerance in a globalised world. So internationalisation helps to realise the objective of creating a multicultural community of students and staff through provision of a supportive environment and educational experience (Participant C).

The benefits are ranked in order of popularity in Table 6.

Table 6. Benefits of Internationalising Higher Education in Zambia

Benefits of Internationalisation
It promotes brand recognition
Promotes profit maximisation
It increases the international ranking of the institution
Creates international connections with other learning institutions
Raises the global profile of universities
Promotes knowledge transfer among researchers
Open channels for institutions to benefit from the global stock of scientific knowledge
Allows universities to tap into excellence across the globe
Promotes innovation and creativity among students and staff
Promotes cultural diversity, assimilation and cultural tolerance
It helps students and staff to develop the inter-cultural skills required to excel in today's diverse global society

Discussion

The Nature of Internationalisation of Higher Education in Zambia

The discussion on the nature of internationalisation of HE in Zambia follows the key aspects of internationalisation that emerged from the study.

Recruitment of International Students and Staff and Joint Programmes

All six institutions that were part of the study recruited international staff and students. However, when the numbers of international students and staff are compared to overall enrolment and their staff establishment, it is clear that Zambian HE has yet to recruit high proportions of international students and staff. *Institution A* has the largest number of international staff, followed by *Institution B*. The higher representation of international staff in public universities is explained by these two universities' history of employing expatriates since their inception. This partly accounts for the fact that most international staff at *Institution A* are in the School of Natural Sciences (approximately 60%), with few in the Schools of Humanities and Education.

In terms of student representation, during the period under review, *Institution D*, a private university had the largest number of international students, followed by *Institution A*. It is probable that *Institution D*'s international marketing orientation had resulted in its ability to attract international students, while the challenges associated with public universities, especially unstable academic calendars, deter international students. These findings confirm Enders' (2007) conclusions on the increasing flow of academics round the world, dominated by a South-North pattern. Thus, Zambian HE especially the private sub-sector, is characterised by a growing number of international staff due to the fact that academics from low- and middle-income countries seek greener pastures in richer countries. Furthermore, the majority of international students were drawn from the region, affirming Enders' (2007) acknowledgment that there was some significant South-South movement.

With the exception of *Institution C*, all the institutions had joint programmes which revealed institutional relations within and beyond the African continent. For example, *Institution A*'s joint programmes with China resonate with conclusions in the literature that a new trend is emerging, with internationalisation of HE focused on China and Asia Pacific. Other joint programmes continued to reflect South-North engagement, as was the case at *Institution F*. There was also a noticeable trend of regional collaboration among universities. The strong ties between the North and South which emerged are linked to economic and power dynamics.

Publications, Research, Collaboration in International Research Projects and Provision of Facilities for International Students

Institution A had the highest number of publications with international partners (220), followed by *Institution B* with 146, *Institution E* with 58, and *Institution D* with 36 publications, while *Institution F* had the least number of publications. Like most universities the world over, *Institution A* emphasises research and publishing, with a long-term vision of becoming a centre of excellence in research and graduate programmes that would contribute to the generation and dissemination of new knowledge in Zambia. However, this has been constrained by inadequate financing of HE. Collaboration with international scholars presents an opportunity to navigate some of the hurdles associated with research and limited funding. Accordingly, academics at *Institution A* have become more involved in collaborative research and publishing in local and international journals. This resonates with Akakandelwa'a (2009) observation of growing collaboration between researchers from the University of Zambia and those in other Southern African universities.

Growing collaboration between Zambian and international schol-

ars further supports the literature that notes that such collaboration is growing, evident in the number of co-authors, and that the degree of collaboration varies greatly across disciplines (Arunachalam, 2000; Bordons and Gomez, 2000). This can be attributed to increasing specialisation within disciplines such that multiple partners are often required to tackle complex research problems, as well as economic considerations such as the need to amortise expensive laboratory equipment, computers, data, and other resources across multiple researchers and projects (Borgman and Furner, 2001). Funders' preference for collaborative, larger projects (Bordons and Gomez, 2000) is another likely reason.

Furthermore, all the universities that were part of the study were making efforts to improve the facilities available to international students, including accommodation, airport pickups, introducing the Moodle eLearning platform, constructing more student hostels and creating more study and learning spaces.

Distance, E-Learning Programmes/Massive Open Online Courses, Campuses Abroad and Integration of Refugees

Internationalisation of HE was also characterised by provision through distance, e-Learning programmes and massive open online courses. While *Institution A* recorded the highest number of programmes that employ these modes, all the institutions offered distance, eLearning and online courses. This points to efforts to internationalise not only the curriculum, but also to attract students who would not benefit from traditional modes of study.

Only *Institution F* had established branch centres and campuses abroad. This can be attributed to its affiliation to Cavendish International Limited which has branches across the globe. Only three institutions broadened internationalisation to include the integration of refugees from Congo, Angola, Rwanda and Burundi. This suggests that internationalisation could increase the marginalisation of those already marginalised in society especially when it is closely aligned to economic motives.

International Students' Participation in Social and Cultural Life, Work or Study Places/ Volunteering and Student and Staff Exchange Programmes

The findings reveal that internationalisation of HE encompassed promoting international students' participation in social and cultural life, work or study places and student and staff exchange programmes (Table 4). All the institutions reported that they support international students' participation in the social and cultural life of the country. This included promoting cultural dress and performances, encouraging students to take part in social and cultural days as well as sports days and arranging visits to places

of cultural interest and traditional ceremonies. These activities encourage international students to appreciate different cultures. However, they could also lead to culture shock where individuals' deeply held beliefs and understandings are challenged, posing a potential threat to their sense of identity and well-being (Forbes-Mewett and Nyland, 2008).

Some institutions went a step further. *Institution A* acknowledged that the presence of international students, even in large numbers, was insufficient to promote intercultural interaction, develop intercultural friendships and promote international understanding. The university adopted peer pairing which involves collaboration between international and local students who meet on a regular basis outside of the classroom environment. Although the original purpose was to assist the international student in adapting to a new environment, the scheme enhanced intercultural interaction and cultural awareness among domestic students.

Institutions A and B were the only institutions with work or study placements which provided opportunities for international volunteering in partnership with Hiroshima University and Inland University. Similarly, only *Institutions A and B* had student and staff exchange programmes. This illustrates that the nature of internationalisation of HE in Zambia was centred on the modes of study and encouraging student participation in social and cultural life while work and study placements and student and staff exchange programmes were only reported in public universities.

Viewed through the prism of internationalisation of HE at home and abroad, internationalisation of Zambian HE abroad was in terms of recruitment of international students; staff and student exchange programmes; joint programmes; distance and e-Learning programmes and massive open online courses; opportunities for international volunteering; and work or study placements. The extent to which these activities were embraced varied across individual universities. The public universities seemed to adopt a holistic approach to internationalisation abroad.

Similarly, internationalisation at home in the Zambian context was characterised by the integration of global perspectives in the curriculum; study abroad opportunities; English-language teaching; international recruitment of staff and students; encouraging acquisition of language skills; improved facilities for international students; encouraging international students to participate in the social and cultural life of the university; and integration of refugees. Once again, the degree to which these activities were engaged in varied from institution to institution, although it was clear that public universities were more inclined towards the realisation of internationalisation at home, as shown in their adoption of all these activities.

Reasons for the Internationalisation of Higher Education

The institutions reported diverse reasons as to why they adopted internationalisation. The main reasons were the quest to penetrate the global market; promote cultural assimilation, diversity, and tolerance; improve the institution's ranking; encourage the broadening and sharing of knowledge; enhance and promote brand marketing; expand the number of international students and staff; promote knowledge transfer among researchers and earn higher margins and profits. Thus, the overarching motivation was an economic one. This can be attributed to the on-going financial challenges confronting the Zambian HE sector. As observed by scholars like Knight (2004) and De Wit and Hunter (2008), economic motives are underpinned by notions of international students bringing additional revenue through general living expenses and the fact that HE institutions can no longer rely solely on fees from local students. This also explains why the institutions attached such importance to brand marketing to grow their international base.

In terms of academic motives, the institutions reported that internationalisation was perceived as a way of increasing their academic ranking and broadening their knowledge base. This concurs with de Wit and Hunter's (2018) conclusion that HE institutions embrace internationalisation in order to expand the knowledge base, improve quality, enhance prestige and benchmark institutional performance. The academic motive resulted in growing collaboration in international research which was deemed significant for international ranking. This can be understood in light of the low positions held by Zambian HE institutions in international rankings.

Social and cultural motives related to promoting cultural assimilation, diversity and tolerance. These motives were closely linked to the desire to increase awareness of and deepen engagement with global challenges, global citizenship and mutual understanding (de Wit and Hunter, 2018).

While the motives for internationalisation of HE often encompass political reasons, this was not the case in this study. This could partly be attributed to the context, in which topical issues in relation to HE were often linked to access, financing, quality, and relevance. However, it can be argued that the economic, academic and social-cultural motives were directly and indirectly related to the political dimension. For example, as affirmed by de Wit and Hunter (2018), producing global citizens is a political dimension anchored on public diplomacy and international development.

Benefits of Internationalisation of Higher Education in Zambia

The findings showed that the internationalisation of HE could be beneficial in sustaining and growing science and scholarship through dynamic aca-

demographic exchanges; and building social and economic capacity in developing countries. For example, some Zambian universities were able to establish international networks and associations to enhance transfer of knowledge.

Collaborations at different levels also enabled Zambian HE to draw lessons from the international frontier. The institutions thus not only benefited in terms of human resources but also through infrastructure and capacity building among staff and students. Academically, internationalisation presented the perceived benefits of expanding HE's knowledge base and improving its quality, especially through capacity building among teaching staff, collaborative research and publications and international ranking. This is because internationalisation was perceived to promote knowledge transfer among researchers and open channels for institutions to benefit from the global stock of scientific knowledge. As concluded by Kreber (2009), the positive aspects of internationalisation include improved academic quality, internationally oriented students and staff, and national and international citizenship for students and staff from underdeveloped countries.

Internationalisation's benefits were also perceived in terms of increased access to HE, largely through the adoption of e-Learning and online platforms which were perceived as tools to increase public access to relevant information as well as for talent recruitment and retention and to enhance the teaching and learning process. The International Association of Universities (2012) notes that eLearning and online platforms offer access to HE in countries where local institutions cannot meet demand. These platforms, which increase student numbers, broaden HE institutions' revenue base. However, in a context like Zambia where access to the internet is limited, internationalisation has the potential to continue to marginalise the poor and refugees, among others.

Internationalisation was also associated with enabling staff and students to serve the global economy. It was emphasised that internationalisation helps students and staff to develop the inter-cultural skills required to succeed in today's diverse global society. It has the potential to change the lives of international students as it helps to produce graduates who are internationally knowledgeable and cross-culturally sensitive. Although only the public universities had student and staff exchange programmes, these allowed international students and staff to understand the connections between the local and the global environment.

Finally, the benefits of internationalisation of HE should be understood in relation to the challenges confronting this sector in Zambia. In common with their counterparts in other African countries, Zambian universities suffer from a shortage of faculty, poor faculty development; poor and unstable governance, leadership and management; poor levels of quality and

relevance; weak research and innovation capacities and facilities; financial austerity and an inability to diversify funding resources; poor physical facilities and infrastructure; and low levels of access and equity (Sy Habib, 2003; Teferra and Altbach, 2004; Sichone, 2006; Teichler, 2004; Knight, 2013). Internationalisation is perceived as having the potential to assist in addressing some of these challenges.

Notwithstanding these benefits, internationalisation has negative implications and has introduced new challenges, such as the brain drain, a clash of cultural values, the commodification of HE and persistent inequality between universities in the North and South (Knight 2004; 2007; Magagula, 2005). Teichler (2004) observes that internationalisation of HE has caused the destruction of cultural heritage, diminished language diversity, reduced variety in academic cultures and structures, compromised quality, and even supported imperialist takeovers, a view also supported by Knight (2013).

Conclusion

This article investigated the drive and nature of internationalisation of HE in Zambia using six HE institutions. Based on the institutions' focus on using internationalisation as a marketing tool for economic gain, it concluded that internationalisation of HE in Zambia was largely characterised by student and staff mobility, teaching and learning resources, research and collaboration. The article also showed that while the drive for internationalisation often included academic, economic, social and cultural, and political motives, the political motive was not prominent in internationalisation discourses and economic, academic and social and cultural motives played a more prominent role. The article also showed that the benefits of internationalisation were closely aligned to the challenges confronting the Zambian HE sector. Based on this, we argued that the drive and nature of internationalisation of HE in Zambia was shaped by its context, especially limited financing of the sector.

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Acknowledgement:

We wish to acknowledge Mr Alex Mugala, a Masters student in Education and Development at the University of Zambia, who assisted with data collection.