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Comparing Higher Education Internationalization in the EU & the US in the Post-COVID World.

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Introduction

by

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This book is the result of an EU-funded ERASMUS+ Jean Monnet project titled "Comparing Higher Education Internationalization Policies and Strategies in the Europe Union and the United States" (CHEI). The acronym "CHEI" means "key" in several neo-Latin languages, meaning that education is key for people's lives and is considered, in Europe, a fundamental right, alongside health.

The greatest challenge for higher education today is how to grow leaders able to thrive in an interconnected world. Internationalization and global learning must be an essential part of the strategy for educating the leaders of the future. Universities have always been international in character in terms of 'the universality of knowledge' and by being an international community of scholars. Despite being an old phenomenon, however, new mechanisms and patterns of cooperation and competition between universities have emerged in the past three decades.

This volume compares the internationalization of higher education in the United States and Europe. COVID hit the higher education world at a moment of peak in internationalization and led to a rethinking process which is going to fundamentally reshape international higher education in the future.

The book comes out some 35 years after the launch of the European Union's flagship Erasmus program, and two decades after Hans de Wit's landmark volume, "Internationalization of Higher Education in the Unites States of America and Europe." In 2001, Hans de Wit analysis described and compared the historical development of the internationalization of higher education in the United States and Europe. Twenty years after, internationalization has greatly progressed and the European Union has taken the lead, thanks to the many EU programs supporting international higher education. A new assessment was thus needed, which this book provides.

An international aspect of education has always existed: Erasmus from Rotterdam, from whom the Erasmus program is named - was the model of the itinerant scholar of the past centuries. What is now called 'internationalization of higher education' is however a phenomenon that has emerged over the last few decades, driven by a dynamic combination of political, economic, socio-cultural, and academic rationales and stakeholders. There is not one single model that drives internationalization. However, internationalization is still mainly considered in terms of a westernized, largely Anglo-Saxon, and predominantly English-speaking paradigm. (Jones & de Wit, 2012)

Internationalization of higher education can thus be defined as the process of integrating an international/intercultural dimension into the teaching, research, and service functions of the institution. (De Wit, 2001)

Internationalization must be seen in the context of the changing role and position of higher education in the world. Rapid changes are taking place in international higher education, which only have increased in range and complexity over the past decade. Key changes in higher education globally are its massification, the global knowledge economy, and the emphasis on reputation and rankings. (De Wit 2019)

There are more than 200 million students studying globally focusing on every specialization possible. Emerging economies are expanding their enrollment rates toward 50% or more as it is common in the developed world. On the other side, one can observe a saturation in demand in countries which already have moved far beyond the 50% GRE characteristic of universal enrollment, such as the United States, the United Kingdom, continental Europe, Canada, Australia, South Korea, and Japan. In those places, for demographic and other reasons, offer is starting to become higher than demand. International students and scholars are needed to fill the demand for graduates in these fields. (De Wit 2019)

Rankings—national, regional, global, institutional, by discipline and across an increasing number of other dimensions—have come to play an ever more important role in higher education.

Global ranking has remade global higher education in three ways, according to Marginson (2017). First, competition, the idea of higher education as a competitive market of universities and countries. Second, hierarchy, as a core element of the system of valuation. Third, performance, driving “an often-frenetic culture of continuous improvement in each institution.” (Marginson, 2017: 7). Yudkevich, Altbach, and

Rumbley (2016) speak of the "Global Academic Rankings Game", in which only a small portion of the higher education sector competes.

The relationship between excellence initiatives, rankings and internationalization is clear. They reflect the global competitive nature of higher education of the elite research universities, they stimulate competition for international students and scholars, and they are driven by quantitative international indicators: number of international students, number of international staff, and number of international co-authors of publications. It drives governments and institutions to invest in more global research, to use English as language of research and education, and to focus on international recruitment strategies. (De Wit 2019)

In general terms one can say that internationalization over the past 30 years has seen the following key characteristics:

⇒ More focused on internationalization abroad than on internationalization at home

⇒ More ad hoc, fragmented and marginal than strategic, comprehensive and central in policies

⇒ More in the interest of a small, elite subset of students and faculty than focused on global and intercultural outcomes for all

⇒ Directed by a constantly shifting range of political, economic, social/cultural, and educational rationales, with increasing focus on economic motivations

⇒ Increasingly driven by national, regional, and global rankings

⇒ Little alignment between the international dimensions of the three core functions of higher education: education, research, and service to society

⇒ Primarily a strategic choice and focus of institutions of higher education, and less a priority of national governments

⇒ Less important in emerging and developing economies, and more of a particular strategic concern among developed economies. (De Wit, 2019)

In the past decade, however, one can observe a reaction to these trends. While mobility is still the most dominant factor in internationalization policies worldwide, there is increasing attention being paid to internationalization of the curriculum at home. There is also a stronger call for comprehensive internationalization, which addresses all aspects of education in an integrated way. Although economic rationales and rankings still drive the agenda of internationalization, there is more emphasis now being placed on other motivations for internationalization. For example, attention is being paid to integrating international dimensions into tertiary education quality assurance mechanisms, institutional policies related to student learning outcomes, and the work of national and discipline-specific accreditation agencies. In other words, internationalization in higher education has evolved over the past 30 years from a rather ad hoc, marginal, and fragmented phenomenon to a more central and comprehensive component of higher education policy—although still more in rhetoric than in concrete action (De Wit & Rumbley, 2017 and De Wit, 2019)

The book proceeds as following. We first review the process of internationalization of higher education in the United States and in the European Union in the modern era.

In the US, the international dimension of higher education began with the 1924 Immigration Act. Since the end of WWII, international education became a pivotal and very successful instrument of US public diplomacy. It was almost universally accepted that the education successive generations of world leaders in the US constituted an indispensable investment in America's international leadership. By hosting foreign students, the US aimed to generate an appreciation of American political values and institutions and to lay the foundation for constructive relations based on mutual understanding and good will. The ties formed at school between future American leaders and future foreign leaders have facilitated innumerable foreign policy relations. Educational exchanges are therefore an important part of what Harvard scholar Joseph Nye has called "soft power". The 2003 *NAFSA Taskforce on International Students Access* underlined how openness to international students serves long standing and important US foreign policy, as well as educational and economic interests.

This has been particularly true for flagship programs such as the Fulbright created in 1946 and subsequently regulated by the Fulbright-Hayes Act of 1961. Since 1946, the Fulbright Program has allowed over 300,000 participants - 114,000 from the United States and 188,000 from other countries – to study, teach and conduct research in the United States and more than 155 countries. Approximately 7,000 grants are awarded annually to students, teachers, scholars, artists, scientists, professionals, and host institutions. In the academic year 2009-10, 4244 foreign nationals came to the US to study, teach or research, while 2755 spent a semester of the year abroad only on this scheme. Many of the Fulbright recipients have had a successful career in politics, business, or academia after their stay in the US or abroad: 10 of them were elected to

Congress, 18 became Chief of State or Heads of Government, 1 Secretary General of the United Nations, 43 won a Nobel Price, 78 the Pulitzer Prize.

Once a major component of the “American way of life” and of the “American dream” education has however become an issue of division and debate in the United States. For instance, higher education was central in the 2020 Presidential debate, as younger generations and families have become heavily indebted to pay for college. President Trump’s cuts in cuts to the Department of Education’s budget for FY 2021 weakened critical higher education programs supporting low- and middle-income students and families, prompting President Biden to create a debt forgiveness plan to help lower-income people get rid of their education-related loans.

The crisis is also affecting internationalization. As mentioned, during the Cold War, the attractiveness of an “American education” was a pivotal instrument in U.S. public diplomacy. Scholarships such as Fulbright, Fulbright-Hayes, Ford Foundation attracted the brightest and the best to the country, turning them into life-long estimators of the American way of life, and supporters of the U.S. However, times have changed. The US is dramatically falling behind in the process of internationalization of higher education.

There are national and institutional policies in the US which advocate study abroad, but currently only 1.4 % of the total student population participates in study abroad, principally at undergraduate level. Percent that however becomes much smaller when it comes to minorities or underprivileged students. And after years of steady growth, international enrollments in US institutions have also declined, first because of Trump’s policies and then because of COVID. Yet, the number of European students choosing the US for both their graduate and undergraduate studies has increased. Likely an effect of Brexit, in 2021-22 there was a 22.4% increase in the number of Europeans who choose to study in the US.[1]

In the US, the rationale for international student recruitment is principally revenue generation. This does not only compromises in-class and on-campus diversity, but also creates potential financial risks and vulnerability. Things are even worst when it comes to the more complex process of internationalization – whereas with Internationalization of Higher Educations we intend 'the purposeful integration of international and intercultural dimensions into the formal and informal curriculum for all students within domestic learning environments' (Beelen and Jones, 2015).

[1] https://opendoorsdata.org/data/international-students/all-places-of-origin/

According to the *Times-Higher Education*'s internationalization ranking, the first U.S. institution is MIT, ranking #30. Harvard ranks #52; Stanford #56; Princeton #58. The top universities in the ranking are all European and Asian. Fernanda Nicola's chapter presents a very interesting case study focused on the decrease of the global influence of US legal though and American Law Schools.

The European case is, in contrast, very interesting. It shows that when there is a vision, a strategy, and money on the table, a whole continent's higher education system can be radically transformed. Internationalization in Europe has grown out of, and been strongly influenced by, the Erasmus program initiated by the European Commission over 30 years ago. Beyond students' mobility, Erasmus has had an even greater impact on the internationalization and reform of higher education in Europe. It piloted the *European Credit Transfer System* (ECTS) and it paved the way for the *Bologna Process* and the realization of the European Higher Education area, which in turn has generated the European Commission's first comprehensive internationalization strategy: *European Higher Education in the World* (2013). It has inspired cooperation between Europe and the rest of the world, and it continues to act as a model and inspiration for others, even though no comparable initiatives have yet been developed elsewhere.

The original Erasmus program was later grouped together with similar initiatives under Socrates and more recently under Erasmus+. Initially, these programs had their foundation in the need for more competitiveness in relation to the rest of the world – at that time primarily the United States and Japan – and in the development of European citizenship. European higher education institutions (HEI) are strongly influenced by the Erasmus model and still attach great importance to cooperation. In fact, the ERASMUS program is the best example of a policy that has effectively changed a continent, by enhancing international mobility, supporting research and the internationalization process of European Higher education.

Until recently, therefore, the European emphasis in internationalization has been on mobility, reacting to European Commission initiatives and with the main goal of increasing the number of incoming and outgoing students within the European Union. Credit mobility plays a significant role in European policies. Over the last 30 years, the European programs for research and education, in particular the ERASMUS program but also research programs like the Marie Curie Fellowships, have been the motor for a broader and more strategic approach to internationalization in higher education in Europe. In general, countries and universities are now becoming more proactive in broadening the scope of their international activities and developing relations with other world regions. Cooperation is also understood as a means to compete, with internationalization increasingly seen as an essential part of the institutional mission.

After reviewing the ups and downs of higher education internationalization in both Europe and the US, the volume proceeds to discuss strategies for higher education internationalization in the post Covid World.

As internationalization has grown in importance, it has increasingly been subject to measurement. For instance, the *Times Higher Education* has produced a ranking of the most international universities, based on three measurements: proportion of international students, international faculty, and internationally partnered research papers. There is a general tendency for universities to develop a more strategic approach to internationalization. Whether for internationalization abroad or at home, for cooperation or competition, it is evident that academic partnerships have become a defining feature of higher education and an essential part of internationalization. This is for instance reflected in the European Commission's strategy for internationalization, *European Higher Education in the World*, where partnerships are one of the three key pillars. When universities work together internationally, the activities are likely to cover one or more of the following: student and/or staff exchange, research co-operation, joint curriculum development, joint or double degrees, short course programs, benchmarking, delivery of transnational education, joint bids for international projects, and development projects in a third country. In essence, two are the key components in the internationalization policies and programs of higher education:

1. Internationalization abroad, understood as all forms of education across borders: mobility of people, projects, programs, and providers.
2. Internationalization at home, which is more curriculum-orientated and focuses on activities that develop international or global understanding and intercultural skills.

Two of the main challenges for internationalization are that the international component it is often still perceived and implemented as a 'luxury' addition to teaching and learning, rather than a natural dimension of research. Funding, support, and organization required to internationalize are key challenges. Variables affecting the level of internationalization include:

Financial resources: The level of available financial resources is a major issue in internationalization. For instance, the Federal Institute of Technology in Zurich (ETH) receives almost tenfold public funds than its Portuguese equivalent (Horta, 2010).

Academic labor markets and recruitment procedures: educational systems are characterized by different approaches and practices in the recruitment of researchers, which may favor or hinder access of foreign researchers (laws, customs, publicity, language, etc).

Institutional Factors: There is a positive association between research quality and internationalization. The most attractive countries invest significant resources in R&D, are high research performing, have flexible recruitment procedures, and the national language is diffused in Europe or worldwide. The most internationalized HEIs are research intensive, with low teaching burden, whereas there are small differences related to size and age of the institutions

The conclusions will sum up the research findings tracing a possible way ahead for internationalization of higher education in the EU and the US. It will also suggest possible ways to strengthen Transatlantic cooperation in higher education.

Along the text, there will be QR codes that leads to several the webinars that were organized thanks to the financial contribution of the Jean Monnet program of the European Union. The webinars focus respectively on:

-> Higher education Internationalization after COVID

-> College Education in Europe and America

-> International Mobility in the EU and the US

-> How to Successfully Organize an EU Simulation (in person or online)

-> Is a European or an American College Degree Worthier?

-> International Education and Legal Studies: where best to Study Law?

-> International Mobility in Academia: an opportunity or an obstacle for Gender Parity?

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The Internationalization of Higher Education in the United States

by

Federiga Bindi

The system of higher education in the United States includes community colleges, four-year colleges, and research universities. There are both public and private universities, including religiously affiliated and for-profit institutions. There are over 3500 institutions of higher education in the country. According to the US Constitution, the government's role is limited in educational policy but is extensive in foreign affairs, defense, trade, and commerce. It is therefore not surprising that federal policy on international education has been traditionally will be more linked to these areas than to education itself. The first American Universities were modelled after European institutions such as Oxford and Cambridge. Later, with the creation of Johns Hopkins University, the German model of research university was also imported. In 1862, 'Land Grant Colleges' were established to provide agricultural and applied engineering training for America's development, and to give access to higher education to others than the elite. (De Wit 2001).

Many faculty and students went to Europe to pursue further studies. However, after the revolution, ″Jefferson and Webster opposed sending young Americans to study abroad because they shared a common distrust of European ways”. Halpern (1969, 17). In 1873, Charles W. Eliot wrote: "Prolonged residence abroad in youth, before the mental fibre is solidified and the mind has taken its tone, has a tendency to enfeeble the love of country, and to impair the foundations of public spirit in the individual citizen.*"* Halpern (1969, 24). Nonetheless, American faculty and students continued to flow to Europe throughout the nineteenth century.

Around the turn of the century one can see a shift. The proliferation of American graduate schools meant that American graduate students, for the first time, were presented with viable alternatives to study abroad. Also, foreign students started to be attracted to the United States partly out of recognition of American 's new position in the world, and of the attractions of wealth and opportunity, partly because American education was dynamic and experimental. (Hacker & Bellmore, 2020)

During the late nineteenth century, academic mobility from and to the United States became a regular phenomenon, but without a formal and institutional structure. This changed when private organizations, foundations and universities began to recognize the educational value of study abroad. In 1890, the American Association of University Women created the first fellowship to enable a college professor to pursue research abroad. In 1902, the Rhodes Scholarships were founded to promote understanding between English-speaking people. In 1905, the American Academy in Rome established research fellowships for study in Italy, and in 1911 the Kahn Foundation started to offer fellowships for secondary school teachers to travel abroad. Another organization that dates from this period is the American-Scandinavian Foundation (1910). In 1911, the 'Committee on Friendly Relations Among Foreign Students' was established with the objective of counselling foreign students and gathering statistics on foreign students in the United States. Between 1905 and 1912 Harvard, Columbia, Chicago, and Wisconsin universities established exchange agreements with German and French universities. (De Wit, 2001)

The 1924 Immigration Act specifically permitted foreign students of at least 18 years old to enroll in higher education programs. After WWII, the Fulbright scheme (1946) and the Fulbright-Hays Act of 1961 (officially known as the *Mutual Educational and Cultural Exchange Act* of 1961) were created by the US Senate, at the initiative of Democratic Senator J. William Fulbright. Since 1946, the Fulbright Program has allowed over 300,000 participants - 114,000 from the United States and 188,000 from other countries – to study, teach and conduct research in the United States and more than 155 countries. Approximately 7,000 grants are awarded annually to students, teachers, scholars, artists, scientists, professionals, and host institutions. Many of the Fulbright recipients have had a successful career in politics, business, or academia after their stay in the US or abroad: 10 of them were elected to Congress, 18 became

Chief of State or Heads of Government, 1 Secretary General of the United Nations, 43 won a Nobel Price, 78 the Pulitzer Prize.

Hence, since the end of WWII, international education has became a very successful instrument of US public diplomacy. It was almost universally accepted that the education successive generations of world leaders in the US constituted an indispensable investment in America's international leadership. By hosting foreign students, the US aimed to generate an appreciation of American political values and institutions and to lay the foundation for constructive relations based on mutual understanding and good will. The ties formed at school between future American leaders and future foreign leaders have facilitated innumerable foreign policy relations. By 1979, 224,030 foreign students were granted study visa for the US. At the start of the new century, in the academic year 2000/2001 547,867 foreign students newly enrolled in US higher education institutions.

This steady growth came to a halt with 9.11. Security concerns led to the set-up of a new visa system and database, SEVIS, whose lengthy procedures considerably and negatively influenced foreign students' enrollment in the US. In particular, the so-called CONDOR system for Arab and Muslim males prevented many young people from the area to come to the US. The UK, Australia and Canada soon benefitted of the situation as they were quick in filling the gap in the demand for an international education. In 2004, Sen Coleman (R) and Bingaman (D) introduced the *International Student and Scholar Access Act of 2004* (S. 2715) which however had a brief life and lied dead since.

In 2005, the US the Senate recommended[2] a streamlining of the SEVIS system and a simplification of the procedure when students had to exit the country for scientific or personal purposes. Indeed, the simplification of the SEVIS system, joint with a lower dollar, helped re-increase foreign enrollment during the Obama years. From 2006-2016, international student enrollment increased by 60% (Usher, 2019).

Although international enrollments were again trending downward when Trump took office, policies, and rhetoric from the election campaign and his first months in office exacerbated the issue. In the 2017-2018 academic year, new international students enrollment in U.S. colleges decreased by 6.6% (Institute of International Education [IIE], 2019) in what is called the "Trump Effect": anti-immigration rhetoric, personal safety threats, legal stress, and shifting requirements for both students and colleges

[2] Senate hearing on *Addressing the new reality of current visa policy on international students and researchers* and the CRS *Report on Monitoring Foreign Students in the United States: The Student and Exchange Visitor Information System* (SEVIS) (2005),

means potential losses of billions of dollars in revenue and fewer degrees awarded by U.S. colleges. (Hacker & Bellmore, 2020)

Following President Trump's travel ban[3] and the Supreme Court decision in *Trump v. Hawaii* (2018), immediate travel restrictions prevented students from Muslim-majority countries from entering the United States. For students already studying in the United States, this meant that visiting their home countries would result in being unable to return to their academic institutions. (Hacker & Bellmore, 2020)

The coronavirus pandemic provided additional avenues to restrict academic mobility. The federal government chose not to extend student visas for international students taking online-only courses beyond the spring of 2020. (Hacker & Bellmore, 2020)

In March 2020, the Student and Exchange Visitor Program, which is a division of U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement, stated that non-immigrant students could continue to reside in the United States as long as they made progress in their studies, regardless of the location of the courses (i.e., online or in-person). However, in July 2020, it notified colleges that international students enrolled in the 2020 fall semester would be required to leave the United States if their classes were completely online Harvard and MIT (Massachusetts Institute of Technology) sued to prevent the rules from taking effect, the Trump administration rescinded the new policy in a resolution with the plaintiffs. This allowed students who already were in the US to stay, although new international students still could not arrive in the United States in fall 2020 if their course load included more than three credits of online-only instruction. (Hacker & Bellmore, 2020)

According to the *Open Doors* report, after a -15% in international enrollments in the fall of 2020, during the 2021-22 academic year, 948,516 international students studied in the U.S., up 4% from the previous academic year. China, India, and South Korea are the top three sending countries, though the number of students from China decreased by 8.6%[4]. Numbers are up also when it comes to European students: likely an effect of Brexit, in 2021-22 there was a 22.4% increase in the number of Europeans who choose to study in the US[5]

Unsurprisingly, there was a 91.1% decrease in study abroad participants from 2019-20 to 2020-21[6], though the IIE's Snapshot Surveys indicate a rebound in study abroad

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[3] Exec. Order No. 13769, 2017

[4] https://opendoorsdata.org/data/international-students/enrollment-trends/

[5] https://opendoorsdata.org/data/international-students/all-places-of-origin/

[6] https://opendoorsdata.org/data/us-study-abroad/u-s-study-abroad-for-academic-credit-trends/

is on the near horizon: 83% of institutions anticipated increased study abroad numbers in 2022-23[7].

College education in the EU and the US

SCAN TO WATCH

International Education as a government policy tool

Educational exchanges are an important part of what Harvard scholar Joseph Nye has defined as the United States' "soft power". As the *NAFSA Taskforce on International Students Access* underlined, openness to international students serves long standing and important US foreign policy, educational and economic interests.

International education in the US is primarily seen in terms of economics and national security. According to the annual *International Student Economic Value Tool*, international students studying at U.S. colleges and universities contributed $33.8 billion and supported 335,423 jobs to the U.S. economy during the 2021-2022 academic year[8]. Higher education is therefore among the United States' top service sector exports, as international students provide revenues to the U.S. economy and individual host states for tuition, living expenses, including room and board, books and supplies, transportation, health insurance, support for accompanying family members, and other miscellaneous items.

Furthermore, as *Open Doors* reports, more than 60% of all international students receive most of their funds from personal and family sources and, when other sources of foreign funding are included, such as assistance from their home country

[7] https://www.alliance-exchange.org/opinion-articles/2022-open-doors-report-whats-next-for-international-education/
[8] https://www.nafsa.org/policy-and-advocacy/policy-resources/nafsa-international-student-economic-value-tool-v2

governments or universities, over 70% of all international students' primary funding comes from sources outside of the United States. This allows schools to be able to offer more grants and financial support to US citizens. In addition, US-educated students take home preference for American products and business students in particular take home an education in US practices. At the university levels, the rationale for international student recruitment is therefore principally revenue generation. This however does not only compromises in-class and on-campus diversity, but also creates potential financial risks and vulnerabilities.

Foreign and defense policies also played an important role in international education, particularly during the Cold War. That period has influenced international education in the United States perhaps more than any other period.

Prior to the 1940s, the United States depended on Europe as a major source of scientific capital. World War II (WWII) initiated a vastly expanded role for the U.S. government in funding, administering, and conducting research and development. President Franklin Roosevelt created the U.S. Office of Scientific Research and Development (OSRD) by executive order in June 1941 to ensure "adequate provision for research on scientific and medical problems relating to the national defense." (Sargent, J.F. and Gallo M.E. 2021:1) The R&D managed by OSRD contributed to the Allied victory in WWII in several ways. Among its best-known achievements were the development of atomic weapons under the Manhattan Project and the development of radar. Several of today's largest and most prestigious U.S. national laboratories have their roots in these efforts[9].

Considering the success of the nation's WWII investments in R&D, President Roosevelt sent a letter to OSRD Director Vannevar Bush in November 1944 requesting recommendations on the future of the nation's scientific enterprise, including what government could do to aid the research activities of public and private organizations. In his report, Bush asserted that "science is a proper concern of government" and advocated for a strong and steady federal government commitment to scientific research to "insure our health, prosperity, and security as a nation in the modern world." (Sargent, J.F. and Gallo M.E. 2021: 2)

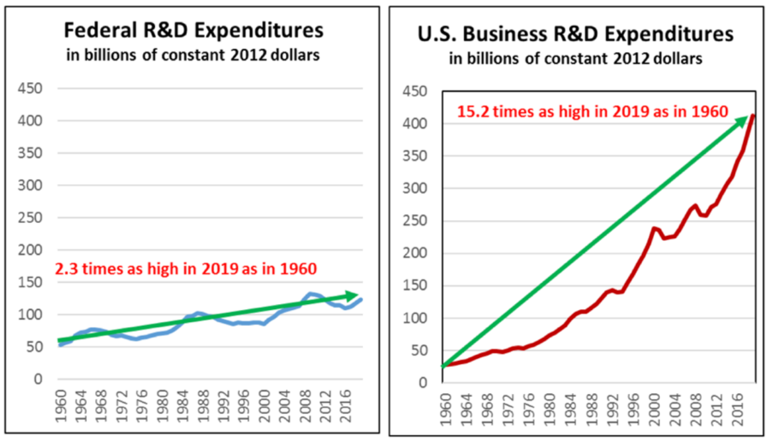
Following WWII, with most of the developed world still recovering from the devastation of the war and with rapid growth in U.S. government and private investment in R&D, the United States came to dominate global R&D spending. The

[9] https://sgp.fas.org/crs/natsec/R45403.pdf

'National Defense Education Act' (NDEA) of 1958 was for instance a direct reaction to the launch the year before of Sputnik I by the Soviet Union and an effort by the USA to regain international leadership (De Wit, 2001)

DOD has been active in pursuing collaboration and interaction with academia. For example, in 2022, DoD announced today awards of $28.7 million in grants to 17 university-based faculty teams through the Minerva Research Initiative to support research in social and behavioral science[10].

Figure 5. Growth in Federal and U.S. Business R&D Expenditures, 1960-2019



Source: CRS analysis of data from National Science Foundation, *National Patterns of R&D Resources: 2018–19 Data Update*, April 9, 2021.

Table 1. Nations with the Largest Gross Expenditures on R&D, 2019
(in billions of current purchasing power parity (PPP) U.S. dollars)

Nation	Amount	Share of Global Total
United States	$657.5	29.9%
China	525.7	23.9%
Japan	173.3	7.9%
Germany	147.5	6.7%
South Korea	102.5	4.7%
France	72.8	3.3%
United Kingdom	56.9	2.6%
Russia	44.5	2.0%
Taiwan	44.0	2.0%
Italy	38.8	1.8%

Source: CRS analysis of OECD 2019 Gross Expenditures on R&D (GERD) data accessed May 5, 2021.

[10] https://www.defense.gov/News/Releases/Release/Article/2944623/department-of-defense-awards-287m-in-grants-for-the-fy2021-minerva-research-ini/

Internationalization of the curriculum has also been stimulated by the federal government by way of 'Title VI' of the 'Higher Education Act' of 1960 and the 'National Defense Education Act', though not always delivering the results the military had hoped for. Title VI has helped to develop multidisciplinary Area Study and Foreign Language Centers, as well as programs for International Studies and International Affairs. As Goodwin and Nacht (1991, 110) state, the reason for the involvement of the federal government was based on the United States' new-found role as 'leader of the free world'. "If the United States was to contain communism abroad and assist new nations to evolve with democratic governments and free market economies, the American people had to understand both a great deal about friend and foe and much about the world system that was being reconstructed from the ashes of the empires."

In 1966, President Johnson proposed the 'International Education Act' (IEA). It was a major attempt by the government to stimulate international education. The IEA was passed Congress but was never funded by the new legislature elected shortly after IEA was passed. The Vietnam War and internal tensions in American society in that period meant that attention for international education and the IEA drifted away. (De Wit 2001) As Vestal (1994, 32-33) observed "Federal funding for international education has been passed most successfully when brigaded with practical and strategic concerns: national defense (NDEA); public diplomacy (...) and intelligence (NSEA)." The case of international education on its own was clearly not strong enough and the relevance of the IEA for the national interest not enough to make the act work. The IEA did not get enough support from the academic community either. The failure of the IEA was the start of a period, lasting until the beginning of the 1980s, in which both the federal government and foundations shifted their attention from international education to domestic issues. (De Wit 2001)

As the Cold War ended, the United States had found it more difficult to define its 'national interest', offering at the same time new strategic opportunities. National interested was thus progressively replaced by economic and business interests. (Hacker & Bellmore, 2020)

The creation of the Centers for International Business Education and Research under Part B of 'Title VI' of the 'Higher Education Act' is an illustration that "national interest came to be supplemented (but certainly not replaced) by the competitiveness paradigm" (Holzner and Greenwood, 1995, 40). As an internal document of the 'Education Abroad Program' of the University of California (Education Abroad Program, 1995) states: "With the demise of the Soviet Empire, definitions of national interest shifted from such goals as influencing the 'non-aligned' and studying 'the enemy' to learning how to compete and prosper in a far-flung global economy.,, Holzner (1994) states that "no longer only acquainting young people with the ways of foreign cultures" but also demands for high competence in a more competitive global market place became dominant. Mestenhauser (2000) also refers to the change of rationale from international understanding and avoiding wars and conflicts to global competitiveness in American international education.

In 2001, a resolution introduced by the-Senator John Kerry[11] suggested that the United States should establish an international education policy to enhance national security, significantly further U.S. foreign policy and economic competitiveness, and promote mutual understanding and cooperation among nations. It included among policy objectives: (1) producing citizens with a high level of international experience; (2) promoting greater diversity of locations, languages, and subjects involved in teaching, research, and study abroad; (3) increasing participation in internships abroad; (4) invigorating citizen and professional international exchange programs; (5) supporting visas and employment policies that promote increased numbers of international students; (6) encouraging programs that begin foreign language learning in the United States at an early age; (7) promoting educational exchanges and research collaboration with American educational institutions abroad; and (8) promoting partnerships among government, business, and educational institutions and organizations to provide adequate resources for implementing this policy.

A drop in internationalization

All things considered, however, the US is falling behind in the process of internationalization of higher education, whereas with Internationalization of Higher Educations (IaH) we intend the process of integrating an international/intercultural dimension into the teaching, research, and service functions of the institution. (De Wit, 2001) or the purposeful integration of international and intercultural dimensions into the formal and informal curriculum for all students within domestic learning environments' (Beelen and Jones, 2015). According to the *Times-Higher Education*'s internationalization ranking, the first U.S. institution is MIT, ranking #30. Harvard ranks #52; Stanford #56; Princeton #58. The top universities in the ranking are all European and Asian.

[11] S. CON. Res. 7 of 2001

While the rate of growth in global student mobility has increased steadily over the past 20 years, with the average growth rate being 5%[12] right before Covid started, only 10% of globally mobile students listed the United States as their preferred destination, and only 1.4 % of the total US student population participated in study abroad, principally at undergraduate level. (Wise, 2020). Percent that however becomes much smaller when it comes to minorities or underprivileged students. There is still work to be done to ensure the study abroad population reflects the US population: while 46% of students in the U.S. come from minority racial and/or ethnic backgrounds, only 32% of study abroad participants identify as such[13].

The COVID-19 crisis caused a drop of 24 percentage points – from 64% to 40% – in university and college administrators who said the overall level of their institution's internationalization was very high, high, or moderate.[14] The survey of 903 colleges and universities found the percentage of institutions reporting that internationalization was a "low" priority grew by one-third to 32%, while those considering internationalization a "very low" priority almost doubled to 28%. The decline accords with data released by the National Student Clearinghouse Research Center (NSCRC). NSCRC found that between fall 2020 and fall 2022, there were 8.4% fewer international students on America's campuses. The greatest decline, 17.2%, occurred in the public four-year institutions, the largest sector in American higher education. (Greenfield, 2022).

U.S. Study Abroad for Academic Credit Trends

U.S. STUDY ABROAD DATA
FROM THE 2022 *OPEN DOORS®* REPORT

Year	U.S. Study Abroad Students	% Change
2020/21	14,549	-91.1
2019/20	162,633	-53.1
2018/19	347,099	1.6
2017/18	341,751	2.7
2016/17	332,727	2.3
2015/16	325,339	3.8
2014/15	313,415	2.9
2013/14	304,467	5.2

12 https://www.alliance-exchange.org/opinion-articles/2022-open-doors-report-whats-next-for-international-education/

13 https://www.alliance-exchange.org/opinion-articles/2022-open-doors-report-whats-next-for-international-education/

14 https://www.alliance-exchange.org/opinion-articles/2022-open-doors-report-whats-next-for-international-education/

The practical implications of this decline in internationalization are wide-ranging. They include the colleges' financial operations, staffing, diversity, institutional research, the economy, faculty and student diversity, and cultural competence. (Hacker & Bellmore, 2020) point out, Financially, the operational side of internationalization has become big business— many billions of dollars, euros, and other currencies are spent on internationalization programs and earned by universities, private companies, and a vast array of providers, insurance companies, recruiters, and others. International students contributed more than $32.8 billion to the U.S. economy. (Altbach & de Wit, 2017)

The backlash from international students has primarily affected STEM programs, which in turn affect the market share of research in the United States, and academic mobility. The lack of mobility also impacts faculty and staff in higher education, limiting collaborative opportunities and the pipeline for graduate students who perform field and laboratory work at research-intensive colleges (Altbach & de Wit, 2017).

The implications go beyond employment or education. With declining numbers of international students, the impact on a diverse student body is dramatic at smaller colleges and those located in the Midwest. For many smaller colleges in the nation's interior, international students represent the heart of a diverse collegiate experience. The lack of diverse student bodies means "internationalization, already perceived to be elitist, will likely only be afforded by prestigious universities" (Altbach & de Wit, 2017: 4). The limited opportunities for learning from and with those of diverse backgrounds puts students at risk of widening the divide.

Is an American or a European Degree worthier?

SCAN TO WATCH

3

The global diffusion of U.S. legal thought:

changing influence and legal education in crisis

by

Fernanda Nicola

During the twentieth century, the center of production of legal ideas shifted from France to Germany and then to the United States. Here, the dominant legal reasoning framed the law as a phenomenon of social organization that was not confined to a specific legal system. There were both external and internal factors influencing U.S. legal thought which explain this change of wind from continental Europe to the United States. Externally, after World War II the United States garnered influence by positioning itself for political and economic global leadership. Internally, the critique of social purpose functionalism articulated by the legal realists provided new problem-solving approaches integrated in a reconstructive and pragmatic understanding of law called positive-sociology functionalism. Finally, legal diffusion occurred through public law disciplines based on U.S. constitutional law theories of rights, neo-formalism, and balancing conflicting policy analysis. (Kennedy 2006)

The diffusion of legal education takes place through law schools, nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), international financial institutions (IFIs) and other avenues, and with different political agendas, often in con- junction, for instance, with law and development reforms or more broadly due to the prestige of U.S. legal training and academia. (Graziadei 2009) U.S. legal thought reached Latin America, Asia, Europe, and Africa through the transplant of legal institutions. The diffusion of U.S. legal styles often changed the process rather than the content of legal education, which resulted in local curriculum reforms that reflected the more pragmatic U.S. education style. (Twinning 2005)

Legal Diffusion through Legal Education

Since the beginning of the twentieth century the United States has been a successful recipient of European legal ideas. (Wilson 2012) However, by the end of World War II, the direction changed as the United States became a major center of production of the global legal consciousness, or the langue, used by transnational legal elites. (Kennedy 2006.)

In the post-war era, law schools played an important role in the diffusion of U.S. legal thought around the world often driven by law and development goals. (Galantier and Trubek 1974) Cosmopolitan law schools in North America received many Jewish émigré law professors who maintained their European ties after the war. U.S. law schools developed graduate programs initially influenced by European doctoral models, but later on switched gears to influence legal elites around the globe. (Hupper 2007)

In past decades, graduate programs in North America educated lawyers who became part of global legal and political elites working in transnational firms or international organizations. (Dezalay and Bryant 2012). US-based academics increasingly served as legal advisors to draft, interpret, and reform the constitutions of countries in transition, or to lead neoliberal market reforms legitimized by the Washington consensus ideology in allegedly corrupt governments in need of constant legal reform. (Esquirol 2008). In either case, US law schools and their professors became important agents of legal change exporting either the mainstream or the critiques to U.S. legal thought to the rest of the world. (Brown and Halley 2002). Even though the diffusion of U.S. legal education has been studied more systematically by social scientists than lawyers, lawyers remain central agents of legal change. (Twinning 2006)

The difficulty in mapping the diffusion of US legal thought is how to measure the influence of US legal ideas in another country's legal reasoning style. Legal education is an excellent starting point because law schools provide the necessary training which every lawyer must undertake. Since the 1990s, US law schools have developed graduate programs including masters or doctorates in law that have educated professors in Canada, Israel, Korea, Colombia, and Taiwan (Hupper 2008)

The prestige of US legal education went hand in hand with the pre-dominance of Western legal ideas such as the promotion of democracy and the rule of law. For instance, China's increasing geopolitical power and economic performance in the last twenty years led to dramatic changes in its traditional and post-communist legal system slowly committing to introduce Western rule of law principles. (Alford 2000) The prestige of being involved in institutions such as the World Trade Organization (WTO), as well as maintaining the prized most favored nation trade status, nudged China towards reforming its legal system in a way that was more in line with Western principles, at least on the surface. (Clarke 2003) The change in China was prompted also by the dramatic expansion of its legal education. Universities in the United States are the sites where many Chinese legal scholars regularly visit through U.S. legal assistance programs and funds for cooperation. (DeListe 1999) US law literature is ample in law libraries of Chinese universities and the highest numbers of citations of foreign literature are directed to American scholarly works, cases and legislation. Chinese scholars are familiar with many law terms which originated from or were affected by U.S. law, such as: administrative regulations and deregulation, public choice and game theory, disclosure of government information and certainly the due process principle and hearings. (Haibo 2008)

Signs of the Waning Influence of U.S. Legal Thought

The emerging influence of BRICS (Brazil, Russia, India, China, and South Africa) over international trade and their convergence on governance models has created resistance and counter-harmonization processes to U.S. foreign trade hegemony, especially with the erratic trade policy in the Trump era (Scaffardi 2013). In testing the limits of the diffusion of U.S. legal thought around the world – from public to private law – U.S. legal doctrines, ideas, and policies appear as retro rather than avant-garde compared to emerging global models. For instance, South African transformative constitutional law principles embedded in its Constitution of 1996 have allowed the South African Constitutional Court to engage in a comparative constitutional discourse that has become a model in a diverse number of legal subjects, from socio-economic rights to same sex marriage. (Macarena 2015). In a similar way Brazilian trade strategies within the multilateral forum of the WTO have carved their own policy autonomy in order to challenge issues such as exchange rate misalignments through antidumping measures. (Santos 2012)

The successful advancement of US legal ideas after World War II went hand in hand with neoliberal policies. From the mid-1990s until 2005, neoliberalism was waning as a result of disappointment with the neoliberal market shock therapy in Russia and Latin American and opposition to structural adjustment policies across the Global South. This changed law and development strategies to include civil society as well as human and social goals in the post-neoliberal development agenda. (Kennedy 2006) The rising legal and political elites from the peripheries and semi-peripheries of China, Africa, and Latin America were moving from straightforward neoliberal economic recipes and rights-based approaches to a more selective reception of US legal thought.

Although legal realism, legal process, and rights neo-formalist insights of US legal thought were successfully globalized elsewhere, these no longer satisfied the needs of rising legal elites from the Global South, the semi-peripheries of China, Africa and Latin America who were seeking to integrate global and native styles, and even more recently the Brexit and Trump supporters who felt left out from economic globalization and the rise of neoliberalism (Kennedy 2017)

The Decline of One Kind of US Constitutionalism

During the 1980s, the diffusion of US legal thought went hand in hand with neoliberal policies not only in law and development circles, but also in private and regulatory law circles in the European Union (EU). The diffusion of US mainstream law and economics was central to the engineers of the internal market in Europe reforming product liability law. US law and economics was appealing to European elites for its combination of rights neo-formalist approaches and analytics borrowed from neoliberal economics. With the increasing political and legal divide across the Atlantic marked by the Iraq war and other regulatory conflicts over privacy protection, Right v. Left approaches to U.S. law and economics were no longer taken at face value. Instead, for European private lawyers, the selective reception of U.S. law and economics became part of their strategies in relation to European integration. (Nicola 2008)

Praise for US constitutional law by its liberal and cosmopolitan elites appears in decline. For example, sounding almost defeated, Anne-Marie Slaughter stated that "[o]ne of our great exports used to be constitutional law." (Liptak 2008). Today, foreign courts in well- established democracies prefer to cite the case law of the European Court of Human Rights in cases concerning equality, liberty, and prohibitions against cruel treatment, rather than US case law. This downturn in US dominance is often explained as a result of the increasing sophistication of transnational elites all over the world. Additionally, these courts appear more liberal than their US counterparts. As journalist Adam Liptak noted, “American ideas are for export, and there’s very little effort in the U.S. legal system to import ideas.” Israeli Supreme Court Chief Justice Aharon Barak (2002) has publicly stated that the US Supreme Court “is losing the central role it once had among courts in modern democracies”.

Meanwhile, even American Supreme Court justices have noticed the chilling effect that isolationist judicial thought can create. For example, Justice Ginsburg noted, “the failure to engage foreign decisions had resulted in diminished influence for the United States Supreme Court.” The Canadian Supreme Court, she said, is “probably cited more widely abroad than the U.S. Supreme Court.” There is one reason for that, she said: “You will not be listened to if you don’t listen to others.” (Liptak 2008). Foreign Supreme Courts could be looking less at US courts due to the reputation of their government abroad as a result of an imperialist foreign policy. In a similar vein, other constitutional courts will position themselves at the opposite side of the legal spectrum than the US Supreme Court in an attempt to broadly reject a Western individualist notion of rights, like in the case of the Plurinational Constitutional Court in Bolivia. (Lopez-Medina 2013)

From Crisis to the Changes in U.S. Legal Education

US legal education is in the midst of a crisis, between skyrocketing student debt, in part financed by the government, the downturn in law school applications, and the high unemployment rates for lawyers. One approach to solving the crisis, which is supported by scholars and practitioners, aims at transforming US law schools from intellectual global hubs into localized training schools for lawyers proposing to shift from a three- to two-year JD (Juris Doctor) program and to open pro bono practice firms in law schools. Due to a sharp decrease in student enrollment, US law schools are cutting resources for their international programs to strengthen local practice and Bar passage. Many predict a long-term crisis for law schools spurred in part by the global financial crisis, the high legal unemployment rate, and the skyrocketing debts carried by students in legal education. It is too early, however, to determine the real consequences of the current crisis in legal education ranging from structural changes in the employment market for lawyers to the lavish expenditures of law schools in fancy buildings and high faculty salaries (Fallon and Melzer 2007) Yet this second more simplistic narrative appears to have more traction by severely impacting law schools' reputations and allowing quick-fix solutions that might have a disastrous impact on the long-term intellectual output of law schools.

The reformist approach to such crisis aims at transforming US law schools from intellectual global hubs into localized, low-cost training schools for transactional lawyers driven by Bar passage. At the global level US law schools have emerged as sites in which legal elites have the resources to monitor the democratic failures even in Western countries, or they can train the students and the future elites committed to advancement of the Inter-American Human Rights System. (Grossman 2009)

With the increasing competition from Europe, China, Brazil, and India offering competitive and often less costly legal education, U.S. law schools are challenged to reform and rethink their curriculum for global elites. (Grossman 2010) For instance, the EU was spurred by economic and legal integration to rethink and reform; various EU soft and hard law initiatives are creating dynamic and competitive law schools aiming at creating a transnational legal elite of lawyers. (Lombay 2012)

It is no longer clear whether the production of transnational legal elites will continue taking place in US law schools through their pricy graduate programs offering skills tailored to local rather than global legal practice. For instance, the average cost of a graduate EU degree is $16,000 for an LL.M. degree, against the $50,000 average in the US, and there are at the moment 173 E.U. programs offering such degrees. Since 2003, in Europe there have been at least 36 new international LL.M. programs established in 27 different law schools in Europe.

The shift in influence of US legal education, as a mean of diffusion, has therefore affected law schools in the US rather than abroad. In the United States, law schools are turning inwards, cutting the funding to teach international law courses for JD students in favor of "real" courses, i.e. private and transactional law, rather than public international law which is perceived as impractical for obtaining a "real legal job" and as nurturing "unrealistic expectations." (Posner and Goldsmith 2005) The mode of diffusion of US legal education is therefore changing. Law schools that shape the consciousness of the students committed to social justice at home or abroad through a mix of pragmatic, analytical, and interdisciplinary training skills are being replaced by problem-solving programs narrowly committed to local transactional practice. With respect to the subject's thoughts rather than comparative constitutional and global human rights classes, the external focus of US legal education happens increasingly through the lens of NSL and US foreign policy or foreign relations.

Even though it might become unattractive or too expensive to pursue legal education in the United States, the prestige of its pedagogy does not appear undermined. On the contrary, the use of the Socratic method in the classroom, the adoption of the Bluebook Law Review style and the shift from treatise to case method, are spreading throughout the Europe, Asia, and Latin America. Another example of the spreading of American style in judicial deliberations is the increasing use of dissenting and concurring opinions introduced by the European Court of Human Rights. (Mattei 1993) The academic push towards introducing US style dissenting and concurring opinions in the Court of Justice of the EU is justified to address a stifling and cryptic judicial reasoning, or to create more visibility in its human rights jurisprudence. (De Burca 2013) Finally, the transplant of US legal education abroad is facilitated by the fact that its legal elites speak the language that in turn contributes to the global norm-production of legal regimes (Graziadei 2009)

Questions remain as to which legal elites and which ends are served by the push towards US-style legal education. The increasing emergence of US-style law schools created by non- US academic institutions have become part of the US legal discourse. However, there is little research on how US. legal education and legal style are advanced by non-US academics or institutions that are located beyond US borders. Americanization is not necessarily a neocolonial and imperial strategy, but it might serve local elites different purposes, often departing from the US underlying goal. (Stancil and Backer 2013)

Yet the diffusion of US legal education continues by other complex and indirect means, especially abroad where US law schools in Asia, Europe, and Latin America are engaged in spreading legal education that is often underexplored. (Kalhan 2013) For instance, US law schools have committed to transitional and global legal education with summer or semester programs abroad, trying to modernize and make more attractive their curriculum to law students. However, once explored more closely, such attempts come at a high cost because they consolidate a model that reproduces the power structures of the global political economy. (Nesiah 2013)

Finally, the unintended consequences that academic globalization of U.S. education abroad encounters when going to authoritarian and non-democratic regimes can be seen in the case of the Yale University's establishment of an undergraduate college in Singapore. There, limits on campus-free expression, freedom of assembly, and other civil and political rights affect Yale's ability to deliver US-style education. Similar issues were raised in the New York University Abu Dhabi campus in relation to discrimination of sexual orientation and the overall dilution of human rights standards. (Flaherty 2013)

The shift in modes of diffusion of US legal education, namely the inward-looking business practice coupled by an understanding of international and comparative law through the national security lens will impact the consciousness of future transnational legal elites.

Where is best to study Law?
US and EU compared

SCAN TO WATCH

4.

The Internationalization of Higher Education in the European Union

by

Federiga Bindi

The European case is very interesting. It shows that when there is a vision, a strategy, and money on the table, a whole continent's higher education system can be radically transformed. Internationalization in Europe has grown out of, and been strongly influenced by, the Erasmus program initiated by the European Commission over 30 years ago. Beyond students' mobility, Erasmus has had an even greater impact on the internationalization and reform of higher education in Europe. It piloted the *European Credit Transfer System* (ECTS) and it paved the way for the *Bologna Process* and the realization of the European Higher Education area, which in turn has generated the European Commission's first comprehensive internationalization strategy: *European Higher Education in the World* (2013). It has inspired cooperation between Europe and the rest of the world, and it continues to act as a model and inspiration for others, even though no comparable initiatives have yet been developed elsewhere.

Before the introduction of the European programs, EU International mobility was mainly characterized by historical ties with former colonies: political considerations; presence of political refugees; economic considerations; educational demands; research co-operation in the natural sciences; top-level postgraduate study; migration of 'guest workers'; increasing foreign language competence at school level; traditional mobility of elites; co-operation at postgraduate level between Western Europe and the US; mobility of Third World students and staff to Western Europe. A European policy for internationalization did not exist. At the national level, international co-operation and exchange was included in bilateral agreements between nations and in development co-operation programs, driven by political rationales. Institutions were passive partners in these programs. (Baumgratz-Gangl 1996)

In the 1970s, this changed. In 1972, Sweden set up a program emphasizing internationalization as a means to promote international understanding, co-operation and peace, a program in which the universities should play an active role as change agents. The program included measures to internationalize the curriculum; credit transfer and exchanges (Lowbeer 1977). Germany also shifted around that time from a foreign affairs policy of internationalization to a more regulative and differentiated approach. Outgoing mobility was given more emphasis than the previous open-doors policy for foreign students. The establishment of an 'Integrated Study Abroad' program, administered by the DAAD, is an illustration of that change. A change in pattern from South-North mobility to North-North mobility accompanied these changes (Baron 1993; Kehm and Last 1997).

In 1976, the Council of the European Communities adopted an action program for education. This was the first such move since the Treaty of Rome did not mention education as an area for community action. The 1957 Treaty of Rome only included the principles of common vocational training, not other areas of education. Action was limited mainly to information exchange and exchange of young workers. Other initiatives, such as the creation of European schools, cultural and scientific co-operation, the creation of a European University, scientific and technological co-operation, and mutual recognition of diplomas, were not a formal part of the treaty, owing to political motives and related delays in decision making. (Brouwer, 1996). The Commission therefore had to justify its action program by non-educational, mainly economic criteria.

In 1973, the creation of a Directorate for Education, Research and Science (DG XII) under the responsibility of the first Commissioner for Science and Education, Ralf Dahrendorf, not only institutionalized education within the Commission structure but also linked EC policies for education and research. With this, the Commission was able to move away from having to base its rationales for an education and research policy on non-educational arguments - economic rationales primarily- to a pro-active and integrated policy in these fields. (De Wit 2001)

In 1974, the ministers of education of the European Community adopted the principles for an 'Education Action Programme', which was consequently launched in 1976. It was composed of three main categories: mobility in education, education for children of immigrant workers and the intention to implement a European dimension in education. The action program included three measures for higher education: 'Joint Study Programmes', 'Short Study Visits' and an ‘educational administrators’ program. (De Wit 2001)

In the late l970s and early 1980s, the notion of ‘study abroad' in the sense of sending students to foreign institutions of higher education as part of their home degree program, started to emerge. Before this period, organized program for the exchange of students and staff did exist, such as the Fulbright Program in the US and the bilateral cultural and academic agreements of European countries. But these programs were limited in both funding and scope, stimulating mainly unrelated exchanges at post-graduate level. As we have seen, in the 1970s more structural exchange-stimulating program were established, first in Sweden and the Federal Republic of Germany. These programs were inspired by the development of study abroad programs at American universities in Europe in the same period, but the German and Swedish schemes distinguished themselves from their American examples by the fact that they were much more focused on integration of their own students into the foreign host universities, while the American programs were more isolated satellites of the American home institution. (De Wit 2001)

The 1976 'Joint Study Programmes' scheme of the EC aimed at the promotion of joint programs of study and research between institutions in several member states. The focus of this experimental program was primarily the stimulation of academic mobility within the EC.

The program grew gradually from 32 projects in its first year, 1976/77, to 200 in 1983/84, with a budget of 700,000 ECU. In 1984, the Commission added a budget line for student grants into the Joint Study Programmes Scheme. The launch of COMETT, a program for co-operation between higher education and industry, in 1986, and of ERASMUS, a program for co-operation within higher education, in 1987, took place in this period. They were followed by several other education program: EURTECNET, a scheme for the development of professional education and information technology, in 1985; PETRA, a program to promote co-operation and exchange in further education, in 1987; DELTA, a scheme for learning technologies, in 1988; IRIS (later NOW), a scheme to promote professional education for women, in 1989; LINGUA, a scheme for the promotion of the learning of European languages, in 1989; and FORCE, a scheme for continuing education of workers, in 1990. (De Wit 2001)

The development of the European mobility schemes influenced the creation of a new profession of international relations officers in European academic institutions. In 1988, this resulted in a plan to create a European professional organization of university staff involved in international affairs, forty years after the creation of their American sister, association NAFSA. The letter of invitation for this new organization, 'European Association for International Education' (EAIE), dated of July 6,1988, makes the strong link with the European mobility programs clear: *"European action programmes like ERASMUS and similar schemes being developed make the foundation of a professional organisation mandatory."* (European Association for International Education, 1999: 5).

The creation in 1989 and further development of the 'European Association for International Education' (EAIE) with a membership and conference participation of over 1500, went hand in hand with the further expansion of the European mobility schemes and institutional responses to the internationalization of higher education in Europe. The European programs and broader, the internationalization of European higher education, also became more dominant on the agenda of the European Rectors' Conference (CRE, later renamed Association of Universities in Europe). (De Wit 2001)

Thanks to ERASMUS, in the period 1987-1993, more than 200,000 students and 15,000 faculty were exchanged. (De Wit 2001)

INTERNATIONAL MOBILITY IN THE EU AND THE US

SCAN TO WATCH

The Maastricht Treaty, signed in 1992 and ratified on November 1, 1993, included education for the first time. In 1991, the EC published the 'Memorandum on Higher Education in the European Community'. This document was the basis for an intensive debate on the role of the European Union in education and on the future of the educational programs. (De Wit 2001)

On June 19, 1999, in Bologna, Italy, the ministers of education of 29 European countries signed the Declaration on the 'European Higher Education Area'. The joint declaration was based on the understanding that *"a Europe of Knowledge is now widely recognized as an irreplaceable factor for social and human growth and as an indispensable component to consolidate and enrich the European citizenship, capable of giving its citizens the necessary competences to face the challenges of the new millennium, together with an awareness of shared values and belonging to a common social and cultural space. The importance of education and educational co-operation in the development and strengthening of stable, peaceful and democratic societies is universally acknowledged as paramount, the more so in view of the situation in South East Europe.* " (Bologna Declaration, 19 June, 1999).

The wide support for this declaration beyond the member states of the European Union is unique and has attracted broad international attention. In the declaration, the ministers aimed to reach the following objectives:

- adoption of a system of easily to understand and comparable degrees, including the adoption of a Diploma Supplement;
- adoption of a system essentially based on two main cycles, undergraduate and graduate Establishment of a system of credits - such as the European Credit Transfer System, ECTS - as a means of promoting student mobility;
- promotion of mobility by overcoming obstacles to the effective exercise of free movement; promotion of European co-operation in quality assurance; and
- promotion of the European dimension in higher education. (De Wit 2001)

Two major motivations led to the Bologna Process. They are related, but not identical. One is to create a single space of higher education in Europe, with similar structural features, transparency tools, etc., in which the mobility of students would be more easily possible than earlier on and in which student mobility would therefore increase considerably. The second motivation relates to the world outside the EHEA (‘external motivation’). It was the conviction of the signatories of the Bologna Declaration that the new European system of higher education would exert a world-wide degree of attraction. This would also translate into increased student mobility by degree-mobile students from non-EHEA countries into the EHEA.

However, in the very first years of the Bologna Process, this ’external dimension’ was largely forgotten. Finally, the Bergen Communiqué devoted a whole section to the ‘attractiveness of the EHEA and cooperation with other parts of the world’. The ultima ratio of the Bologna Process is the – quantitative and qualitative – enhancement of student mobility inside of, and into the EHEA. The different forms of internationalized curricula that have been considered within the Bologna Process are integrated study programs, double and multiple degree programs, and joint degree programs (sometimes leading to a joint degree when legally possible). (EACEA 2020). Over the years, the Bologna Process has grown into a Europe-wide policy platform for coordinated higher education reform.

As for the ERASMUS+, since 2014, the program has become broader and more innovative, providing opportunities for study periods abroad, traineeships, and apprenticeships for both higher education and vocational education and training students. It offers youth exchanges, volunteering, and staff exchanges in all fields of education, training and youth, as well as projects in the field of sport. Erasmus+ also continued to become more open to people from disadvantaged backgrounds.

For the period 2021-27, ERASMUS+ has an estimated budget of €26.2 billion**,** nearly doubling the funding compared to its predecessor programme (2014-2020), complemented by around €2.2 billion from the EU external cooperation instrument. 70% of the budget will support mobility opportunities. 30% of the budget will be invested in cooperation projects and policy development activities where organizations gain experience in international cooperation, strengthen their capacities, produce innovative approaches, exchange good practices and network. Erasmus+ has also further grown to offers mobility and cooperation opportunities in:

- higher education
- vocational education and training
- school education (including early childhood education and care)
- adult education
- youth
- sport[15]

A program that has highly contributed, in its over 15 years of life, to international mobility at the graduate level is the *Erasmus Mundus*. Erasmus Mundus Joint Masters are high-level and integrated study programs, at the graduate level. They are designed and delivered by an international partnership of higher education institutions. They involve at least three universities from three different countries, of which at least two

[15] European Commission, Directorate-General for Education, Youth, Sport and Culture, *Erasmus+ 2021-2027: enriching lives, opening minds through the EU programme for education, training, youth and sport*, Publications Office, 2021

must be EU Member States and third countries associated to the program. By supporting these jointly recognized Masters' degrees, the EU aims at fostering excellence and internationalization of the participating institutions. Students at masters' level from all over the world can apply. Scholarships cover the cost of a student's participation in the program, travel, and a living allowance.

For more than 15 years, over 600 different universities from 33 Erasmus+ Programme Countries have operated 535 Erasmus Mundus Master projects. 1,7 billion Euros have been invested by the EU in this action, allowing more than 24,500 students worldwide to benefit from a scholarship and study in Europe[16].

Erasmus Mundus "has established expanding university networks across Europe and unique new tertiary degrees that facilitate international student mobility" (Marquesa et al., 2020).

All in all, over the last three decades, more than 10 million people have participated in Erasmus+ and its predecessors for periods lasting from several months to as long as three years with Erasmus Mundus. That is 3.7% of the European youth population and 1.7% of the EU population on the whole. Erasmus programme participants learn a new language, expand their professional horizons, enlarge their own personal network and feel more European. For example, the risk of Erasmus alumni being unemployed five years after graduation is 23 percent lower than average, and one Erasmus intern in three receives an offer of work from the company which provided their internship. In other words, the European Union's mobility programme has a powerful effect on the professional lives and cultural identities of those who benefit of it[17].

[16] European Commission, European Education and Culture Executive Agency, *Implementing joint degrees in the Erasmus Mundus action of the Erasmus+ programme*, Publications Office, 2020, https://data.europa.eu/doi/10.2797/896549
[17] https://www.europeandatajournalism.eu/eng/News/Data-news/Europe-needs-a-bigger-more-inclusive-Erasmus-programme

However, just like in the US, there is in inclusivity and equity problem. The grants allocated for ERASMUS scholarships are insufficient to leave home and live in another country. Unsurprisingly, studies show that students from lower socio-economic backgrounds are less likely to study abroad than better-off students, thereby benefitting less from improved employment opportunities and language competences often associated with mobility. (Schnepf and Colagrossi 2020)

ACADEMIC MOBILITY AND GENDER EQUALITY

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Within the ERASMUS+ program, a particular mention needs to go to the Jean Monnet Program.

The Jean Monnet activities began in 1989 when the program was founded to support teaching and research about the EU to promote and help the European integration. Its aim was then refocused to promote excellence in teaching and research in the field of European Union studies, as well as to foster the dialogue between the academic world and policy-makers. It was one of the first EU program open to non-member countries as, since 2001, the Jean Monnet program opened to the entire world. Jean Monnet activities are open to any officially recognised and established higher education institutions globally, unlike most of other EU programmes. This approach has allowed the EU to expand the teaching and research about European integration to countries where the knowledge about the EU was very limited.

For decades, Jean Monnet Chairs, Centers of Excellence, modules, projects, and networks have fueled the internationalization of European universities and enhanced intra-European as well as global cooperation and ties. The program's support for European associations have allowed for the organization of international conferences, both in Europe and the US, that have brough together generations scholars of European integration in the various disciplines from all over the globe. According to an evaluation done by the European Commission, between 2007 and 2016, 1900 Jean Monnet proposals were accepted and granted across 82 different countries[18].

However, the changes brough to the Jean Monnet program in the 2021-2027 financing cycle are likely to great reduce the relevance of this until now flagship EU program. As “projects” and “networks: are not financed any more (only two networks globally can receive funding) and with the shift focusing on outreach to schools, academic institutions are progressively losing interest in the Jean Monnet program. The excessive burocratization, the decreased responsiveness of the Jean Monnet EACEA staff, and the stagnation of the amount that is given to grants’ recipeints have created wide disaffection among the academic community, especially outside the Old Continent. With no alternative seed funding, the positive influence that the Jean Monnet program has had on the internationalization of European universities and on the expasion of EU studies overseas is soon going to come to an end.

Finally, now integral part of the 2021-2027 EU budget is the so-called *European strategy for universities*[19], financing a relative new program called **“**European Universities”. European Universities are transnational alliances between partner universities that offer curricula jointly delivered across inter-university campuses, where diverse student bodies can build their own programmes and experience mobility at all levels of study, though they do not include non-EU / non-partner countries.

[18] https://ec.europa.eu/assets/eac/erasmus-plus/eval/icf-volume3-jean-monnet.pdf

[19] *Commission Communication on a European strategy for universities,* https://education.ec.europa.eu/document/commission-communication-on-a-european-strategy-for-universities?

5

The Costs and Benefits of Organizing a Multi-Institutional Simulation on the European Union

by

Gretchen Van Dyke, Andreas Sobisch, John Scherpereel, Peter Loedel, and Nick Clark

Since 1993 more than a dozen colleges and universities from the mid-Atlantic region of the United States have participated in the EU simulation organized by the Mid-Atlantic European Union Simulation Consortium (MEUSC). The simulation takes place in Washington, D.C. each November and is comprised of a three-day program carefully designed to simulate the European Union's key decision-making institutions and law-making process. Over the last three decades, over 3,000 students have completed the Mid-Atlantic EU Simulation.

The simulation enables university students to combine academic knowledge about the European Union with a practical application in debating and legislating questions relevant to EU politics and policy making. In this experiential learning program, students also absorb important *life skills*, such as: consensus building while protecting parochial interests; the benefits of cooperative group work; the value of oral argumentation and debate; the complexity of public policy analysis and implementation, and the significance of regional and even global interdependence and multiculturalism.

Many college instructors rely on instructional techniques that involve experiential and active learning: fieldwork, trigger films, case studies, laboratory projects, problems sets, guest speakers, projects on actual policy proposals, problem-based learning, blended learning, debates, media and internet assignments, journal writing, and simulations (Brock and Cameron 1999; Fox and Ronkowski 1997; Farneti et al. 2014; Maurer and Neuhold 2014; Klymenko 2014; Mihai 2014). Such active learning experiences are thought to improve students' retention and understanding of information about the subject in question (Hertel and Millis 2002; Silberman 1996) and to foster cognitive skills in which students are able to comprehend complicated material and draw linkages among "several components of a phenomenon in a logical and meaningful way" (Omelicheva and Avdeyeva 2008, 603-4).

The use of political simulations, in particular, has generated substantial interest within the pedagogy literature. As Smith and Boyer (1996) argue, simulations have multiple, valuable learning outcomes: giving students "a deeper level of insight into the political process;" encouraging an increase in student attentiveness and activity within the learning process; encouraging greater retention of academic information over the long-term; helping students "develop critical thinking and analytical skills through collaborative efforts;" and, enabling "students to develop speaking and presentation skills, [while] simultaneously building their confidence" (690-691). Simulations also create a space in which students may develop empathy for opposing viewpoints and develop unique leadership experiences (Morgan 2003; Newmann and Twigg 2000).

While some of the above-mentioned research sheds some doubt on the utility of simulations for enhancing factual learning, there are other potential benefits to the simulation experience. In particular, participating in political simulations may increase students' short and long-term interest in the topic at hand. As Krain and Lantis (2006), note: "[b]y putting students in control of their learning, interactive exercises can make the real world both relevant and intellectually exciting" (245). Fowler (2005, 156) similarly maintains that active learning tools "encourage students to become engaged in international issues by interacting with one another and grappling with problems as a practitioner might." Students who learn political content through engaged and interactive experiences may be more likely to develop an affective connection with and/or investment in that material.

Nearly all of this research focuses on classroom-based exercises in which students simulate a decision-making environment within the confines of a semester-long course. Yet, thousands of students every semester engage in Political Science and International Relations through multi-institutional simulations such as Model United Nations, Model Arab League and the European Union Simulation. Several colleges and universities support student participation in these activities and some even connect such participation with a semester-based course. With so many students engaging the subject matter through these activities, it is worthwhile to consider how such simulations are constructed and the role they may play in student learning.

What follows is a detailed examination of the most important issues and challenges faced by the MEUSC, divided into five sections: recruitment; annual topic and country selection; financing the simulation; the schedule; and student preparation.

The chapter concludes with a discussion of the first efforts made by the simulation organizers to empirically investigate the outcomes of student participation in the MEUSC, including factual knowledge acquisition, greater interest in the EU, and other potential benefits such as enhanced leadership and negotiation skills.

Launching a multi-institutional, multi-university simulation – the inputs

The MEUSC has always aimed to give students a good sense of the complexity of the decision-making process of the EU. Consequently, from the very beginning the simulation was designed around the key institutions of Commission, Parliament, and Council of Ministers (now: Council of the EU). The European Council was also included from the beginning to simulate the guiding role played by the heads of government in the overall decision-making structure of the EU. The goal was not so much to replicate reality faithfully in all its nuances, but rather to create a structure and process through which the students get to experience the roles played by the Union's main institutions and decision makers. This makes MEUSC's annual simulation a much bigger undertaking than is typically the case among simulations of the European Union; among other things, it requires a significant number of universities and students to participate in the event.

Each university delegation is typically comprised of 6-20 students who represent one or, if desired, two member states. Each national delegation includes a head of government; two cabinet ministers; an optional commissioner; and 3-10 parliamentarians. Smaller member states, such as Portugal or Slovakia, can easily get by with 6-8 delegates, but large countries, such as Germany or France, require larger parliamentary delegations to accurately reflect the distribution of political opinion within the country and to create a reasonable facsimile of the overall seat distribution within the real European Parliament. In addition, the largest 5-6 states should have about the same weight within the simulated EP as they do within the actual EP. It is also critical to achieve a reasonably accurate balance of power between left and right (and center!) within the simulated EP such that coalition formation is both necessary and achievable. All this requires careful calibration several months in advance of the simulation and is usually done by one member of the executive committee. Timely communication among faculty is critical here because the partisan balance of student parliamentarians must be brought into line with the actual seat distribution found in the EP. The fact that typically only about half of the 28 member states are represented in the simulation adds to the complexity of this endeavor.

Experience has shown that a meaningful debate and a reasonably contentious decision-making process can be achieved with about 10-12 countries represented. Since several universities typically have student delegations of 20 or more, it has become commonplace for those universities to take on more than one country at the simulation, thus increasing the total number of countries represented at the simulation to 15 or 16. It is not vital that every one of the countries represented in the simulated ministerial councils also has a parliamentary delegation. This compromise with reality ensures that the councils will be large enough to allow for a meaningful and balanced debate among the ministers seated at the table.

Recruiting Simulation participants: universities and students

Over the past 29 years the number of universities participating in the consortium has increased from three to about a dozen currently; as many have dropped out after participating for a few years as have joined the consortium in the interim. The current group has been quite stable, with most institutions having been a MEUSC member for 15 years or more. The latter fact testifies to the extraordinary loyalty and commitment that most faculty have felt toward the simulation project. Nevertheless, maintaining this commitment is often difficult, given the uncertainty of university budgets, the changing nature of departmental curricula, and the unpredictability of university administrators, whose support is imperative.

Joining the consortium requires a significant commitment of faculty time and budgetary support. Since most of the universities in the consortium are smaller liberal arts institutions, with small academic departments, these resources are rarely abundant. The average cost for participating in the MEUSC simulation ranges from $200 per student for the larger delegations (where economies of scale come into play), to $500 per student for the smaller ones. These expenditures cover program fees, accommodation, the working dinners at local restaurants, as well as transportation to and from Washington. Transportation costs naturally vary widely depending on the distance traveled and the mode of transportation chosen. Some universities hire a coach service to drive students and faculty to and from Washington, some rent vans and have faculty and/or students act as drivers, and others allow students to drive themselves in private vehicles. For a medium sized delegation of 10 students, for example, the total cost of participating in the simulation can easily amount to $4,000 or more, and, not surprisingly, few universities can commit to such an amount indefinitely. This explains the high rate of attrition of consortium membership, particularly in the early years. Even a 50/50 cost sharing scheme between students and their university might be difficult for small academic departments to afford consistently, and this still leaves the students with a hefty sum to cover out of their own pockets. Several faculty members have therefore resorted to the imposition of *lab fees*, which allow students for pay for the costs with scholarships or loans.

The consortium has adopted a policy of waiving the consortium membership fee of $400 for new members in order to reduce the barriers to entry into the group. Modest amounts of outside support have also been obtained from grants over the years, but these have rarely been large enough to justify the considerable investment of time to secure them in the first place.

Financial issues are not the only constraints. Consortium faculty face not only the administrative burden each year of organizing their students' participation in the simulation, but also uncertainly over reaping any rewards for this activity, particularly if they are untenured. While many universities have made public commitments to experiential learning and similar pedagogical innovations, in practice such commitments have not always found their way into the institutional reward structure. In addition, potential faculty members do not always have extensive expertise in the politics of the European Union, to say nothing of the minutiae of the policy/law making process itself. This can clearly be a major deterrent to recruiting new faculty into the program, although the consortium has made it clear that support is available for new faculty.

Student recruitment is often easier, although the $100-150 program fee that most universities impose, plus personal expenses, can still be a significant obstacle, affecting students of lesser means particularly severely. Experience has shown, however, that the program is very popular among students, and for most a trip to Washington and the prospect of meeting and interacting with their peers from other universities is quite attractive. In fact, over the years, a significant proportion of students has come back for a second and even a third year.

Topic and Country selection

The selection of an appropriate simulation topic is critical to the success of the event. The topic must be translatable into a realistic legislative proposal (the Resolution); the proposal must conform to the EU treaties and to the actual powers of the EU and the relevant institutions: the Commission, Parliament, and Council. Some creative license is, of course, permissible. For example, in past years faculty sometimes chose to give a role to the mock EP in a policy area where the real EP's responsibility was limited. However, such creativity is rare now because of the enhanced powers of the EP under the Lisbon Treaty. The proposal should also be contentious, with relatively clear and obvious differences of opinion among the various parties and member states. Boring topics make for a boring simulation.

The annual topic is chosen by the participating faculty members a year prior to the simulation. In selecting a topic, the faculty collectively discuss and consider current events of both practical and theoretical importance, the interests and research backgrounds of participating faculty members, and a desire to diversify discussions and debates within the simulation over time. As an example, at the fall 2014 simulation the refugee/immigration crisis was chosen as the topic for 2015. This proved to be a fortuitous choice, given the escalation, and sharpening of the crisis throughout 2015. Similarly, the 2017 simulation focused on the Brexit negotiations, in 2020 on the COVID crisis (in a modified simulation conducted entirely on-line), and in 2021on the EU Green Deal. Examples of the other topics chosen in recent years include:

- The Neighborhood policy
- Relations with Russia and Turkey
- The proposed Constitutional Treaty
- EU Enlargement
- The challenges facing the Eurozone
- Environmental policy
- Food safety
- The Trans-Atlantic Trade and Investment Partnership (TTIP)

The topics generally are chosen for two-year periods, with some possible variation in sub-themes between years. It is important that the topics not be overly technical and that they be accessible and relevant to students and faculty alike. If it is beyond the ability of a faculty member to understand, it is surely too difficult for students. As indicated above, not all MEUSC faculty have extensive training in European politics or the EU legislative process. Therefore, a willingness of faculty to do the necessary homework in terms of enhancing their competency in all matters EU, particularly the policy making process, is essential. The topic should be researchable without great difficulty. Fortunately, this has become much less of an issue as compared to the time when this simulation first started in the early 1990s. Academic databases, and the EU itself through its Europa.eu website, have become easily accessible, highly informative, and very user-friendly.

Country assignments are made for two-year periods to reduce the preparation needed for faculty from year-to-year. Even though not all the 28 member states are included, every effort is made to balance representation of large and small member-states, older and newer member-states, geographical location, and traditional intra-EU country dynamics (North/South, East/West, Scandinavian/Mediterranean, etc.). Countries are chosen based on personal preferences and by mutual consent.

Budget & Finance

As alluded to above, the costs of running the simulation are significant, and this is one of the pivotal issues in the overall planning process for both the MEUSC and individual universities. Since this simulation is held at a hotel in a major city, the costs are naturally higher than what they might be if the simulation were to take place at a university, with students staying in residence halls or hostels. Thus, by far the biggest budgetary items for the MEUSC simulation are the costs of meeting facilities and guest rooms. The latter are paid for by each university directly, while the meeting facilities are covered by the program fee, which is divided into an annual membership fee (currently $400 per university) and an individual participant fee (currently $30 per student). In 2016, eleven universities and about 140 students yielded a revenue stream for the consortium of about $8,500. The itemized costs from the 2016 hotel invoice were as follows:

Meeting rooms:	$3,900
Audiovisual equipment:	$1,100
Coffee Breaks:	$1,300
Name tags/Program brochures:	$550
Annual banquet/reception:	$4,800*
Working dinners:	$4,200*

(* invoiced separately from the program budget)

The MEUSC simulation could clearly be run on a smaller budget if it were not for the fact that it takes place in Washington. The choice of Washington as site for the simulation stems from two specific circumstances. First, because the university delegations come from as far as southern Virginia, northeastern Ohio, and Scranton, Pennsylvania, and many places in between, Washington is an obvious choice because of its centrality and accessibility, as well as its ability to accommodate a conference of 150-200 persons. By contrast, many of MEUSC's universities are located in small towns. Second, on the morning of the first day of the simulation in Washington, D.C., the students visit the embassy of the country they are representing in the simulation and meet with officials to discuss the resolution/draft-directive and other issues relevant to the simulation. This important agenda item could obviously not be accomplished anywhere else but Washington. Further, MEUSC has often utilized experts from the Washington-based Delegation of the European Union, and at times those students who play the role of the EU Commission have visited the Delegation's headquarters as part of their simulation experience.

The Simulation Schedule

MEUSC's simulation program is a busy and challenging one, comprising a three-day schedule of meetings, discussions, and debates. The simulation format and schedule are organized around the pedagogical imperative of encouraging maximum participation from all student delegates. Thus, simulation meetings are designed to facilitate small group discussion and interaction.

As mentioned above, on the morning of the first day each national delegation visits the embassy of the EU member state that it is representing. At the embassies, the student delegates are briefed by European diplomats currently based in the United States. These briefing sessions have remained a distinctive element of the program from its inception, and they require the cooperation of all EU member embassies, each of which has been contacted several months in advance by the respective faculty advisor. The embassies have been gracious and generous hosts to our students almost without fail, and the briefings have proven to be invaluable opportunities for the student delegates to question and discuss—with press officers, political officers, economic officers, deputy chiefs or even chiefs of mission—issues ranging from the specific simulation topic to the domestic political situation of the respective country. This opportunity to meet with actual diplomats, many of whom have served time in Brussels in various capacities and are therefore able to present students with keen insights into the workings of the EU, has broadened students' educational experience in ways that simply cannot be captured in classroom lectures or readings. Clearly these meetings are an aspect of the simulation that cannot be replicated anywhere else, and have, therefore, always served as a highlight of the simulation experience by lending the simulation a greater sense of gravity and authenticity.

The actual simulation kicks off in the mid-afternoon of the first day, at the conference hotel, with a keynote speaker who gives a talk on an important European political issue of the day. Since adopting this format in the early 2000s, MEUSC has always been successful in obtaining a well-informed individual from the academic world, the foreign service, or the international media. The Delegation of the EU has often been supportive by appointing someone from its staff to speak to the students, as have other Washington-based universities and think tanks. This is another reason that Washington is in many ways an ideal location for the MEUSC simulation.

After the Q&A session with the keynote speaker has been completed, the assembled heads of government and state, led by the president of the European Council (a role played by a carefully chosen student), address the audience with brief, 3-4-minute opening remarks in which they outline their government's position on the issues of the day, framed in the appropriate diplomatic language. The president of the Commission is allowed to speak as well, specifically on the draft legislation that the simulated Commission has researched and written independently in the months preceding the simulation. These speeches constitute an important learning goal as prime ministers and presidents must research their roles carefully ahead of time and be instructed by the faculty on how to address the assembly appropriately.

Immediately following these opening events the serious work of the simulation begins. Students assume the roles of their alter-egos and begin by meeting in their respective ministerial councils and parliamentary party groups. For the three ministerial councils (including the European Council) the first order of business is to meet the other ministers and begin discussion of issues most important to their respective countries. Parliamentarians, after introductions, begin by electing party leaders–a chair and vice-chair–who, according to MEUSC rules, must come from separate legislative committees and should come from separate countries. A student can only hold one elected position during the simulation. At this initial meeting of parliamentarians, which extends into a working dinner later in the evening, students are encouraged to discuss the issues most important to their parties with an eye towards coalition building with like-minded parties and MEPs; they are reminded that the emphasis throughout should focus on the party, not the country, they are representing. The MEPs quickly learn that with procedural votes, they typically follow the leadership of the party group, while with substantive issues they may disagree even with MEPs from within their own party group and may have to look to others to build coalitions for legislative amendments (a process that will be implemented in the EP committee meetings on Day 2). Following the working dinners on the first evening, the faculty hold a Parliamentary Rules Briefing for all MEPs, and that is followed by the election of the leadership teams (chair, vice chair, and rapporteur) for each of the parliamentary committees that will convene first-thing the next morning.

A more detailed discussion on the European Commission is required here. Unlike the ministers and parliamentarians, who do not begin their work until the first day of the simulation, the student commissioners–typically 5-7 in number–will have completed their work, the preparation of the annual Resolution/Directive, approximately one to two weeks prior to the simulation. Under the expert guidance of a faculty member, this small group of students, typically representing a handful of the participating universities, will have communicated with each other via email and social media for the preceding two months. The content of the legislative proposal will be based on their research of the simulation topic and will follow, as much as possible, the same format of a proposal from the real Commission to the Council of Minsters and the EP.

The goal of the simulation is–just as in the real world–to pass legislation. The draft Resolution/Directive is produced and submitted by the Commission. Over the course of the second day of the simulation, the two ministerial councils and two committees of the EP meet simultaneously and independently of each other in order to debate and amend their section of the Resolution. In order to maximize opportunities for student participation, the MEUSC simulation has customarily divided the draft Resolution into two parts and assigned responsibility for amending the draft to two parliamentary committees and two ministerial councils. The final day of the simulation consists of a plenary session of Parliament, a joint ministerial meeting, a conciliation meeting of the Parliament and Council of Ministers, open debate sessions, and a final plenary/council summit to pass the amended resolution. Given the hard work that students have put into producing this penultimate document, the final vote is usually affirmative.

Student Preparation

Given the rigors of the simulation schedule, it is imperative that students be properly prepared for the experience. Student preparation takes place in several different educational settings, and is always evolving; moreover, it is structured according to the idiosyncrasies that govern each university's participation in general, such as curricular structure, faculty expertise, and other faculty demands and constraints. Most students are enrolled in a specific class on the European Union, while others are enrolled in a general International Relations or Comparative/European Politics class that incorporates a special section on the European Union. Still others take a capstone political science course, participate in the simulation for extra credit, or are members of student-run organizations such as an international affairs club. Similarly, students have received varied levels of academic credit for this experience, from no credit to three or even four semester credits. While this unevenness may seem unfair and even unfortunate, it is a policy that is set by the administration, departments, and faculty that govern each university's participation, and one over which MEUSC obviously has no control. Nonetheless, the faculty advisors have worked effectively to share valuable readings and documents that pertain to each year's simulation topic, and they are in constant communication about preparatory and structural elements of the simulation itself.

MEUSC faculty employ a wide variety of pedagogical tools during the preparatory process, including lectures, discussions, mock debates, small in-class simulations, and of course research papers and policy analyses. Ideally students should become intimately familiar with the following items before embarking on the simulation in Washington:

- The history and institutions of the EU, as well as its policy responsibilities and processes;
- Their alter-ego and his/her political career experience and ideological preferences;
- The national political party that he/she is a member of as well as, in the case of MEPs, the EP parliamentary party grouping;
- The country they are representing, including its political and economic structure and history;
- And, finally, the topic of the simulation itself.

Obviously, the universities that prepare students within the context of a specific EU course have the chance to examine these topics in far greater detail than the ones who accomplish this task in a broader or more relaxed academic setting. Just as the forum for preparation necessarily reflects and fits the demands and constraints of each institution, so do the technical approaches and devices that individual faculty employ in the preparatory process. It is virtually impossible to dictate a uniform code for preparation when so many factors influence both institutional and student preparation each year. Moreover, while some faculty have advocated the implementation of nothing less than a common reading list for all student participants, even that element has been almost impossible to implement and enforce by MEUSC, precisely because of the idiosyncratic nature of the participating institutions, which also naturally yields the high degree of variation in the quality of student participation in Washington.

The rewards of a multi-university simulation – the outcomes

The faculty organizers believe the intensity of preparation that involves rigorous (independent) reading, research, and writing helps students to engage successfully in the *experiential* aspect of learning (the simulation itself). This combination of learning modes, of *theory* and *practice*, allows students to become *owners of their own knowledge* in a way that they do not often experience in a more traditional college classroom. Such *high-impact pedagogy* can be expected to help change the academic and intellectual lives of the student learners, both in the short-term and in the longer term as educated professionals and citizens. That they sharpen important *life skills*, such as public speaking and teamwork, in the process is an added bonus, allowing them a capacity for valuable civic engagement at all levels of the polity, in part because they begin to develop a sense of political efficacy as they work through the series of simulation meetings.

One would therefore expect these benefits to be detectable through student comments and evaluations, outcomes assessment efforts, and other, anecdotal observations. Indeed, MEUSC faculty have from the beginning made efforts to document these achievements, both internally through their evaluations and assessment surveys, as well as through more systematic scholarly work (Van Dyke et al. 2000). In the following section, we will summarize these efforts, beginning with the more anecdotal evidence and continuing with the first systematic effort to investigate the outcomes of a multi-institutional simulation such as the MEUSC.

Students invariably are impressed by the embassy visits, in part because of the uniqueness of that experience. Many student participants have never traveled to Washington, DC, let alone visited an embassy of another country. They greatly appreciate learning from the interaction with actual European diplomats who work directly with them on various elements of the draft legislation. Students typically leave the embassy having much greater confidence in their level of preparation and are thus excited about starting the formal simulation meetings. During the simulation, they often make use of specific information and tips they have received during the meetings at the embassies.

Many faculty report that, during post-simulation debriefing sessions, students talk about how the simulation helps them understand more completely the legislative process of the EU, the relationship among the governing institutions within that process, and the complexity of EU policy making. Many students have commented about how the public speaking demands of the simulation experience have empowered them to overcome their reluctance and fears of speaking in public. They also have noted the challenges of negotiation, consensus-building, and coalition-building—literally how arduous and slow it can be to accomplish these kinds of critical policy-making tasks. Furthermore, they have talked about how much they valued interacting with students from other universities who share their own passion about current events and especially international issues. Many students have noticed the value of learning about an issue from outside of the typical *American box* – to learn it from the perspective of the country (and even European political party) they were responsible for representing in the simulation. A common thread amongst the current and past students is that they often acknowledge just how serious the discussions and debates during the simulation itself are. They come away from the experience feeling that, in the moment of the simulation, it was real and that they were debating something that was consequential for the future of the EU and its citizens.

Formal assessment of specific learning outcomes has indicated very strong support for the argument that the EU simulation, in combination with classroom-based learning, is a powerful learning tool. For example, at West Chester University in suburban Philadelphia, 94% of all students who participated in the last 12 years (N=204) strongly agreed or agreed with the statement that "the EU simulation helped me to interpret aspects of European cultures with greater sophistication and accuracy,“ 88% agreed that "the simulation helped me to develop a greater knowledge of the political, cultural, and economic interconnections between the United States and the rest of the world," while 93% agreed that "the simulation stimulated further interest in the EU, Europe, and global affairs." Likewise, at John Carroll University in suburban Cleveland, Ohio, over a 5-year period (N=45) on average over two-thirds of the students "strongly" agreed that the EU simulation had taught them "conflict resolution and negotiation skills" and "the value of teamwork," and had helped them "to improve [their] communication skills." Additionally, there was near unanimous agreement that the simulation indeed had allowed them "to apply knowledge about EU matters in a non classroom setting."

Over the last decade, several scholars have performed systematic assessments of specific experiential learning exercises conducted within semester-long classes (see, for example, Amyot 2014; Jones 2008; Kelle 2008; Krain and Lantis 2006; Krain and Shadle 2006; Jones and Bursens 2014). These contributions have produced mixed results in regards to the relative benefits of simulations for learning outcomes. However, so far as we are aware, there have not been any efforts to evaluate outcomes associated with large multi-institutional simulations such as Model UN, Arab League, and Model EU.

In the fall of 2015, a sub-section of the MEUSC faculty organizers created a survey instrument for that purpose. The survey was administered to 90 students at 7 of the participating schools, encompassing students participating in the 2015 MEUSC simulation and/or a fall 2015 course on the EU, as well as introductory-level courses on Comparative Politics. The first wave of the survey focused on simulation's effects on factual knowledge about the EU and political interest in EU topics. The second wave of the survey, conducted in association with the 2016 MEUSC survey, included additional measures focused on confidence in public speaking, leadership, and negotiation. The second wave of the survey has also been administered by faculty sponsors at the Midwest Model European Union, another such multi-institutional simulation of the EU conducted in the United States.

The results of the first wave of the survey corroborate earlier findings in the research on class-based simulations: simulations may promote information acquisition, but they are not superior in that regard to more traditional classes (Clark et al. 2017). But the survey also confirmed that there are other benefits to be gained, namely students' level of interest in the subject under study. Using pre- and post-surveys of simulation participants and a multivariate analysis, the authors found that participation in the simulation had a much stronger relationship with interest than having taken an EU course. This suggests that the real value of a simulation may lie in stimulating student engagement with the subject of European politics.

Concluding Remarks

Faculty have increasingly turned to active learning methods, and to simulations in particular, to amplify more clearly the academic theories, principles, and facts associated with a wide range of complex issues in domestic and international politics. Scholars continue to write conference papers and publish articles about incorporating simulations and role-playing to teach about legislative politics, voting and elections, the National Security Council, minority and gender politics, international law, humanitarian intervention, foreign policy decision making, comparative and international political theory, and, of course, the European Union. There is an increasingly common commitment on both sides of the Atlantic to elevate the level of student-focused learning and to ensure that learning goals and objectives lead to positive learning outcomes for students.

Such an educational commitment was exactly that of the three faculty members from Susquehanna University, Gettysburg College, and Millersville University who engaged their three dozen students in the first Mid-Atlantic European Union Simulation 29 years ago. The same commitment remains the focus of the faculty who maintain this valuable educational enterprise over two decades later. MEUSC faculty are equally committed to helping students refine and enhance key *life* and civic engagement skills as part of their simulation experience. They also hope to encourage student development by increasing cultural sensitivity, global awareness, and international sophistication in the course of this unique EU learning experience.

Regardless of whether they incorporate a large-scale, intercollegiate Model EU, such as MEUSC's long-standing event, or smaller in-class EU simulation experiences, faculty who embrace such educational tools try to connect their students to EU policy makers and policy making in a distinctive and powerful way. The simulation experience helps bridge what at times may seem like a huge learning curve between the academic study of the EU and the actual political practices of the European Union. In turn, both students and faculty are likely to reap positive—and perhaps sometimes surprising—benefits.

Organizing EU simulations (in person or online)

SCAN TO WATCH

6

Conclusions

by

Federiga Bindi

Internationalization of higher education is the process of integrating an international/intercultural dimension into the teaching, research, and service activities of the institution. (De Wit, 2001) Both the European Union (EU) and the United States (US) have placed a strong emphasis on higher education internationalization. However, there are differences in the approach and priorities of the two regions.

In 2001 De Wit wrote: “If we look to the future, we are moving in each other's direction. America and Europe, although having the same higher education roots, come from a different starting point in international education […] in recent years, both our political and educational systems have moved towards each other. Globalisation, competitiveness and new forms of education are important factors influencing this development. The implications in Europe are clear: less importance of national policies in higher education; more emphasis on private initiative and funding; and growing importance of individual leadership in higher education. For the internationalisation of higher education in Europe this will mean a period of uncertainty and change after the booming decade of the recent past. Europeans have a comparative disadvantage to their American colleagues, who are experienced in situations where funding is not guaranteed and strategies are designed in a pro-active instead of a reactive way.”. Twenty years after, is that still the case?

The conclusion of this study is that the rationale and the way internationalization are enacted in Europe and the United States are now tendentially diverging rather than converging.

In the EU, higher education internationalization is seen as a means of promoting European unity and improving the quality of education. The EU has established several initiatives and programs, such as Erasmus+, to support student and faculty mobility, joint degree programs, and other forms of international collaboration among universities. The EU also places a strong emphasis on language learning and cultural exchange, and encourages universities to develop multilingual and multicultural learning environments

In the US, higher education internationalization is driven by the country's competitiveness in the global marketplace. US universities have long been leaders in international research and have a strong reputation for attracting international students. American universities place a strong emphasis on research collaborations and exchange programs, as well as international student recruitment, as a means of fostering international connections and promoting cultural understanding

A second conclusion of this study is specific to the relevance of European studies in the United States which, as we shall see, is sadly rapidly decreasing.

Since the very beginning of the first universities in the Europe, there has always been an international component in learning. When universities were first established in Europe during the medieval period, student mobility was a common practice. Students would often travel from one university to another to further their education or to study with a particular scholar. This mobility was facilitated by the fact that the same disciplines were taught at many universities and the use of a common language, Latin, for academic One of the most famous examples of this is the University of Bologna in Italy, which was one of the first universities in Europe and a major center of learning during the Middle Ages. Students from all over Europe would come to Bologna to study law, and many would then travel to other universities to continue their studies in different subjects.

Until the end of WWII, Europe remained the undiscussed intellectual point of reference when it came to academia. American universities were modelled after the British, and later German, example and American students and scholars spent extended period in the Old Continent to expand their knowledge.

Things however changed after WWII. With most of the developed world still recovering from the devastation of the war and with rapid growth in U.S. government and private investment in R&D, the United States came to dominate global R&D spending. The 'National Defense Education Act' (NDEA) of 1958 was for instance a direct reaction to the launch the year before of Sputnik I by the Soviet Union and an effort by the USA to regain international leadership (De Wit, 2001) The fundamental support of the Manhattan Project in developing the atomic bomb and in ending the war had not gone unnoticed in Washington and higher education became a fundamental component of the fight against communism and a way to reinforce American predominance in the world.

The so-called 'Title VI' grants of the 'Higher Education Act' of 1960 helped develop multidisciplinary Area Study and Foreign Language Centers, as well as programs for International Studies and International Affairs to essentially prepare the specialists in foreign affairs of the future.

Educational exchanges also became an important part of what Harvard scholar Joseph Nye has defined as the United States' "soft power". For generations, the best and the brightest students globally, were offered scholarships to study in the US. Disciplines like political science, were imported into Europe by returning students who did their Master or Ph.D. in the US thanks to scholarship offered by the Ford Foundation, Fulbright and the like. (Bindi and Eliassen 2011)

Similarly, the leaders of the future were educated in the US. It was almost universally accepted that the education of successive generations of world leaders in the US constituted an indispensable investment in America's international leadership. By hosting foreign students, the US aimed to generate an appreciation of American political values and institutions and to lay the foundation for constructive relations based on mutual understanding and good will. The ties formed at school between future American leaders and future foreign leaders have facilitated innumerable foreign policy relations. In addition, US-educated students take home preference for American products and business students in particular take home an education in US practices.

As the Cold War ended, the United States had found it more difficult to define its 'national interest', offering at the same time new strategic opportunities. National interested was progressively replaced by economic and business interests. (Hacker & Bellmore, 2020)

It is in this same period that the internationalization of European universities begins. While the first 'Joint Study Programmes' date of 1979, it is really with the launch, in 1986, of the ERASMUS program that European internationalization takes off. Thanks to ERASMUS, already in the period 1987-1993, more than 200,000 students and 15,000 faculty were exchanged. (De Wit 2001). Over the last three decades, more than

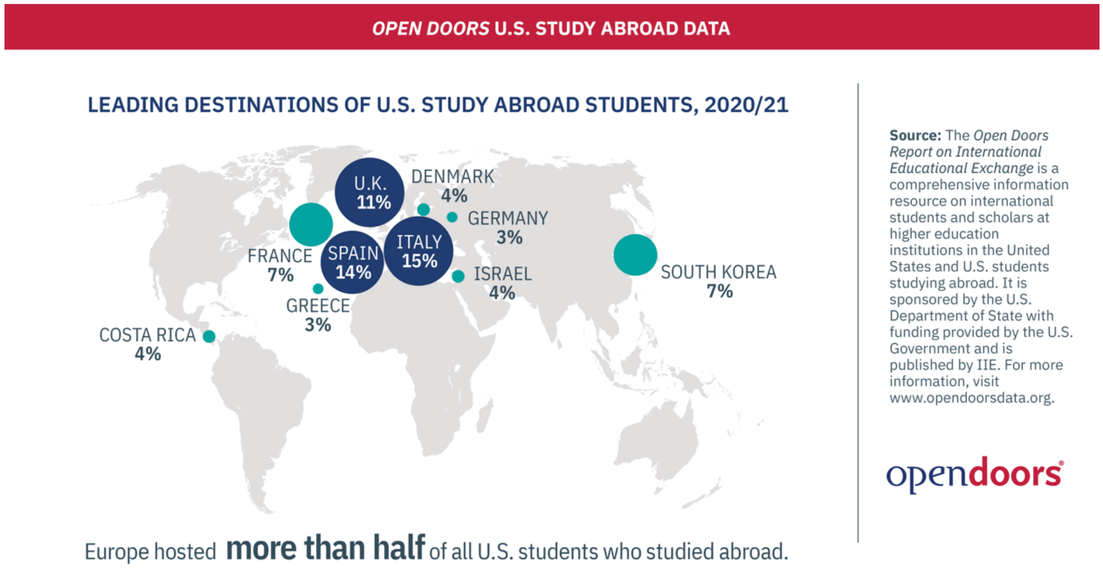
10 million people have participated in Erasmus+ and its predecessors for periods lasting from several months to as long as three years with Erasmus Mundus.[20]

While European higher education was quickly internationalizing, American universities increasingly started to look at internationalization as a source of extra funding. Higher education is today among the United States' top service sector exports, as international students provide revenues to the U.S. economy and individual host states for tuition, living expenses, including room and board, books and supplies, transportation, health insurance, support for accompanying family members, and other miscellaneous items, for a total contribution to the economy of the country of $33.8 billions during the 2021-2022 academic year[21]. As over 70% of all international students' primary funding comes from sources outside of the United States, the main rationale for international students’ recruitment has shifted to revenue generation. This includes study abroad, which in the US happens mostly at the undergraduate level, and which has become, too, a source of financing for American universities, with students paying home fees and enrolling in generally much cheaper programs overseas. Given the high costs involved, it is not surprising that only 1.4 % of the US student population participated in study abroad, principally at undergraduate level, as compared to 3.7% of their European peers[22].

Both in Europe and the United States, however, there is a problem in terms of equity and inclusivity. The percents above mentioned shrik considerably when it comes to students from less affluent families and, in the US, minorities. How to make international education more equitable is one of the great challenges of the post Covid era.

Whereas European mobility means immersion in the local culture, and often local language, for at least a semester, American undergraduate study abroad programs have become pampered holidays led by home faculty or hosted by US (or US-like) institutions overseas. Very few American students choose full immersions in local universities, preferring US-like programs or programs created by US universities. Not surprisingly, Europe is the leading destination for US study abroad programs, and within it Italy and Spain are the top choices fro American students.

[20] https://www.europeandatajournalism.eu/eng/News/Data-news/Europe-needs-a-bigger-more-inclusive-Erasmus-programme
[21] https://www.nafsa.org/policy-and-advocacy/policy-resources/nafsa-international-student-economic-value-tool-v2
[22] https://www.europeandatajournalism.eu/eng/News/Data-news/Europe-needs-a-bigger-more-inclusive-Erasmus-programme



According to the *Association of American College and University Programs in Italy* ***(AACUPI),*** only in Italy there are 150 North American college and university programs. Rome and Latium host the greatest number of institutions, 62, followed by Tuscany, which has 57 member institution. The total annual AACUPI pre-Covid student population was more than 35,000[23].

A main difference in internationalization across the Atlantic is that in the US internationalization is mostly a matter of the single institutions. There are cooperations among universities which at times also touches study abroad, but the intra-university integration that has characterized the European higher education landscape in the last couple of decades is unique. Today, even the most remote and smaller higher education institutions are part of networks that are unthinkable in the US.

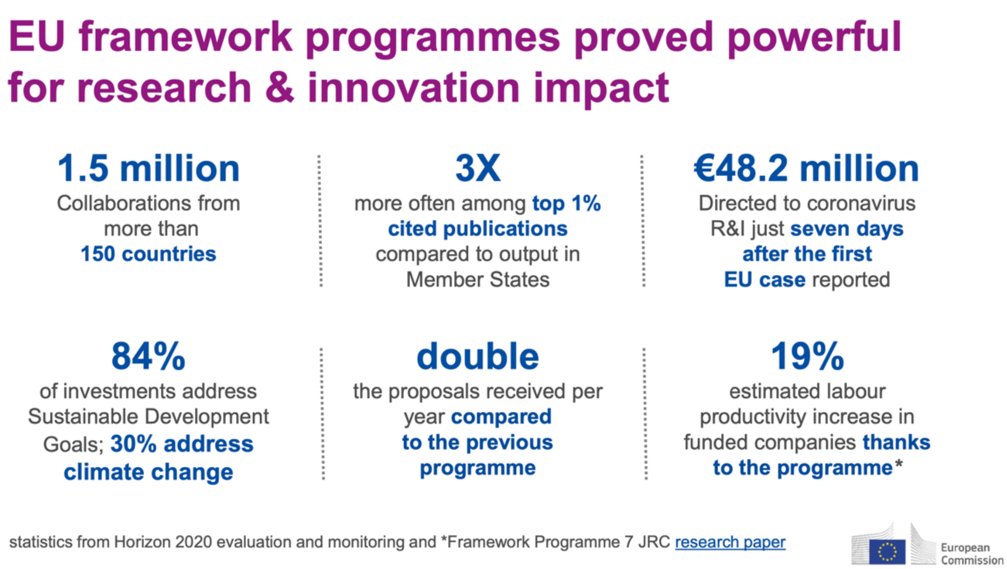
The European case is thus interesting because it shows that when there is a vision, a strategy, and money on the table, a whole continent's higher education system can be radically transformed. Internationalization in Europe has grown out of, and been strongly influenced by, the Erasmus program initiated by the European Commission over 30 years ago.

Beyond students' mobility, Erasmus has had an even greater impact on the internationalization and reform of higher education in Europe. It piloted the *European*

[23] https://aacupi.org

Credit Transfer System (ECTS) and it paved the way for the *Bologna Process* and the realization of the European Higher Education area, which in turn has generated the European Commission's first comprehensive internationalization strategy: *European Higher Education in the World* (2013). It has inspired cooperation between Europe and the rest of the world, and it continues to act as a model and inspiration for others, even though no comparable initiatives have yet been developed elsewhere. Initiatives like the *European strategy for universities*[24] are likely to foster an even more integrated European higher education space.

From the larger *Horizon Europe* grants to the smaller Jean Monnet program ones, it is fair to say that in the Old Continent, cross European cooperation is today considered the minimum acceptable standard in research.



Horizon Europe is the European Union's next research and innovation framework program, with a budget of €95.5 billion. It aims to drive scientific excellence, tackle societal challenges, and support innovation in Europe and its open to both EU and partner countries. The funds that can be received are considerable. For instance, ERC (European Research Council) grants are as following:

[24] *Commission Communication on a European strategy for universities,* https://education.ec.europa.eu/document/commission-communication-on-a-european-strategy-for-universities?

- Starting Grants: up to €1.5 million. Duration: up to 5 years. 2-7 years of experience since completion of PhD.
- Consolidator Grants: up to €2 million. Duration: up to 5 years. 7-12 years of experience since completion of PhD.
- Advanced Grants: up to €2.5 million. Duration: up to 5 years. An excellent scientific track record of recognized achievements in the last 10 years.
- Synergy Grants: 2-4 researchers (one can be based outside Europe). Up to a maximum of €10 million for a period of 6 years[25].

The disadvantage of such large grants is that they require significant investment of time and means just to write, with a consequent risk that to smaller institutions will be left behind as they do not have the necessary structure to support the drafting of a large multinational research project. Another limit of Horizon Europe, just like its predecessors Horizon 2021, if that American institutions cannot take the lead in coordinating a research project.

A much more user-friendly program that has significantly helped fostering internationalization across the Atlantic is the Jean Monnet program. For decades, Jean Monnet Chairs, Centers of Excellence, modules, projects, and networks have fueled the internationalization of European universities and enhanced intra-European as well as global cooperation and ties. Its support for European associations has allowed for the organization of international conference, both in Europe and the US that have brough together generations scholars of European integration in the various disciplines together from all over the globe. According to an evaluation done by the European Commission, between 2007 and 2016, 1900 Jean Monnet proposals were accepted and granted across 82 different countries[26].

However, the changes brough to the Jean Monnet program in the 2021-2027 financing cycle are likely to great reduce the relevance of this until now flagship EU program in the United States as well as in Europe.

[25] https://research-and-innovation.ec.europa.eu/system/files/2022-06/ec_rtd_he-investing-to-shape-our-future_0.pdf
[26] https://ec.europa.eu/assets/eac/erasmus-plus/eval/icf-volume3-jean-monnet.pdf

Because of the role the Jean Monnet program played in forstering EU-US coopertaion higher education and in the understanding and appreciation of Europe overseas, a further reflection is here needed.

Jean Monnet Chairs and Center of Excellence have flowrished in the US in the past decades. Current and past Jean Monnet Chairs and Centers include Virginia Tech, the University of Wyoming, the University of Florida, the University of Miami, American University, the University of Pittsburgh, Boston College, the University of Illinois at Urbana Champaign, Harvard, NYU, Washington University, the University of California, and Denver University. Even more popular were Jean Monnet "projects" and "networks" which allowed a mix of research and public diplomacy, mostly in the form of events.

The elimination of Jean Monnet "projects" and "networks" (only two networks globally can receive funding every year) and the shift towards outreach to schools, are creating vast discontent in the academic communities across the Atlantic. Coupled with the increased burocratization, the decreased responsiveness of the Jean Monnet's unit staff, and the stagnation of the grants amounts American academics have no choice but to shift their attention to different policy areas. Likewise, the elimination of the support that the Jean Monnet program traditionally offered to European organizations is undermining the existance of important academic conferences on European affairs such the biannual EUSA (European Union Studies Association) conference.

In parallel, the moving of the funds controlled to the EU Delegation towards FPI instruments have let to an end to the virtous competition which existed among think tanks academic institutions in Washington DC, as well as across the US, to work on European affairs.

The combined effect of these changes in EU funding is likely to lead to an almost zeroeing of European studies in the United States, bringing to end a long tradition of EU studies overseas which has constituted a major element for the understanding and appreciation of European policiesin the US (Bindi and Eliassen 2012).

As seen, in fact American higher education has been driven by policy priorities and by revenue considerations. US policy priorities for instance explains how European studies have initially developed in the US.

The US administration considered the early process of European integration as a policy priority as it constituted an arging against Communism in Western Europe. (Bindi 2022). Supporting research on European studies was therefore a US policy priority during the Cold War. It is not by chance therefore that the first, fundamental, study of

European institutions was done by Ernst Haas, a German-born American political scientist, who spent one year in Luxembourg to study the ESCS. In *The Uniting of Europe* (1958), Haas elaborated the concepts of «political integration», «supranationality» and «spill-over», thus giving birth to the so-called *neofunctionalist* movement. (Bindi and Eliassen 2012)

As the Cold War was coming to an end, briging a shift in US policy priorities, EU funds continued to fuel the studying and understanding of Europe across the Atlantic. The Jean Monnet Program played in a fundamental role in doingso, being one of the very few EU grants open to non-member countries institutions, including as coordinators / PI. Customer friendly staff and application process, transparency in the selection process, the relative flexibility of the smaller projects and larger networks, made Jean Monnet grants as popular among American scholars that among their European peers. Coupled with the public diplomacy funds managed by the EU delegation in Washington DC, and to the interested sparked by the Maastricht Treaty and the new European Foreign policy, the studying and teaching of all-things Europe flourished in the United States (Bindi and Eliassen 2012).

However, while European students are again increasingly looking at US institutions for both graduated and undergraduate studies – in 2021-22 there was a 22.4% increase in the number of Europeans who choose to study in the US[27] - the interest among American higher education institutions to work with European counterparts seem decreasing. For instance, if we look at ERASMUS Mundus, out of 188 consortiums, only 3 include American institutions (as a comparison 33 consortiums include British universities, 8 Indian universities, 5 Chinese ones). In other words, while European higher education is integrating and internationalizing, it is losing influence where it matters most, among the institutions of its most important ally.

HEI IN THE POST COVID WORLD

SCAN TO WATCH

[27] https://opendoorsdata.org/data/international-students/all-places-of-origin/

In conclusion, this study has shown that while both the EU and the US place a strong emphasis on higher education internationalization, the convergence that De Wit found in 2001 is coming to an end. Between the EU and the US there are differences in the level of government involvement, the focus on language learning and cultural exchange, the approach to student mobility, and the types of international partnerships pursued.

In the EU, higher education internationalization is seen as a collective responsibility and is supported by the EU through various initiatives and funding programs. For example, the Erasmus+ program provides funding for student and faculty mobility, joint degree programs, and other forms of international collaboration among

In the US, higher education internationalization is largely driven by individual universities, with limited government involvement. American universities have a great deal of autonomy and are free to develop their own international programs and partnerships. However, the US government does provide some support for international research and exchange through programs such as the Fulbright Program and the National Science Foundation which is a mean of securing that research focuses where the administration policy priorities lie. The administration also support policy oriented research through other funding, notably in the field of defense.

Another difference between the EU and the US is the focus on language learning and cultural exchange. In the EU, language learning is seen as a critical component of higher education internationalization, and the EU encourages universities to develop multilingual and multicultural learning environments. In contrast, while many American universities offer language courses and cultural exchange programs, they are not as central to the overall approach to higher education internationalization.

A third difference is the approach to student mobility. In the EU, student mobility is a central component of higher education internationalization and is encouraged through programs such as Erasmus+. In the US, student mobility is less common, and American universities typically focus on attracting international students to study at their institutions.

Finally, there are also differences in the types of international partnerships that universities in the EU and the US pursue. In the EU, universities are encouraged to form partnerships with institutions in other countries within the EU and to develop joint degree programs and research collaborations. In the US, universities often form partnerships with institutions in other countries around the world and place a strong emphasis on research collaborations and exchange.

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