

5. Institutional internationalisation strategies in a context of state inefficiency

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5.1 Introduction: The Portuguese policy context

The Portuguese higher education system is a binary system, with both universities and polytechnics, and it has both a public and a private sector. The system has experienced substantial instability. Since 1998 there have been six different Ministers in charge of higher education (HE) and to date no Minister has stayed long enough in office to adapt the legal framework to the Bologna Declaration, which requires an Act of Parliament.

In May 2004 the Parliament passed an Education Act defining the new Bologna-type degree structure. However, the Act is not consensual and all the political parties in opposition voted against it. The President of the Republic (July 2004) did not promulgate the Act that was returned to the Parliament. Meanwhile, the Government announced legislation to introduce an ECTS compatible credit system and the compulsory use of the Diploma Supplement, and appointed specialised task forces (for disciplines or groups of disciplines) to work on the implementation of the law. The Government expects that the task forces will come out with a definition of disciplinary competencies, minimum curricular contents and accreditation rules.

The system is in a state of flux, with a high degree of confusion and uncertainty that led to ad hoc changes of study programmes at organisational level without national coordination. Portuguese higher education institutions (HEIs), aware of international trends, grew tired of waiting for governmental regulation and decided to follow those trends with mixed success. On the one hand, public universities using their full pedagogic autonomy granted by the 1988 University Autonomy Act are free to change their study programmes and many have already introduced the ECTS system and are implementing the Diploma Supplement (e.g. Universidade do Minho). On the other hand, the other HEIs needed to submit their study programmes for Ministerial approval and had their proposals using the ECTS system rejected on the grounds of lack of appropriate legislation, which caused much frustration.

5.2 Introduction of the case studies

Six HEIs (identified as α , β , $\gamma 1$, $\gamma 2$, δ and ϵ) were selected to cover the Portuguese HE system's organisational diversity: public and private universities and polytechnics. Different faculties within these HEIs were identified to investigate whether the nature of the discipline has influence over the behaviour of the organisation and its members.

α is a public university founded in 1911. It has scientific, pedagogic, administrative, financial and disciplinary autonomy. In 2003 more than 27,000 students (3,500 of them postgraduates) attended the courses provided by the institution's fifteen schools. The institution offers over 60 graduate degree programmes, over 120 masters programmes, 100 doctoral degree programmes and many other specialisation programmes, supported by 2,200 academic staff and 1,600 non-academic staff. The objectives of the institution include "to be recognised as a national and international reference at the level of education, scientific research and cultural creation, and a privileged partner in the development of Portugal, Europe and the World".

β is a public university founded in 1973. It has scientific, pedagogic, administrative, financial and disciplinary autonomy. In 2003 more than 13,500 students (1,000 of them postgraduate students) attended the courses provided by the institution's schools and institutes. The institution offers over 40 graduate degree programmes, over 90 post-graduate programmes and many other specialisation programmes, supported by 1,500 academic staff. β is implementing a curricular reform based on the major/minor concept and in 2004/05 all its study programmes will be based on skills and competencies.

γ_1 is a polytechnic institute founded in 1987. It enrolls more than 10,000 students (2003) in its five schools, offering 40 graduate degree programmes, short first-cycle degrees (bachelor), and two-tier degrees equivalent to a university degree (licenciatura), corresponding to a first cycle (3 years) and an advanced second cycle (1 to 2 years). γ_1 is located in a dynamic and industrialised region contributing to its economic success, and is the preferred partner to professionally qualify the active population. In spite of the national trend of decreasing number of candidates to higher education, γ_1 shows an inverse tendency and a very good rate of employment of its graduates. Its strategic plan proposes the establishment of more international partnerships to improve its limited international activities.

γ_2 is a polytechnic institute founded in 1979. Its five schools enroll 5,700 students (2003) in 37 study programmes (awarding the degrees of bacharel and licenciado) covering the fields of education, agricultural sciences, computer sciences, health sciences and management and engineering. Of its 440 academic staff members (2002), 43 hold a PhD and 153 hold a Masters level degree. γ_2 is located in the interior/north of Portugal, until recently a rather isolated region, with strong emigration either to foreign countries or to other Portuguese towns, namely those located in the littoral.

δ is a private institution founded in 1982, and integrated in the polytechnic sub-system. In 2003, about 1,000 students were enrolled in δ , which offers over 10 art-oriented study programmes, including one integrated degree (Architecture) and some binary degrees, corresponding to the two-tier polytechnic system. δ also offers PhD studies with the University of Valladolid, which awards the degree. δ is located in the north region.

Organisation ε is a private university founded in 1992, with a main campus in the South of Portugal and delegations in three other towns, which became autonomous when legislation forbidding multi-campus institutions was passed. In 2003 the institution enrolled about 3,000 students on its main campus, some 1,450 of them being undergraduate students. ε offers 11 graduate programmes, two masters programmes and 4 PhD courses. It also offers 22 postgraduate programmes (not conferring a degree but could be seen as part of lifelong education) in 5 areas: Architecture, Cinema, Engineering, Business Management and Law.

Table 5.1 Main characteristics of the six Portuguese HEIs (2003)

	α	β	$\gamma 1$	$\gamma 2$	δ	ε
Type of institution	Public University	Public University	Public University	Public University	Private University	Private University
Foundation year	1911	1973	1987	1979	1982	1992
Location	North, large town	South, large town	South-littoral middle size town	North-interior small town	North, large town	South, large town
Number of students	27,000	13,500	10,000	5,700	1,000	3,000
Disciplines	Comprehensive (natural sciences, social sciences, humanities, arts, fine arts, engineering, medicine & health)	Rather specialised (engineering, social sciences, medicine & health)	Rather specialised (engineering, social sciences, art and design)	Rather specialised (engineering, social sciences,	Specialised (fine arts and architecture)	Specialised (social sciences, cinema)
% of incoming mobility students	1.5%	2%	1%	1.2%	0.1%	n/a
% of outgoing mobility students	2%	2%	1%	0.5%	1%	n/a
% of foreign students	3%	5.2%	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a

5.3 Perceptions and views of internationalisation, Europeanisation and globalisation

The actors of the six HEIs, although being in general aware of the importance of internationalisation, Europeanisation and globalisation for higher education, have unclear perceptions of its challenges in terms of the regulative, normative and cognitive-cultural elements of institutional change. The

actors lack a clear and precise meaning of those terms and sometimes use them interchangeably, with clear preference for the term “internationalisation” which pays unequivocal attention to Europe. Interviewees generally ignored accurate terminology or the analysis of their organisations in the national context, referring straightaway to their organisations’ degree of participation in international activities, namely those developed under EU programmes. The six organisations have a clear understanding of the importance of “internationalisation”, which explains their efforts to develop and to participate in international activities. The organisations perceive that the challenges of internationalisation can be seen as:

- ◆ A way to give students an education that is “less ethnocentric and more open to other cultures” (α – interview with a Vice-Rector);
- ◆ A way to position the university in a “communicant vessels’ network with international organisations” (β – interview with a Vice-Rector);
- ◆ An integral part of its development, related to its geographical position (ε);
- ◆ Offering opportunities for both the reinforcement of existing partnerships and the establishment of new activities (γ_1 and δ).

In α , β , γ_1 and γ_2 (especially in the first two), and at school level, internationalisation processes are essentially rooted in research links established between holders of foreign PhDs and the awarding organisation. In fact, the support given by the government to the training of a large number of postgraduate students in foreign countries in the 1960’s and 1970’s acted as a lever towards the internationalisation of the Portuguese HE system (Rosa et al., 2004). Those international research links helped later to promote the internationalisation of teaching through participation in the EU mobility programmes (especially the Socrates/ERASMUS). However, the weight of this internationalisation agent depends on the discipline, being more evident in engineering, sciences and human sciences, than in architecture, law or fine arts. For the two private organisations included in our study an opposite trend is observed: it was the participation in the European mobility programmes (teaching level) that is being used to establish international research projects and partnerships. As most private HEIs are mostly teaching-only organisations, their international links result mainly from teaching activities and are being used to promote embryonic research links.

5.3.1 The regulative pillar

The implementation of the Bologna Declaration and its consequences for the degree structure are a major concern of the Portuguese organisations. The “Bologna process has been the opportunity for heated debates and for the emergence of diverse proposals.” (Rosa et al., 2004: 158) but at the time of the interviews no political decisions have been made on the degree structure and the duration of the two first cycles. Without an adequate legal framework, or information, the organisation’s reactions diverge not only between them

but also within each organisation, according to the field of study: “.. what I feel is lack of information at national level about... orientations relative to the process. (...) in Portugal there are no concrete orientations regarding the structure of the study programmes” (Interview with a Dean of $\gamma 2$).

As the Portuguese internationalisation process can be seen more as reaction than anticipation (Rosa et al., 2004), organisations feel the need for some national political direction fostering internationalisation. Without the new Education Act, Portuguese organisations went through a period of uncertainty: “... the new law will be published (...) but we still do not know very well how this new law will be. (...) The HEIs are dynamic, they prepare their things according to what is under discussion, that may well not be what it is going to be legislated. ...We only say one thing [to government] “please take a decision, so we can act!”” (Interview with $\gamma 2$'s Vice-President).

5.3.2 The normative pillar

One can identify only marginal changes in the norms and values of HE as consequences of the development of internationalisation/globalisation policies of the Portuguese HE system (in some organisations no change has yet occurred). These marginal changes took place in the context of a cooperation paradigm that corresponds to a vision of HE as a public good.

The changes identified were essentially caused by participation in European programmes. According to a Dean ($\gamma 2$), European mobility programmes allowed professors and students to be aware of different ways of training engineers and managers, thus contributing to a certain degree of mentality change. Another Dean ($\gamma 2$) claimed that the school has always worked on the assumption that if teachers and students know other realities, they will become more experienced and active persons, not only from the point of view of additional knowledge, but also by increasing their capacity for dialogue, by promoting citizenship and peace, and so on. For a Vice-President ($\gamma 2$), the most important aspect of mobility was the gain of a “European citizenship, of a European culture”. Others mentioned the possibility of having an external advisory board “that meets in the Faculty during a week to discuss with the academic staff and PhD candidates projects and ideas”, which is certainly a manifestation of change.

Benchmarking to improve the quality of teaching and research was mentioned as a factor that might lead to changes in norms and values. But the danger of curricula harmonisation was referred to: “As there is no big difference among the different curricula its harmonisation is a tremendous mistake” (Interview with a Dean of β). This situation is somewhat more difficult for Sciences and Engineering than it is for instance for Architecture, Arts and Design. In the latter cases, being different and assuming a very specific or even local or national character can be an added value for international recognition. On the contrary, Science and Technology are more universal in

content, leaving less room to build a specific identity of the organisation: “what kind of engineers are we training? If the quality standard is the same why shall I go to another institution?” (Interview with a Dean of β).

The development of an accreditation system or the rise of managerialism under the excuse of reinforcing the organisation’s autonomy and efficiency were other international developments referred to as having influence on the change of norms and values.

5.3.3 The cognitive-cultural pillar

The cognitive-cultural element is a factor more open to Europeanisation and internationalisation challenges, since the structure of the Portuguese degrees will have to change in accordance with the Bologna Declaration. Curricular reforms are underway in most of the schools analysed, with special attention being paid to the reinforcement of the European dimension, by trying to adapt study programmes to the “supposed” Bologna structure. For example, the director of one of γ ’s schools is providing incentives for his academic staff to go abroad in order to gather ideas for the new types of courses being designed. In β the faculty of Law is running a project to offer a joint degree with Spain, which is expected to have a great impact on both the academic staff and the students. And in the faculty of Sciences and Technology ECTS was implemented by initiative of the school, as a tool for changing the learning process. And there is willingness to establish agreements for student exchange based on ECTS to avoid difficulties in comparing study plans.

In α each discipline has its own specific behaviour. In Law the curriculum design was based on the idea that the discipline has strong national specificities and the academic staff avoids postgraduate training abroad. But as this faculty is new, there are members favouring internationalisation against the characteristic isolation of more traditional law schools: “the idea of research is imposing internationalisation and the external evaluation is giving visibility to these questions” (Interview with Dean of faculty of Law) and “...at pedagogical level there are lots of opportunities for internationalisation because there are common roots to other legislative systems” (interview with student, faculty of Law). In Engineering there are exchanges of good practices and the curricula are compatible with others worldwide. The faculty of Architecture derives its international reputation from its unique teaching method. In Sciences the faculty is not prepared to attract international students because there is only a small range of disciplines that could be of interest (interview with academic staff member).

One of the activities that could contribute to the internationalisation of curricula is academic mobility. This activity is increasing in the institutions analysed, but it is still rather low and the time spent abroad is on average very short (usually one or two weeks). Thus the effects over the curricula reform are

reduced. In β the central administration promotes academic mobility by several means: establishing an agreement with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Institute of Camões to create a certification system of professors intending to teach Portuguese abroad as a second language; opening some positions to foreign academics proficient in the Portuguese language; recruiting foreign visiting professors for periods of between one semester and two years in the areas of Economics, Social and Human Sciences, and Sciences and Technology; and increasing the number of vacancies of postdoctoral positions funded by the Portuguese government and open to foreign researchers.

At the level of the programmatic contents there is increasing concern about what is happening in other countries and how other institutions are teaching: “Anyone of us can connect himself very quickly to any foreign university, knowing exactly what they are doing in terms of programmatic contents and what their students are learning compared to ours. And this is a concern that increases every day” (Interview with Vice-president of $\gamma 2$). A coordinator of the ERASMUS programme ($\gamma 2$) emphasised its relevant role in the comparison between different study programmes and teaching methodologies across countries and organisations.

5.4 Internationalisation activities of the HEIs

The Portuguese HEIs appear to perceive internationalisation as a set of activities with political and cultural rationales. This assumption is in tune with the Portuguese policy rationales identified by Rosa et al. (2004: 140): “in the Portuguese case, predominant rationales are basically the political, cultural and more recently the economic rationale”. The international dimension is becoming more integrated in organisation and programme strategies, in spite of the constraints identified at political level.

As already mentioned, the actions taken by the Portuguese HEIs to respond to the challenges of internationalisation are rather reactive than pro-active, and strategies are mainly driven by participation in the EU programmes. Some organisations assume a pro-active rhetoric while other prestigious or well-known schools, in disciplines such as arts or fine arts, are explicitly in favour of a reactive behaviour. At the faculty of Architecture of α all the agreements established under the Socrates/ERASMUS programme were responses to invitations addressed to the faculty, which underlines a reactive and selective attitude: “We are available and have lots of proposals to study and we select the most interesting. It is not necessary to look for participation in international projects because there are always things happening” (Interview with the Dean). In the School of Fine Arts of $\gamma 1$ a similar trend in favour of a reactive position might develop, as “The School is better known outside than at national level” (Interview with academic staff member, School of Fine Arts and Design).

In the following paragraphs information is given on the internationalisation activities of the six HEIs. The dominant international activities are student mobility for education, and participation in research and development projects funded by the EU for research.

In 2002/03 α had 780 foreign students enrolled and 359 Socrates/ERASMUS incoming mobility students. The faculties of Engineering, Arts, Sport Sciences and Physical Education and Psychology and Education Sciences are those attracting more foreign students. The number of foreign students at graduate and postgraduate level is low and rather stable. The number of incoming mobility students is increasing (205 incoming in 1998/99, 188 in 1999/00, 274 in 2000/01, 303 in 2001/02 and 359 in 2002/03). The number of outgoing mobility students is slightly higher than the number of incoming mobility students, which doesn't follow the national trend. The number of outgoing mobility students in 2003 was about 2% of the undergraduate student population (23,373). This trend increases the possibility of reaching the target of a 10% rate specified by the Socrates II decision, based on the assumption of an annual 2% increase over a 5 years period. At national level the number of outgoing Socrates/ERASMUS students (3,500) in 2002/03 represents 0.9 % of total enrolment.

During the period 1998/99 – 2002/03 the most attractive schools were Arts, Fine Arts, Engineering and Architecture – 69, 54, 52 and 48 incoming mobility students, respectively – and there is a stable distribution pattern over the disciplines. The 2002/03 National Agency final report states that Social Sciences, Business and Humanities and Arts “are over-represented in ERASMUS if compared with the general student population. Education, Sciences and Medical studies are underrepresented”. Organisation (‘s more mobile disciplines follow the European trend and there is a balance between Engineering and Architecture.

α has signed 85 agreements providing the framework to enroll students from the Portuguese Speaking Countries, and allow for a number of inter-university cooperation activities such as joint diplomas, European and international masters. 35 students were able to get training periods abroad under the Leonardo da Vinci programme. α 's Foreign students (1998-2003) are mostly from Brazil (1020), Angola (638), Cape Verde (528), Mozambique (392) and Venezuela (213), i.e. from former Portuguese colonies and emigration countries. This follows the trend identified by Wächter et al. (1999: 25): “Following the independence of many former colonies, the period from the mid-60's to the end of 70's saw the emergence of considerable student flows from developing to industrialised countries”. European mobility students come mostly from Spain (101), Italy (68), Germany (36), France (30) and United Kingdom (22), which corresponds to the national pattern.

The mobility of academic staff under the framework of Socrates/ERASMUS programme is very low. Only 188 members of the teaching staff were mobile

during the period 1998/99 to 2002/03, 57 of them in the 2002/03 academic year, which represents 11% of the total Portuguese teaching staff mobility in that academic year.

To measure the internationalisation of research, the data on the number of research projects submitted to the EU was used. In the period of 1999-2003 α submitted 8% of the Portuguese projects. This data is only indicative because other approved projects have been directly submitted by research institutes, not under the name of the organisation.

The number of foreign students at graduate and postgraduate level at β is low. In 2002/03, β had 702 foreign students enrolled and 323 Socrates/ERASMUS incoming mobility students. The faculty of Social and Human Sciences received 730 foreign students during the period of 1998/99 – 2002/03 and the faculty of Sciences and Technology received 704. The total number of foreign students is increasing (376 in 1998/99, 373 in 1999/00, 393 in 2000/01, 418 in 2001/02 and 514 in 2002/03) as is the number of incoming mobility students (198 in 1998/99, 224 in 1999/00, 295 in 2000/01, 269 in 2001/02 and 323 in 2002/03).

The number of incoming students is slightly higher than the number of outgoing students, which follows the national trend. The number of students going abroad in 2003 was about 2% of the total student population of β (12,100), which increases the possibility of reaching the Socrates II target. The most attractive schools (2003) were the Faculties of Social and Human Sciences (201) and Economics (83). On average the Faculties of Science and Technology, Medical Sciences and Law receive about 12 students. The balance between the incoming and outgoing flows among the Faculties is notable. It is also possible to see a stable pattern of distribution across disciplines. As with α , β 's more mobile disciplines follow the European trend.

β has signed 66 agreements (with the same objectives as those of α). The foreign students enrolled at β (1998-2003) are mostly from Angola (697), Cape Verde (659), and Brazil (245) – all former Portuguese colonies – and in very low numbers from France, an emigration country. Academic mobility through Socrates/ERASMUS is very low. Only 83 members of the academic staff were mobile during the period 1998/99 to 2002/2003. In the academic year 2002/2003, 15 teaching staff members of β were mobile, which represents 3% of the total Portuguese teaching staff mobility in that academic year.

In the period of 1999-2003 β submitted 6% of the Portuguese EU research projects. Like α this data is only indicative because there are other projects approved that have been directly submitted by research institutes.

The international profile of γ_1 is characterised by participation in the EU mobility programmes and by the establishment of about 93 partnerships with European and non-European institutions (Brazil, Cape Verde, China and Mozambique). However, despite the large number of partnerships the degree of inter-

nationalisation is limited. For example the percentage of mobile students under the framework of EU education and training programmes is well below 1% of the number of enrolled students. Using student mobility criteria, the data on outgoing and incoming mobility students (1998-2004) shows that the School of Technology and Management (46 outgoing and 51 incoming), the School of Fine Arts and Design (40 outgoing and 44 incoming) and the School of Education (18 outgoing and 39 incoming) are the most international.

Students from γ_1 have a pattern of preference for the United Kingdom, Germany, Italy and Spain following the national pattern of preferences (Rosa et al., 2004). Mobility flows during the period of 1998/99 – 2002/03 show some balance between the Schools of Technology and Management, Fine Arts, Art and Design, and Education, both in the capacity to attract incoming students and in the promotion of outgoing mobility. There are different patterns among disciplines that show that those with stronger student mobility don't follow the European trend as Engineering only ranks third. The number of incoming students is consistently slightly higher than the number of outgoing students, which follows the national trend. The number of outgoing mobility in 2002/03 was about 0.16% of the total student population (10,000) of γ_1 .

The international profile of γ_2 can be characterised by participation in the EU mobility programmes (namely the Socrates/ERASMUS and the Leonardo da Vinci), under which 58 partnerships have been established with European HEIs, especially Spanish (35% of the total). The percentage of participating students, despite its increase in the last four years, still doesn't reach 1% of the students enrolled. There are other international initiatives and activities, namely the participation in association with other institutions in a number of cooperation organisations working in former Portuguese colonies (PALOP's and East Timor for agriculture and Sao Tomé and Príncipe for education). These international activities are sporadic and the individual actions of γ_2 's professors or of its schools, rather than the result of a coordinated effort in favour of the internationalisation of the organisation as such.

The data on outgoing and incoming mobility students of γ_2 shows that their number has consistently increased since the expansion of the ERASMUS/Socrates programme, initiated by the School of Education, to the whole organisation: 20 incoming and 12 outgoing in 2000/01; in 2001/02 50 incoming and 22 outgoing; 56 incoming and 24 outgoing in 2003/04; and 74 incoming and 33 outgoing in 2003/04. The number of incoming mobility students is considerably higher than the number of outgoing mobility students. Mobility students come predominantly from Spain (38 out of 74), while the outgoing students choose Spain (6 out of 33 in 2003/2004), and countries such as Hungary (8 in 2003/04) and the Czech Republic (7 in 2003/04). The number of outgoing EU mobility students in 2002/03 was about 0.4% of the total student population (5,734). Using the criteria of student mobility, the School of Education is the most internationalised of γ_2 's schools. The increase in the

number of mobile students – both incoming and outgoing – in the School of Technology and Management is quite impressive: two incoming and one outgoing in 2000/01, 21 incoming and three outgoing in 2001/02, 21 incoming and three outgoing in 2002/03 and 23 incoming and ten outgoing in 2003/04. Under the framework of the Leonardo da Vinci programme, γ_2 has developed a protocol for student scholarships. Nevertheless this is a programme with a minimal dimension (only ten students in 2002/03 and 2003/04).

δ 's international profile can be characterised by the participation in the EU education and training programmes and by the establishment of partnerships with European and Latin America institutions. Three years ago δ started an integrated study programme in architecture with the University of Valladolid, and another one is being established for fine arts. A number of awards received by students and academic staff members from δ shows that it is recognised internationally and a number of extra-curricular activities have been organised. During the period of 1998/99 – 2002/03 the percentage of outgoing students under the framework of EU mobility programmes remained under 1% of the students enrolled in the academic year of 2002/03. In the academic year 2003/04 it is foreseen that the number of outgoing students will increase to ten students.

The international profile of ε is constrained by severe legal and financial problems inherited from the previous administration. Those include outstanding debts to the public revenue and social security as well as the public impact of the trial of its former top management. ε has reached a payment agreement to settle all the outstanding debts in several years but it cannot receive any public or EU funds until the debts are completely offset. Therefore ε has not been able to participate in programmes funded by the EU or other entities, and this includes funds for mobility programmes. Activities are limited to individual actions in Architecture, and very marginally in Cinema, which ε is able to finance using its own resources. The co-ordinator of the course in Architecture reported that since 1995 ε had 162 outgoing mobility students, 82 incoming students, 14 outgoing academic staff and ten incoming academic staff. The most represented countries are Spain, Italy and Germany. In the area of cinema there are some exchanges for professional training periods with Bulgaria and Russia.

5.5. Consequences for the four building blocks of the organisations

The next section examines the responses of organisations to external challenges and the changes of their internationalisation policies, with reference to changes in the organisational building blocks.

5.5.1 The social structure

Internationalisation has the commitment of organisational leaders and the active involvement of academic and non-academic staff. However, although

recognised in institutional mission statements and in planning and policy documents, internationalisation is not assumed to be a key development factor by all the six HEIs. One interviewee from $\gamma 1$ regrets that internationalisation has only a marginal role due to barriers and constraints identified at the political level.

α does not consider the role of internationalisation as vital for its development: "it is only an issue among others" (Interview with member academic staff) or "a central question only in rhetoric" (Interview with a Vice-Rector). For β the role of internationalisation is a major issue: "internationalisation is in the institution's genes. The university was born with academic staff coming from different regions without a collective reference" (Interview with the Vice-Rector in charge of internationalisation). Respondents from different departments confirmed the importance of internationalisation and the influence of the institutional environment in promoting this attitude. $\gamma 2$ responds to the new challenges of internationalisation by pursuing the goals established in the European agreements, namely the Bologna Declaration, and by paying attention to curricular development, inter-institutional cooperation, mobility programmes, and teaching and research integration ($\gamma 2$ European Policy Statement).

In α , β and $\gamma 1$ some strategic organisational changes – such as the establishment of international offices – resulting from participation in EU mobility programmes can be interpreted as reactive actions. In some organisations the respondents, although appreciating the administrative support from international offices, did not accept the monitoring of academic and scientific activities of mobility students. Research is not within the remit of these offices and none of the six HEIs has a central administrative structure for research.

α established a central office to deal with the education and training programmes and mobility activities, with a special division dedicated to the cooperation with Portuguese speaking countries. However, its vice-rector considers that the number of ERASMUS students is too low to demand great changes in the organisational settings: "these changes were important if it was necessary to meet the needs of a public different from the regional public" (Interview with Vice-rector).

In β "The significant expansion of international activities required the adoption of specific measures for its coordination, and technical and administrative support. The transition to Socrates gave the opportunity to consolidate internationalisation. In January 1995 a professor was appointed Pro-rector of international relations. In April 1996 a Council for internationalisation was established with representatives from all the units. At Faculty level each Dean appointed a Co-ordinator responsible for the Socrates ERASMUS activities. In central administration an International Office was created [1992] to give administrative support to the academic staff involved in international activities... This office reports to the Vice-Rector for International Cooperation" (EPS, 1996: 2).

γ_1 established an office of Public Relations and International Cooperation, combining “communication and public relation affairs” with “international cooperation”. γ_1 aims at strengthening the competencies of its teachers, researchers and administrative staff in drafting projects and giving advice on mobility procedures (γ_1 EPS, 2002; Report of Activities, 2002). At departmental level the Schools have academic staff responsible for mobility actions but there is no dedicated structure, although some Schools and students mentioned the need for such a structure to keep pace with existing partnerships and to establish new ones.

In some organisations without a support office, people recognise that a dedicated structure is necessary to implement mobility programmes. γ_2 has not changed its organisation structure, but a central commission for mobility was created to run the Socrates/ERASMUS and Leonardo mobility programmes. However, its President is not very concerned with this situation, and he does not see the advantage of creating an international office: “I have some doubts about the efficacy of a big international affairs office in such diversified areas as we have, from education to agricultural studies, to technology. It can turn into a white elephant (...) [and it] will decrease international activities being developed in the schools based on personal contacts” (Interview with the President of γ_2). In δ , where academics and students complained about the lack of an organisational structure, there is a proposal to establish an office and it is clear that some attention will be paid to the language skills of the non-academic staff. And in ε , where student flows are marginal, an international office combining the functions of the postgraduate office was recently established.

5.5.2 Goals

The six HEIs have a regional and, in some cases, a national orientation and are more cooperation oriented than competition oriented, in spite of the decreasing number of national students. None of the institutions had a marketing strategy, either due to lack of financial and human resources and/or to the lack of a pro-active market attitude. At institutional level the stated main internationalisation goals are increasing the student and academic staff flows, reinforcing international agreements and increasing the numbers of partnerships or projects, institutional linkages and networks, rather than increasing research collaborations. This might be explained either because the more research-oriented organisations (α and β) take for granted the international nature of research (except for the field of law) and the national policy of sending PhD students abroad, or because research activities are more driven by individual researchers than by the organisation.

5.5.3 Participants

Academic staff members, depending on the availability of administrative support, are called to perform extra activities related to increasing internationali-

sation. This voluntary contribution to international activities is not welcomed by many academics that do not have the time or the ability to cope with the bureaucracy for submitting a project proposal, or who do not like to be diverted from their research activities.

For non-academic staff, new activities are emerging. Most international offices have employed professionals with a background in languages. One respondent stated that communication skills and high proficiency in English are the most important requisites for these professionals. The expansion of support structures at central and faculty/department level needs specialised assistance on project management. Degrees in international relations and management are also relevant for international offices.

Student participation – even of those staying at home – in international activities is important for the success of internationalisation. A section of the α 's ERASMUS Student Network supports the integration of foreign students into the organisation. In the other organisations this support is provided on an ad hoc basis by students and more systematically by the international office or similar structure. In all of the six HEIs, the Student Unions are not taking a central role in internationalisation: “the Student Union neglects foreign students. There is no section taking responsibility for foreign students. The Student Union doesn't have the initiative to disseminate information on academic programmes” (interview with student).

Proficiency in English could be seen as a horizontal dimension in common to all the participants in international activities. This was emphasised by $\gamma 2$ but to some extent the statement is valid for all the others, as: “the need to be able to speak and understand other languages, particularly English, if one wants to cope with the internationalisation/globalisation challenges”.

5.5.4 Technology

The standard programme for incoming mobility students is the intensive language course provided to all of them.

α and $\gamma 2$ provide support via distance education but their impact at international level is expected to be rather small: “Distance learning is very expensive and there is a very low expectation rate on the return of the investment” (Interview with a Dean of α). One school of $\gamma 2$ presented the same argument and is using the platform to increase the support to ICT, allowing students to register on-line and to have access to course contents. Another school of $\gamma 2$ has developed a project using the Internet for exchanging information with all of the region's primary schools. This can be considered as distance learning, even if it is not a formal study programme. β and $\gamma 1$ hope to develop a fruitful collaboration with Brazilian institutions in this area, and $\gamma 1$ is experimenting with a combination of lectures and distance follow-up.

The offer of joint programmes is increasing and the newly launched programme ERASMUS Mundus could be used as a lever in this area.

The linguistic component is important in education. The goal of increasing the number of European students links directly to the offer of programmes taught in English, which does not favour strong cooperation with Portuguese speaking countries. So far the overall trend is maintaining Portuguese as the main teaching language, although paying some attention to the use of English. The reasons supporting this trend vary from lack of proficiency in English of both professors and national students to cultural reasons. All of the six HEIs aim to improve the English proficiency of both the academic staff and students and to increase the course materials available in English. In α (engineering) and β (economics) there are pilot projects using English for postgraduate teaching. At γ_2 the majority of the staff is unable to teach in English, and even helping ERASMUS students is not an easy task for some of them, as one student reported. Outgoing students have difficulties in choosing other countries rather than Spain and Italy because of the language, which is a barrier that needs to be overcome.

Cultural reasons explain different attitudes across the range of disciplines. In engineering the respondents tended to be pro-English (α , β and γ_1). β And γ_1 are even considering that a minimum level of proficiency in English should become a requisite for student enrolment. The idea of preserving language diversity was mentioned: "(...) a single language in Europe is not at all my opinion. I think that there are many languages and people should have the opportunity of learning several of them" (Interview with a Dean of γ_2). Architecture (α) and fine arts and design (γ_1) presume that Portuguese will be used, one argument being that it also promotes the use of foreign languages by Portuguese students. At national level there is no incentive to change or to keep Portuguese as the main teaching language: "if a foreign student comes to Portugal he probably wants to have a different experience and language could be an initial barrier to be overcome by Portuguese intensive training. The problem is that organisations don't receive financial support to offer Portuguese intensive training. If they can have a Portuguese student for free they will not pay to have a foreigner" (Interview with a Vice-rector).

5.6 Feedback loop: Have the changes in the four building blocks affected the three pillars?

It is possible to identify a logical/causal connection between institutional and organisational changes, or perhaps an absence of change. On the one hand, as the state has not yet passed legislation to implement Bologna-type degrees and mobility instruments, there were no changes in the pillar of regulation, which hinders changes at organisational level. On the other hand, participation in European projects forced organisations to introduce some organisational changes, ignoring or interpreting in a creative way the available

legislation, thus creating pressure on the government to change the legal framework which sooner or later will change the regulation pillar. One may conclude that there is a connection between regulative institutional and organisational changes, based on actual change in the direction from organisations to institutions, and on its absence in the opposite direction.

The participation of Portuguese HEIs in EU programmes has been a lever for changes within the normative and cognitive-cultural pillars (in the direction of organisation to institution), the latter being limited by absence of change in the regulative pillar. The most relevant changes occurred in the social structure, participants and technology blocks.

5.6.1 Social structure

The social structure for education was changed to support the needs of academic staff and students by implementing instruments to promote the mobility of both students and academic staff under the framework of EU programmes. New forms of governance were created and committees and task forces were appointed to follow the developments of EU policy.

The situation is different for research. The earlier national policy for the internationalisation of HE (1968) had a rationale based on grants to train a significant number of academic staff at postgraduate level abroad (Eurydice, 2000). This policy allowed researchers to establish personal links and international activities, which created a very individualistic culture that is difficult to change. Defining an organisational research policy is difficult because the national research-funding agency allocates research funding directly to researchers or their research teams on a competitive basis, rather than to organisations. Decentralisation of data prevents organisations from having a good picture of its research internationalisation, and explains why the social structure for research has not changed.

The social structure of Portuguese HEIs follows a political rationale based on quality, which is also present in the national policies for internationalisation. Rosa et al. (2004: 140) stressed that it is not possible to raise the quality of the education system in isolation from the “international, and in particular the European context”. The Portuguese HEIs seem to have developed an organisational approach in this area. One of our respondents argued that “internationalisation is a step that can only be achieved by institutions with quality (...). When quality is achieved, the internationalisation step is relatively easy to climb”. Some examples corroborate that idea. The participation of α and β in the EUA (former CRE) quality audit programme was a starting point for the introduction of quality mechanisms. And in research there is already a tradition of external evaluation by review teams with foreign peers.

Other policy areas were referred to, such as funding and the difficulty of allocating funds for internationalisation activities, given that there are other prio-

rities vital for the development (or even the survival) of the organisations. Therefore internationalisation creates financial difficulties: “I don’t know what will happen when everything is internationalised, who is going to pay for that?” (Interview with a Dean). The Head of Administration for International Relations (β) considers that available resources are not enough to cope with all the demand.

The promotion of EU mobility programmes also affects the normative pillar. The benchmarking resulting from participation in these programmes will probably lead to changes in norms and values. The awareness of the need to implement specific policies related to quality and funding could affect the regulative and the normative pillar and lead to changes in regulation and to different conceptions of norms and values.

5.6.2 Goals

Changes in the regulative and normative pillars were not considered by organisations when defining their objectives. However, as research assumes different roles in driving internationalisation goals it might diversely affect the concepts of education and research – or the cognitive-cultural pillar. In research oriented organisations research was clearly the driving force for the internationalisation of education projects. On the contrary, education oriented organisations used links from international education projects to promote the internationalisation of their research activities. Between those extremes, γ_1 and γ_2 face the challenge of becoming more international as their staff members are awarded PhDs abroad without losing them to more research oriented organisations.

5.6.3 Participants

The role of participants might change the three pillars. Globalisation and internationalisation may do so by creating new roles for different actors, and may force cultural changes in organisational attitudes. For instance, if Portuguese students use internationalisation as a criterion to decide where to enrol, organisations will promote internationalisation in a more systemic basis. One respondent highlighted the importance of participants in internationalisation as “agents of mentality change”. An increasing focus on learning outcomes will lead to major changes at pedagogical, evaluation and certification levels.

Some organisations created incentives as mentioned in the EPS (1996) of β , which lists several recommendations to implement the Socrates programme such as including the academic staff’s workload in “non-academic” activities for career progression purposes. Those incentives are important to promote the development of international activities on a systematic basis. Improving English proficiency will have consequences in the cognitive-cultural pillar that in some fields of study may lead to changes or even to the creation of new curricular structures.

5.6.4 Technology

The changes in the technology building block will affect mostly the regulative and cognitive-cultural pillars. Even if the degree of autonomy of some HEIs has allowed them to introduce curricular changes, ECTS and the Diploma Supplement as mechanisms of recognition, and to introduce English as a teaching language, changing the three pillars is necessary for fostering the internationalisation of Portuguese HEIs.

The changes in the technology building block that might contribute to changes in the regulative pillar are connected with the implementation of recognition mechanisms, such as a credit system compatible with ECTS and the Diploma Supplement. The six HEIs use partially the ECTS guidelines as recognition mechanisms: "(...) This was an initiative of the institutions without the need of legal imposition and may be seen as a response to Europeanisation, insofar as it allows for credit accumulation and transfer, being a tool for mobility" (Rosa et al., 2004: 145).

The lack of national legislation generalising the use of ECTS across the HE system is a big hindrance to the full implementation of the system. In a the use of credits at postgraduate level is virtually impossible because a decision by Senate prevents its use for Masters as their quality is too heterogeneous. γ_1 mentioned that the Ministry did not approve their proposals of new study programmes based on the ECTS system because the appropriate legislation had not yet been passed. In δ and ε the implementation is at the very beginning. Some respondents consider that an internal process to check that credits effectively match the student workload should complement the implementation of ECTS credits. The interviewed students from all organisations reported problems at the level of credit recognition and transfer and there are cases where the grades obtained in a different organisation do not count for the overall classification. The implementation of the Diploma Supplement is still delayed, and among the six case study organisations only α seems to be capable of issuing the document in the near future.

The changes that will affect the cognitive-cultural pillar are related to the lack of English proficiency and the awareness of the need to find mechanisms to improve it.

5.7 Factors impeding/fostering internationalisation

Governmental initiatives have so far apparently failed to dispel a feeling that there is a lack of state policies addressing the internationalisation of HE, and important legal constraints to internationalisation have not yet been removed. At central level HEIs argue for widening access to foreign students on undergraduate degrees, governmental support for inter-organisational programmes at national and international level, a definition of a national strategy for cooperation with the former colonies, and allocation of funds for the promotion of internationalisation initiatives.

At faculty level the actors do not see any political changes favouring internationalisation: “there are no internationalisation policies at state level, and consequently there are no internationalisation strategies at organisational level. Internationalisation is a mirage, not the reality” (Interview with academic staff member). The lack of legislation to implement the new Bologna-type structure and ECTS is perceived by the interviewed actors as impeding internationalisation, or at least not favouring it.

Most of the internationalisation efforts and activities are linked to European mobility programmes, which are supranational and certainly the driving force of internationalisation. So the European context is more relevant than the national context to foster internationalisation, both because it is Europe that is providing mobility opportunities and because the European labour market starts to be looked upon as an important employment market for Portuguese graduates (particularly in some areas, such as engineering, management, even architecture and fine arts).

To summarise, it is possible to state that the degree of internationalisation of Portuguese HEIs is hindered by a number of factors. The most important being: (in no particular order of importance):

- ◆ lack of appropriate national legislation;
- ◆ lack of appropriate funding;
- ◆ internationalisation is not seen as a key factor at national and institutional level;
- ◆ lack of central coordination of research activities (in α and β) as a consequence of its decentralisation.

And other hindering factors are:

- ◆ lack of incentives in the academic career;
- ◆ sustaining student mobility demands a coherent strategy and an attractive offer to foreign students (e.g. availability of housing for mobility and foreign students, English as teaching language);
- ◆ lack of proficiency in English of both academic staff and students.

To foster internationalisation Portuguese HEIs need to reinforce internal factors, such as: promotion of international research cooperation; commitment of participants (academic and non-academic staff and students); implementation of organisational structures providing administrative and technical support; and the establishment of new governance structures. The latter is probably the most important internal factor for promoting the implementation of a more systematic approach to internationalisation. The appointment of Vice-rectors or Vice-presidents for international relations and the establishment of specific committees and/or task-forces for mobility programmes in α and β were precisely the main factors allowing these organisations to move from an ad hoc approach to a more systematic approach towards internationalisation, and are positive trends that could be followed by other HEIs.

5.8 Conclusions

The six Portuguese HEIs are aware of the importance of internationalisation, even if actors in general do not have a clear perception of the differences between internationalisation, Europeanisation and globalisation and their respective challenges. The lack of legislation and the frequent changes of Ministers created a state of flux and confusion that effectively hinders the internationalisation of the Portuguese higher education system.

The EU programmes are the only effective lever for internationalisation that Portuguese HEIs can use, which explains their more reactive than pro-active attitude to external challenges, and why respondents mainly refer to internationalisation, which they see as encompassing Europeanisation, while globalisation is generally ignored except as a rhetorical device.

In general Portuguese HEIs, namely the more research-oriented, have difficulties in defining and coordinating an organisational research policy. Therefore, they see education as the main activity that the central administration can promote to create an internationalisation policy. Consequently, the internationalisation of education is mentioned more often than the internationalisation of research in European Policy Statements.

The attitude of the schools towards internationalisation challenges is not homogeneous, and it varies according to the traditions and academic cultures of the different disciplines. Engineering and Technologies, Fine Arts and Architecture, and Law all present remarkably different (and consistent) behaviours in answering the new challenges of internationalisation, Europeanisation and globalisation, with Law being by far the least internationalised discipline.

There is an ambivalent attitude towards the use of foreign languages. However, in general organisations prefer the use of the Portuguese as the main teaching language, either because of cultural reasons – the preservation of the national culture and the close relationship with the former Portuguese speaking colonies and Brazil – or because of more down-to-earth reasons – many professors are not able to teach in English and many national students are unable to understand classes taught in English. And some people strongly believe that Portuguese should be the teaching language as it is a characteristic that attracts foreign students looking for a different environment. However, some organisations are trying to increase the English proficiency of their members and are increasing the course materials available in foreign languages.

It was observed that research-oriented HEIs used the international research relations of their professors to develop the internationalisation of their study programmes, while teaching-oriented institutions are moving in the opposite direction, using the personal ties resulting from joint education programmes to implement some internationalised research activity. It is possible that what

lies behind these attitudes is the hard truth that the establishment of international relations depends strongly on trust, and there is trust only when people know each other. This might explain the success of the former use of the ECTS in the ERASMUS programme, which was based on the establishment of networks of organisations that tried to increase mutual knowledge, and the more difficult implementation of the Bologna Declaration, plagued by bureaucracy and imposed top-down by politicians and Eurocrats.

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