Competing institutional logics in the internationalisation of Australian universities

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Declaration

I certify that the research described in this dissertation has not already been submitted for any other degree.

I certify that to the best of my knowledge all sources used and any help received in the preparation of this dissertation have been acknowledged.

Mark Tayar, September 2015

Abstract

This thesis examines the multiple orientations driving internationalisation processes at Australian universities. Internationalisation is seen to include export-related activities such as international student recruitment to Australia, course delivery in foreign countries by Australian universities through partnerships, as well as the incorporation of international dimensions to activities in Australia. To understand the orientations driving internationalisation processes, this thesis focuses on 'institutional logics' which are the underlying governing principles of a sector that strongly influence organisational decision-making (Thornton, 2004). The changing orientations are investigated with a focus on how the orientations interact and how this interaction determines the degree and nature of internationalisation. This thesis draws from process theories of internationalisation developed by international business scholars and applies these theories to the orientations and activities of universities.

Drawing from a critical realist ontology, this thesis presents findings from interview data. Semi-structured in-depth interviews were conducted with twenty-nine senior managers from thirteen Australian public universities. Interviewees were selected from a cross-section of universities and included managers in international offices, offshore branch campuses and senior executives in university chancelleries. The findings reveal that at least two institutional logics impact internationalisation decisions and determine the level of commitment to foreign markets. In particular, multiple institutional logics are found to compete, combine or co-exist and this determines patterns of internationalisation with regard to entry modes and the scale of international operations. The critical realist ontology proves useful in linking sets of institutional

forces to strategic orientations and rationalities for action used by university managers and to turning points in university internationalisation.

The contribution of this thesis is in finding two competing orientations of university internationalisation. One orientation is driven by the market leading to international practices similar to those used by multinational corporations. The other orientation is driven by academia leading to practices that aim to benefit particular communities of students, scholars or broader society. A change in orientations is seen as primarily the result of regulatory change which increases dependency on corporate logics. The clash of orientations is found to be a central problem for senior international managers who must choose an orientation or find a way to reconcile or contain multiple orientations. This is particularly problematic when there is an aim to achieve comprehensive or holistic internationalisation as market logics that were once compartmentalised in international operations need to be reconnected with the whole university. A further contribution of this thesis is in its exploration of institutional logics within a critical realist paradigm which may advance our theoretical understanding of how actors make decisions based on two or more contradictory orientations. For practitioners, this thesis helps to explain how competing forces influence current strategy and how to reach more comprehensive and coordinated forms of internationalisation.

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Papers derived from this thesis

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Peer reviewed conference papers

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Tayar, M., & Jack, R. 2014. University motivations for expansion: The role of competing institutional logics. *European Association for Institutional Research (EAIR) Annual Forum.* Essen, 27-30 August.

Tayar, M., & Jack, R. 2014. The impact of competing institutional logics on university expansion activities. *Higher Education Research and Development Society of Australasia (HERDSA) Annual Conference*. Hong Kong, 7-10 July.

Tayar, M., & Jack, R. 2013. Diametric institutional forces constraining or progressing internationalisation: The case of Australian universities. *Australia and New Zealand International Business Academy (ANZIBA)*. Sydney, 18-20 April.

Tayar, M., & Jack, R. 2012. Institutional pressures constraining or progressing internationalisation: The case of Australian public universities. *European International Business Academy (EIBA)*. Brighton, 7-9 December.

Seminars

Tayar, M. 2013. Institutional pressures constraining or progressing internationalisation: the case of Australian public universities. *Macquarie University Higher Degree Research Expo*, Sydney, Australia, 7 November.

Tayar, M. 2012. Institutional forces progressing, constraining or reversing internationalisation for Australian universities. *Macquarie University Higher Degree Research Expo*, Sydney, Australia, 12-13 November.

Tayar, M. 2011. International business models for international universities. *Macquarie University Higher Degree Research Expo*, Sydney, Australia, 10-11 October.

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Abbreviations and acronyms

AACSB	Association to Advance Collegiate Schools of Business
AUQA	Australian Universities Quality Agency
ATN	Australian Technology Network of universities
CRICOS	Commonwealth Register of Institutions and Courses for Overseas Students
DIISRTE	Department of Industry, Innovation, Science, Research and Tertiary Education
DVC	Deputy Vice Chancellor
ERA	Excellence in Research for Australia Initiative
Go8	Group of Eight Universities
IRU	Innovative Research Universities
MNC	Multinational Corporation
PVC	Pro Vice Chancellor
RUN	Regional Universities Network
TEQSA	Tertiary Education Quality and Standards Agency
TNE	Transnational Education
VC	Vice Chancellor

Australian universities

ACU	Australian Catholic University
ANU	Australian National University
Bond	Bond University
CQU	Central Queensland University
CDU	Charles Darwin University
CSU	Charles Sturt University
Curtin	Curtin University
Deakin	Deakin University
ECU	Edith Cowan University
FedU	Federation University
Flinders	Flinders University
Griffith	Griffith University
JCU	James Cook University
La Trobe	La Trobe University
Macquarie	Macquarie University
Monash	Monash University
Murdoch	Murdoch University
QUT	Queensland University of Technology
RMIT	RMIT University
SCU	Southern Cross University
Swinburne	Swinburne University of Technology
TUA	Torrens University Australia
Adelaide	University of Adelaide
Ballarat	University of Ballarat (Federation University)
Canberra	University of Canberra
Melbourne	University of Melbourne
UNE	University of New England
UNSW	University of New South Wales
Newcastle	University of Newcastle
ND	University of Notre Dame
UQ	University of Queensland
UniSA	University of South Australia
USQ	University of Southern Queensland
USyd	University of Sydney
UTAS	University of Tasmania
UTS	University of Technology Sydney
USC	University of the Sunshine Coast
UWA	University of Western Australia
UWS	University of Western Sydney
UoW	University of Wollongong
VU	Victoria University

1 Introduction

1.1 Research background

This thesis investigates the internationalisation processes of Australian public universities. Their international activities in Australia and abroad are investigated with regard to how they are impacted by multiple sets of institutional forces, namely, norms, regulations and cognitive frames of reference. Blending the disciplinary fields of international business and higher education, this research draws from sociological institutionalism to understand how institutional change shapes organisational change. These fields have different definitions and orientations and this thesis aims to bridge the disciplines while also identifying parts of the disciplines that may be incompatible or contradictory. From the discipline of international business, the process of internationalisation is often seen to involve an enterprise gradually increasing its involvement in international markets through foreign market entry (Johanson & Vahlne, 1977, see 1990). The internationalisation of firms may also involve changes to products and services offered or shifts in the organisation's capacity, personnel and structure (see Coviello & McAuley, 1999; Welch & Luostarinen, 2006). From the discipline of higher education, Knight (1994: 7) broadly defines internationalisation as "process of integrating an international and intercultural dimension into the teaching, research and service functions of the institution". This may involve cross-border or transnational education, physical mobility of students and staff as well as academic cooperation and knowledge transfer (Teichler, 2004). Hudzik (2011) broadens the scope of internationalisation even further by seeing it in terms of all international dimensions related to leadership, governance, faculty, students, and support units.

Globalisation has further encouraged internationalisation (see Altbach, 2014; Deem, 2001; Enders, 2004; Gürüz, 2008; Knight, 1999a; Pratt & Poole, 1999; Yang, 2002) and has brought about what Enders (2004: 362) describes as “rethinking the social, cultural and economic roles of higher education and their configuration in national systems of higher education.” As well as global forces, changes at a national level such as reductions in state support and increases in competitive pressures have led to a situation where “universities are increasingly seeking to develop internationalization strategies and programmes as a part of their evolving institutional missions” (Tadaki & Tremewan, 2013: 367).

Over the last two decades the expected structures and practices of higher education have evolved through a trend labelled by Slaughter and Leslie (1997, 2001) as ‘academic capitalism’ (see also Deem, 2001) and by Marginson (1997a) as the ‘marketisation’ of higher education (see also Jongbloed, 2003; Lynch, 2006). In a similar vein to ‘academic capitalism’, Marginson and Considine (2000) started to characterise the modern Australian public university as an ‘enterprise university’ managed by executive leadership similar to large corporations. Despite this apparent trend towards the adoption of corporate models, the study of higher education is seen by de Wit (2009: 2) as having “a strong inclination to draw more attention to social cohesion and to the public role of higher education as an alternative force to the growing emphasis on competition, markets and entrepreneurialism in higher education”.

The inclination towards research on the negative outcomes of corporate and entrepreneurial internationalisation continues with Knight (2013: 4) focusing on

‘unintended consequences’ of internationalisation such as “foreign degree mills (selling ‘parchment’ only degrees) and accreditation mills (selling bogus accreditations for programmes or institutions), and rogue for-profit providers (not recognised by national authorities)”. Marginson (2013) suggests that higher education might have become business-like, competitive, productive, and financially efficient but teaching and the rate of new scientific discovery may not have improved. Other possible positive outcomes of entrepreneurialism in higher education include contributing to economic development (Pinheiro, Benneworth, & Jones, 2012; see Pinheiro & Stensaker, 2013; Shaw & Allison, 1999), and improving efficiency and transparency (see Pinheiro & Stensaker, 2013; Stensaker & Harvey, 2011). This idea of university entrepreneurialism may be distinct from other conceptions of entrepreneurship and Yokoyama (2006) suggests that it does not necessarily mean a focus on profit-gain, risk-taking or commercial arms. Clark (2001) sees universities as entrepreneurial not if they are like businesses but rather if they can adapt on their own terms to respond to highly complex and dynamic global environments.

1.2 Research objective

The objective of this thesis is to investigate the forces behind university internationalisation and the factors leading to a change in the commitment to transnational education. Internal sources of change include the appointment of new senior managers and the creation of new internal governance structures, while external factors include government policy changes and fiercer global competition (Middlehurst, 2004). This thesis seeks to identify sources of change such as these and relate change in the external environment with specific changes to international goals and programs.

These changes include the creation of a new program, addition of a new goal for international activities broadly, and the cessation of previous goals and programs.

Universities face increasing environmental uncertainty (Meyer, 2002) and more governments are encouraging markets in education (Marginson, 1997b). The marketisation and corporatisation of universities is well covered by the literature (see Jongbloed, 2003; Lynch, 2006; Meek, 2000; Mok, 2001; Neumann & Guthrie, 2002) but this thesis specifically investigates how these dynamics impact university internationalisation. Using Australian public universities as the empirical context, this thesis explores how corporate goals and programs contradict or complement more approaches that are traditionally associated with universities. This investigation aims to inform higher education scholars and practitioners while also building theory relevant to internationalisation processes. The findings of this thesis may also help to explain organisational fields with characteristics similar to those of higher education. They include fields with competing forces driving change to each organisation's goals and programs as well as organisational fields that are mature and highly institutionalised.

1.3 Theoretical foundations

Within education, higher education is commonly found to be a highly institutionalised organisational field (see Casile & Davis-Blake, 2002; Kamens, 1971; Milem, Berger, & Dey, 2000; Morphew, 2009). This is shown through a meta-analysis of organisational institutionalism by Heugens and Lander (2009: 78) who find that "isomorphic forces are stronger in fields in which organizations regularly interact with agencies of the state". Higher education is an example of such a field because government intervention occurs across many facets of universities including financing schemes for students

(see Del Rey & Racionero, 2010), regulating and funding wider access for students (see Chowdry, Crawford, Dearden, Goodman, & Vignoles, 2013; Gale & Tranter, 2011; Kirby, 2011) funding research activities such as through performance-led funding (Deem, Mok, & Lucas, 2008), and assistance with exporting (Carrington, Meek, & Wood, 2007).

Institutional theory has traditionally relied on educational organisations as exemplars for organisations facing intense institutional pressures (see DiMaggio & Powell, 1983; Meyer & Rowan, 1977; Scott, 1987; Zajac & Kraatz, 1993). Early new institutional theory including Meyer and Rowan's (1977) seminal paper included schools and universities as important organisations for studying the impacts of institutional forces. As new institutional theory developed further, educational organisations proved useful in theory building and theory testing (Meyer & Rowan, 2008; Meyer, Scott, Strang, & Creighton, 1988; Tolbert, 1985). Institutional theory is now a leading approach to understanding educational organisations and their environments (Hoy & Miskel, 2013; Oplatka & Hemsley-Brown, 2010).

Tolbert and Zucker (1999) note that institutional theory has been used to understand a wide range of phenomena. The diverse range of phenomena investigated with a particular lens of institutional theory includes research on: triggers of organisational and institutional change (see Battilana, Leca, & Boxenbaum, 2009; Greenwood & Hinings, 1996; Leblebici, Salancik, Copay, & King, 1991; Munir, 2005); firm internationalisation (see Bianchi & Arnold, 2004; Hessels & Terjesen, 2010; Huang & Sternquist, 2007; Kostova, Roth, & Dacin, 2008; Xu & Shenkar, 2002); governance of K-12 schooling, both public (see Burch, 2007) and private (see Davies, Quirke, &

Aurini, 2006); sales compensation (see Eisenhardt, 1988); and rationales for corporate social responsibility programs (see Campbell, 2007). Scott (2008a) notes that much of the early research by new institutional scholars focused on schools, public agencies, and non-profit organisations.

In highly institutionalised organisational fields, the structure of organisations is strongly influenced by coercive isomorphism (formal regulative pressures), mimetic isomorphism (imitation of structures of similar organisations), and normative isomorphism (conforming to external norms) (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983; Eden & Miller, 2004). Institutionalised ideologies define the functions appropriate to a university including instruction in each discipline as well as dictating prefabricated formulae for how each organisation should function (Meyer & Rowan, 1977).

Researchers have attempted to use institutional theory to explain organisational interpretations of legitimate designs, templates or archetypes (see Dacin, Goodstein, & Scott, 2002; Elsbach & Sutton, 1992; Newman, 2000; Roberts & Greenwood, 1997; Suchman, 1995). As well as static designs or templates, a large body of recent literature has attempted to use institutional pressures to investigate causes of institutional change and organisational responses to such change (see Creed, DeJordy, & Lok, 2010; Day, Armenakis, Feild, & Norris, 2012; Drew & Kriz, 2012; King & Pearce, 2010; Leblebici et al., 1991; Nigam & Ocasio, 2010; Smets, Morris, & Greenwood, 2012; Suddaby & Viale, 2011; Tolbert, David, & Sine, 2011; Westphal & Park, 2012; Wright & Zammuto, 2013). Within this diverse literature, new institutionalists have been interested in strategic change and transformative changes to new templates through processes such as privatisation (see Johnson, Smith, &

Codling, 2000), change in response to major political and economic upheavals (Roth & Kostova, 2003), 'Americanisation' of management education (see Barrett, 2010; Chizema & Buck, 2006), and expansionary change such as entry to new foreign markets (see Beckert, 1996; Davis, Desai, & Francis, 2000; Haveman, 1993; Hoy & Miskel, 2013). For the later process of change, new institutional theory has been used with the aim of explaining and predicting the changes related to expansion into new foreign markets (Haveman, 1993; Lu, 2002).

Expansion decisions and the resulting organisational changes occur through the process of internationalisation with three types of decisions potentially being influenced by institutional forces: "market entry location (whether to enter a market or not), entry mode (how to enter a market), and entry timing (when to enter a market)." (Huang & Sternquist, 2007: 613–4). Institutional forces are often seen as constraining and limiting particular internationalisation decisions (see Brouthers, 2002; Huang & Sternquist, 2007; Lu, 2002; Yiu & Makino, 2002). For example, institutional forces in a host country may legally prevent a firm from establishing a wholly owned subsidiary (Brouthers, 2002; North, 1990). The three pillars of a host market's institutional environment have also been found to influence entry mode choice (see Eden & Miller, 2004; Gaur & Lu, 2007; Huang & Sternquist, 2007; Xu, Pan, & Beamish, 2004; Yiu & Makino, 2002). In internationalisation, differences in institutional forces can also constrain a firm's ability to deploy resources and transfer routines from home country to host country (Xu & Shenkar, 2002).

As well as constraining choices, institutional forces can construct and empower organisational actors (Suchman, 1995). Institutions create powerful incentive

structures and even though organisations may have different objectives, “the most important cue for their behavior is the incentive structure set up by institutions” (Hira & Hira, 2000: 270). For example, international market selection and entry mode decisions may be incentivised by project-specific incentives or tax breaks (Sethi, Guisinger, Phelan, & Berg, 2003). Other strategies may be based on legitimacy in terms being “legally sanctioned, morally authorized, or culturally supported” (Scott, 2008a: 428). Legitimacy can help managers gain access to scarce resources and use them to increase the probability of survival (see Ruef & Scott, 1998; Shane & Foo, 1999). If international firms enter new markets and earn legitimacy in the local market, they may be more likely to survive and to succeed (see Bianchi & Ostale, 2006; Kostova & Zaheer, 1999; Lu & Xu, 2006).

Institutions may also shape the strategic orientations of organisations such as through ‘institutional logics’ prevailing in wider environments (Thornton & Ocasio, 1999). Institutional logics are the underlying governing principles within a sector, strongly influencing organisational decision-making where shifts in institutional logics lead to shifts in focus for senior managers (Thornton, 2004). Institutional logics are linked to strategic orientations as they shape individual managers’ orientations, preferences, and attitudes (Luo, 2007). Examples of how logics create strategic orientations include logics that orient organisations to community service (Almandoz, 2012), to entrepreneurial growth (Miller, Le Breton-Miller, & Lester, 2011) or to corporate social responsibility (Raynard, Lounsbury, & Greenwood, 2013)

1.4 Research contribution

The thesis finds that universities need to align the multiple activities and objectives of

internationalisation through a comprehensive, coordinated and holistic approach. The idea that universities are completely corporatised is disputed as community and social benefit is still a strong driver of certain international activities. Even so, the most corporatised international programs present a threat to the overall identity of universities and must be either: (1) compartmentalised and contained; (2) reintegrated and realigned into the other aims of the university; or (3) discontinued.

1.4.1 Significance to Australian university internationalisation

Researchers have investigated the dynamic process of firm internationalisation and market entry decisions since the late 1970s (see Johanson & Vahlne, 1977; Johansson & Wiedersheim-Paul, 1975; Pieray, 1978). Since these early frameworks were built, economic and regulatory environments have changed substantially (Johanson & Vahlne, 2009) and, despite several decades of research on entry mode decisions, a critically important issue for firms expanding abroad, Brouthers (2013) suggests that we have still failed to give managers clear directions on how and when to make effective entry decisions.

We are also yet to fully understand applications of institutional theory to highly institutionalised settings such as educational organisations (see Delucchi, 2000; Detert & Pollock, 2008; Kamens, 1971; Milem et al., 2000), law firms (see Cliff, Jennings, & Greenwood, 2006; Greenwood & Suddaby, 2006; Lawrence, 2004), accounting firms (see Greenwood & Suddaby, 2006; Lawrence, 2004), or healthcare organisations (see Blomgren, 2007; Choi & Bhakoo, 2013; Currie & Guah, 2007; D'Aunno, Succi, & Alexander, 2000; Ruef & Scott, 1998; Scott, Ruef, Mendel, & Caronna, 2000). Highly institutionalised settings can be characterised as mature fields with stable and

routinised structures, logics and practices (Fumasoli & Huisman, 2013; Greenwood & Suddaby, 2006). Within higher education, universities are not like traditional corporations or multinational corporations and instead have multiple roles including some non-economic aims (Russell, Wickson, & Carew, 2008) but are seen to be marketising (Slaughter & Rhoades, 2000) but each national system is marketising at vastly different speeds.

1.4.2 Contribution to institutional theory

This thesis contributes to critical realist understandings of new institutionalism in organisational analysis. The thesis does this by explaining how competing institutional forces may shape units and strategies within organisations – specifically departments responsible for international activities, offshore operations and senior management units. The blending of critical realism with institutional theory has occurred in other studies of organisations (e.g. Hesketh & Fleetwood, 2006; Leca & Naccache, 2006) but there has been limited work connecting the underlying institutional logics with organisational change beyond just a change in the overall organisational form. This includes the change that involves compartmentalisation of institutional logics to specific units. This thesis suggests new applications of institutional theory within mature and highly institutionalised empirical contexts. The thesis also relates institutional change to internal changes to international goals and programs to assist with further application of the institutional logics perspective to the field of international business.

1.4.3 Managerial significance

By entering new markets, university managers “enter a much more complex risk environment than what they have been prepared for by prior experience” (McBurnie &

Pollock, 2000: 336) and thus may need to be informed by research and by the experience of those who have already entered new markets. This thesis aims to give university managers an enhanced understanding of how to reconcile corporate practices with a contributory mission serving academia, benefiting local communities and building capacity in developing nations. The thesis also serves to warn university managers about the many risks of foreign market entry and to explain possible causes of change related to universities and their international goals and programs.

1.5 Research scope

The thesis focuses on universities in Australia and their offshore programs including branch campuses. A conceptual framework is proposed using empirical research conducted in Australia and at two offshore branches. Education services are an important aspect of Australia's exports with a $15.7 billion contribution to the Australian economy from international students studying onshore and additional revenue from international students studying at offshore branch campuses of Australian universities (AEI, 2014). Within education, the higher education sector generates the most export income with 68.3% of total 'onshore education export' earnings in the 2013-14 financial year (AEI, 2014). In 2013, significant revenues were also earned from the 110,116 students who study Australian higher education through distance education in foreign countries (25,331 students) or through offshore branches (84,785 students) (AEI, 2014).

1.5.1 Delimitations

This thesis focuses primarily on participants who make the key internationalisation decisions and strategic reorientations. There is a particular focus on transnational

education as it is one of the most resource intensive modes of internationalisation. There is also a focus just on Australian public universities and it is noted that universities are not globally monolithic in form so these findings cannot be safely generalized to other nations or to private universities.

Research questions related to the experiences of international students are also important to investigate but in this case the focus is on managers. Connecting student experiences with overall strategies and orientations might be possible through critical realist retroduction, for example, but this may have presented some significant inferential gaps. Interviews with Vice Chancellors may have also been useful for understanding high level orientations and strategies but negotiating access at this level consistently across universities would be problematic due to scheduling difficulties and time constraints.

There are also some studies which emphasise operational levels such as departments, faculties or schools (see Bolden, Petrov, & Gosling, 2009; Brock, 1997; Brown, 1997; Chaston, 1994; Dimmock & Walker, 2000; Jiang & Carpenter, 2013; Kouijzer, 1994; Poole, 2001). Internationalisation decisions and activities at these levels may need to be investigated within the broader context of university-wide orientations and activities. This is further reinforced by studies which find that some universities lack an institution-wide internationalisation plan (see Childress, 2009; Coryell, Durodoye, Wright, Pate, & Nguyen, 2012; Dewey & Duff, 2009) while others adopt comprehensive university-wide internationalisation projects (Taylor, 2004).

1.6 Research question

This empirical study investigates institutional causes of organisational change related to university internationalisation. This research is conducted within a critical realist ontology and Easton (2010) argues that critical realism is clear on the form of research questions. Easton (2010: 123) states that the research question "must be in the form 'What caused the events associated with the phenomenon to occur'." This leads to the central research question: "***How do external forces cause change to university internationalisation?***" As universities are highly institutionalised in mature fields, and institutional forces are the key external forces under investigation, answering the research question involves discussion of:

1. The nature of the institutional forces;
2. The nature of institutional change;
3. The interaction of those forces; and,
4. Changes to internationalisation activities caused by the interaction of institutional forces.

Internationalisation activities for the purpose of this thesis are seen as all those activities in Australia related to export and any university partnerships or operations outside Australia. This study utilises well-established and interdisciplinary theories within new institutional theory, especially those in the institutional logics perspective, but it also draws from other compatible or contrasting theories.

1.7 Research methods

To address the question of how institutional forces interact to influence

internationalisation activities, this thesis involves in-depth face-to-face interviews at universities in Australia and selected offshore branches. Following a critical realist ontology, a retroductive mode of inference was used to link manager vocabularies of internationalisation to external institutions and underlying institutional logics. A total of twenty-nine semi-structured interviews were conducted across thirteen Australian public universities including two offshore branch campuses. These interviews yielded qualitative data which enable thick description and explanatory analysis. The data was transcribed and then analysed in NVivo 10 (QSR International) with the pillars of new institutional theory (normative, regulatory and cognitive forces) and the institutional logics perspective forming the basis for questions about internationalisation. These questions link institutional change and competition between rationalities for action with organisational change involving international goals and programs. Coding and careful interpretation of this data led to the identification of possible causes for organisational change in the institutional environment.

1.7.1 Unit of analysis

To understand the phenomenon of university internationalisation, strategies and decisions are investigated within international offices and chancelleries (the offices of senior university executives) where international activities are planned. Outcomes are then investigated for university faculties, centres, campuses, schools, departments, and operations offshore including programs involving partners. This thesis draws from qualitative data involving twenty-nine managers representing thirteen Australian public universities. This includes managers from a cross-section of universities comprising almost one-third of the sector with data points from capital cities including Sydney,

Melbourne, Brisbane, Perth, Adelaide, and Canberra as well as three universities from regional or semi-regional towns. This also includes several universities from the major strategic groupings – the Group of Eight, the Innovative Research Universities and the Australian Technology Network – as well as several universities not in a major grouping. A consistent level of research access was granted at each university and involved semi-structured in-depth interviews. The twenty-nine interviews were conducted with senior managers responsible for internationalisation in international offices, branch campuses and chancelleries.

1.8 Thesis structure

This thesis starts with this chapter, **Chapter One – Introduction** which has stated some key theoretical foundations from new institutional theory and described the empirical context of university internationalisation. The chapter has also explained the significance of this topic which chiefly contributes to our understanding of internationalisation at Australian public universities. The scope of this thesis is also discussed with reference to the unit of analysis and delimitations of the study including a focus purely on senior university managers and their international goals and activities.

In **Chapter Two – Internationalisation of Higher Education** presents a critique of the relevant literature on university archetypes and internationalisation. This includes literature from higher education and from international business which see internationalisation as quite a different set of goals and programs.

Chapter Three – New institutional theory and institutional logics explains the

development of new institutional theory leading to the analytical framework of the institutional logics perspective. This chapter includes considerations from new institutionalists in sociology and organisational analysis. These theoretical foundations and the literature review leads to a research classification and a conceptual framework.

Using the research framework as the basis for empirical study, **Chapter Four – Research methods** explains how the research question will be answered. Embedded within a critical realist ontology, the qualitative research methods are described and justified. The sampling and interviewing processes are documented and considerations of generalisability are discussed.

In **Chapter Five – Results**, the relevant results of interviews are presented. These results are organised using the three pillars of institutional theory and assessed in terms of how they reflect underlying institutional logics and how they are caused by institutional change.

In **Chapter Six – Discussion** the results of the twenty-nine interviews are discussed with reference to the extant literature. This includes issues of institutional change, and ways competing institutional logics might be reconciled or compartmentalised.

Finally, **Chapter Seven** – **Conclusions** draws out contributions to new institutional theory, international business and higher education management research as well as research limitations and opportunities for future research. This structure and a description of the contents of each chapter are shown in Table 1.

Table 1: Structure and organisation of the thesis

Chapter 1	Introduction
Chapter 2	Internationalisation and higher education
Chapter 3	Theoretical foundations from new institutional theory
Chapter 4	Research methods
Chapter 5	Results from in-depth interviews
Chapter 6	Discussion and whole sector analysis
Chapter 7	Conclusions, implications, limitations and future research

2 The internationalisation of higher education

2.1 Chapter introduction

This chapter reviews the literature from higher education and then international business. To blend the disparate streams of literature in internationalisation across international business and higher education, this chapter starts firstly to classify and categorise key processes, activities and outcomes. Taking an historical approach, literature from higher education is used to explain university archetypes and the possible implications of those archetypes for internationalisation. This chapter aims to explain internationalisation by blending higher education perspectives and international business. Jiang and Carpenter (2011) note that a gap exists between explanations of internationalisation for commercial organisations (as in international business) and explanations for higher education internationalisation. To bridge this gap, a two-way process of conceptual blending is proposed by identifying analogous and disanalogous theories (see Fauconnier & Turner, 2008; Oswick, Fleming, & Hanlon, 2011).

2.2 University archetypes

2.2.1 Early university archetypes and implications for internationalisation

Clark (1973) recommends an historical approach to explain how higher education systems and institutional forms of the past can help explain the trajectories of universities and current institutional forms. As well as historical and temporal dimensions to understanding current practices, Marginson and Rhoades (2002) recommend a spatial dimension where national traditions and regional or international trends interact to impact universities and the government policies which direct them.

Sam and der Sijde (2014) summarise the chronology of dominant archetypes or models as Humboldtian, Napoleonic, Anglo-Saxon and then moving away from European influence somewhat towards the Anglo-American model and increasing entrepreneurialism. A chronological selection of scholars who have influenced university archetypes in the past is outlined in Table 2. Table 2 also draws from these scholars' work to suggest possible implications of the model for internationalisation trajectories.

Table 2: Models of universities and their implications for internationalisation

Authors	Key tenets	Implications for internationalisation
Humboldt	• Wilhelm von Humboldt pioneered the idea of the research university at the beginning of the nineteenth century in Germany (Altbach, 2014) • Teaching and research are unified to push frontiers of knowledge through objective scientific and scholarly research while being open to continuous criticism, change and evolution (Marginson, 2014a)	• Basic tenets of Humboldt's model were seen as internationally admired and indirectly adapted, partially imitated or exported in the nineteenth century (see Ash, 2006; Krull, 2005; Schwinges, 2001) • Universities began to look at countries such as Germany for models of university modernisation (Ash, 2006)
Newman	• Universities as an 'academic cloister' focused on teaching across many fields but less focused on research (Newman, 1999 [1852]) but more in terms of professional training (Turner, 1996) • Prime concern is knowledge and critical thought (Marginson, 2008a) • Collegial model emphasised with the university progressing the overall institution and the various colleges adding stability (Newman, 1856a; Tapper & Palfreyman, 2011)	• Intercultural discourse seen as important for Newman's concept of a liberal education (Nolan, 2012) • Newman noted the vast potential for universities to attract foreign students (Nolan, 2012) • Discussed the free trade of knowledge and likened this trade to the sale of commodities such as gold and coal (Newman, 1856b) • Universities can balance macro and micro issues through collegiate models: "The University is for the world, and the College is for the nation." (Newman, 1856a: 344–345)

Flexner	• Modern universities as a living research organism emphasising 'higher activities' related to intellectual and cultural ideas rather than professional training (Flexner, 1930) • Universities seen as "an organism, characterized by highness and definiteness of aim, unity of spirit and purpose" (Flexner, 1930: 178–179) • Additional profit-making activities of universities like extension programs and adult education were seen by Flexner (1930) as market-oriented, dishonest but effective in gathering revenue	• Compares American, German and English universities suggesting global heterogeneity but also international mimicking of dominant models (Flexner, 1930) • Changes recommended by Flexner for medical education in Canada and the United States were often replicated and 'exported' (Karle, 2010; Lindgren & Karle, 2011)
Kerr	• The comprehensive multiversity based on large United States universities that are a series of communities under a common name and governance structure (Kerr, 2001 [1963]) • The multiversity is seen as massive, diverse with fractionalised power, multi-level, and serving diverse populations (see Brint, 2002; Hayhoe, 1995; Kerr, 2001)	• Universities propelled by two competing forces: internationalisation of learning and greater use of universities by nations to advance their interests (Kerr, 1990) • Kerr (1993) acknowledged in the early 1990s that a highly international and competitive world of learning emerged which requires competing on merit in a global arena • Kerr's original insights seen to be limited to regional and national embeddedness but now the multiversity is shaped by globalising trends (Krücken, Kosmützky, & Torka, 2007)
Clark	• Universities impacted by three axes or a 'triangle' of market-like coordination, state-induced coordination, and academic or professional coordination (Clark, 1983; Enders, 2004) • Universities as "places of inquiry" (Clark, 1995) • The autonomous university with broad policies set by governmental bodies but implementation managed solely by the universities which have their own trajectories that are only partly shaped by governmental dictates (Clark, 2000) • The entrepreneurial university seen to be comprised of a managerial core with a developmental periphery, diversified funding, a stimulated academic environment and an entrepreneurial culture (Clark, 1998a)	• Clark (1998b, 2004a) offers an international and comparative perspective with a focus on change as a set of pathways of transformation • Suggests that the "deepest form of internationalisation of a university" is inclusion of cross-cultural perspectives and learning styles (Clark, 2004b) • Fields of knowledge now stretch across nations and "brings more parts of universities into a truly international world of science and education" (Clark, 1998a: 6)

Altbach	• Research universities seen as the pinnacle of academic systems (Altbach, 2014) • Elite research universities must perform many academic and societal roles but chiefly involve academics freely producing knowledge for its own sake (Altbach, 2011) • The basic European university model established in Paris is seen as the only common academic model worldwide (Altbach, 1991)	• Unlike teaching-focused universities, research universities must have internationally linked academics (Altbach, 2014) • Universities and knowledge production increasingly internationalised in the postmodern age (Altbach, 1998; Scott, 2006) • Research universities typically are the 'most internationalised' tertiary institutions (Altbach, 2013)
Etzkowitz & Leydesdorff	• The Entrepreneurial University managing a triple helix or "a trilateral series of relationships among governments, industries, and universities" (Etzkowitz, 1996a: 67)	• Increased international economic competition after the Cold War seen to create new models of knowledge disrupting the 'ivory tower' role (Etzkowitz & Leydesdorff, 1995)
Marginson et al	• The research-intensity of the Global Research University seen now as similar to the 'world class university' and as the leading model in terms of prestige and funding (Marginson, 2008a, 2011) • Three typical segments of competition in national systems are Elite research universities; Aspirant research universities; and, Teaching-focused universities or colleges (Marginson, 2006) • Australian universities seen as vulnerable to isomorphism in terms of losing their identity by following a marketing-led strategy (Marginson & Considine, 2000)	• The Global Research University must be "globally networked, globally recognized and effective in local, national and global action" (Marginson, 2011: 10) which is described as 'Glonacal' (see Marginson & Rhoades, 2002) • Universities in Australia reinvented themselves as an 'Enterprise University' by becoming entrepreneurial and raising income from private sources like international student fees, investing in globalisation and international education or by focusing on distance education and flexible learning (Marginson & Considine, 2000)
Mohrman et al	• The "Emerging Global Model" (EGM) seen as the next stage of development for a subset of elite research universities (Mohrman, Ma, & Baker, 2008) • EGM universities have the highest research intensity and globally compete for students, faculty and funding (Mohrman et al., 2008)	• Internationalisation totally embedded in the EGM because they "see their mission as transcending the boundaries of the nation-state, educating for global perspective and advancing the frontiers of knowledge worldwide" (Mohrman et al., 2008: 7) • The pursuit of 'world class universities' or the EGM is seen as the strongest force for internationalisation in countries such as China (Mohrman, 2008)

2.2.2 'Modern' university archetypes and implications for internationalisation

In a different form of importing ideas to improve home country university systems, Abraham Flexner (1930) compared American universities with the German and English models that were partly influenced by Humboldt and Newman. Flexner (1930) suggested that there was a global heterogeneity of university models but also identified some international mimicry of the dominant models (Flexner, 1930). Flexner saw universities as living research organisms which conduct the 'higher activities' of intellectual and cultural pursuits – not just professional training (Flexner, 1930). Under this ideal, universities are seen as "an organism, characterized by highness and definiteness of aim, unity of spirit and purpose" (Flexner, 1930: 178–179). Activities that were not "characterised by highness" were seen by Flexner (1930) to include profit-making activities involving university extension programs and adult education. These ancillary services were criticised as market-oriented, and dishonest but effective in gathering revenue (Flexner, 1930).

Kerr (1993) acknowledged the significance of global trends in his work in the early 1990s and saw this time as a highly international and competitive world of learning. The intensity and global nature of competition was seen to require universities to compete on merit rather than politics or other factors and to become entrepreneurial and dynamic (Kerr, 1993). As well as increased pressures from global competitive forces, the internationalisation of universities was seen to be propelled by two competing forces: internationalisation of learning and greater use of universities by nations to advance their interests (Kerr, 1990). At the forefront of these efforts is the 'Global Research University' or 'World Class University' which have the highest level

of prestige and greatest levels of funding (see Marginson, 2008a, 2011). Like Altbach (2013) who identified elite research universities as the 'most internationalised', the Global Research University is even less nationally focused and is "globally networked, globally recognized and effective in local, national and global action" (Marginson, 2011: 10).

2.2.3 Modes and stages of university internationalisation

Internationalisation in higher education can be seen broadly as a process of integration and permeation of international dimensions into a university's research, teaching and service functions (Knight & de Wit, 1995). From an international trade perspective, these dimensions or modes may involve universities considering the same entry modes, timing and market selection decisions as other service industries (Czinkota, Grossman, Javalgi, & Nugent, 2009). In the nomenclature of the World Trade Organisation's General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS) and of the OECD (2004), internationalisation modes are seen to include the four modes shown in Table 3. Mode 2 has involved significant volumes of student recruitment with the help of international student agents. Despite some similarities with these export-oriented terms, many different sets of modes are used to describe patterns of university internationalisation. A selection of classifications is detailed in Table 4 (following page).

Table 3: Modes in the General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS)

Mode
1. Cross-border supply via distance education or franchising
2. Consumption abroad involving traditional student mobility requiring 'international student recruitment'
3. Commercial presence of a branch campus or joint venture
4. Presence of natural persons involving temporary travel of professors and researchers to deliver educational service

Table 4: Common modes of university internationalisation

Author	Classification
Kerr (1990)	1. Flow of new knowledge 2. Flow of scholars 3. Flow of students 4. Transformation of curriculum content
Rudzki (1995)	1. Organisational change 2. Curriculum innovation 3. Staff development 4. Student mobility
Mazzarol, Soutar, & Seng (2003)	1. International student recruitment (export) 2. Alliances or coalitions 3. Branches and online delivery
Teichler (2004)	1. Knowledge transferred through media including books, films, or email messages 2. Knowledge transferred through the physical mobility of scholars and students 3. Knowledge internationally transferred in collaborative research and joint teaching and learning projects 4. Transnational education and commercial knowledge transfer
OECD (2004)	1. *Cross-border supply* via distance education or franchising 2. *Consumption abroad* of traditional student mobility 3. *Commercial presence* of a branch campus or joint venture 4. *Presence of natural persons* involving temporarily travel of professors and researchers to deliver educational services
Harman (2005)	1. International movement of students 2. International movement of researchers 3. Curriculum on foreign cultures and languages 4. International links between nations using open learning and new technologies 5. Bilateral international links involving collaboration research, exchange, curriculum development and other activities 6. Multilateral international links through consortia 7. Export education conducted on commercial basis in students' home countries or the university's country
Naidoo (2009)	1. Franchising 2. Alliances including 'twinning' or articulations 3. Branch campuses 4. Distance learning 5. Programmes run by MNEs
Knight (2011)	1. Movement of scholars and students 2. Movement of programs and the provider 3. Creation of education hubs
Knight (2015)	1. Classic internationalised university 2. Satellite model of branches 3. Internationally co-founded university

Kerr (1990) suggests that university internationalisation may involve knowledge crossing borders in outflows of research knowledge or inflows of knowledge which transforms curriculum. Alternatively, flows may involve the movement of people in terms of either students or scholars (Kerr, 1990). Teichler (2004) described these international flows of knowledge in more detail and included transnational education involving branches or partnerships. As well as branches, transnational administrative arrangements may involve franchising; 'twinning' or double degree alliances; validation agreements; articulations where students complete courses in multiple countries; multilateral agreements in consortia; distance learning including online delivery; and programmes run by multinational enterprises (see Altbach & Knight, 2007; Bennell & Pearce, 2003; Harman, 2005; Knight, 2004; Naidoo, 2009). From this list and the variations in modes noted in Table 4, it is clear that there are many facets to university internationalisation but also, as Mok (2007) explains, researchers may not see internationalisation in the same way. Internationalisation can be seen in higher education research as encompassing only one facet or a combination, with some researchers focusing on mobility of students, others on curriculum-related changes, and others still on delivery of education to other countries through new arrangements (Mok, 2007).

Out of all aspects of higher education internationalisation, some of the most dramatic recent changes have occurred in research and teaching moving across national borders (see Knight, 2008, 2011; Vincent-Lancrin, 2007). This development is identified by Mazzarol, Soutar, and Seng (2003) as the third and most recent wave of internationalisation. With careful effort to explain sequences of modes rather than just

list all possible modes, Mazzarol, Soutar, and Seng (2003) identify three broad waves using the Australian higher education system as the case study. The first wave involved international student recruitment which in trade terms may be seen as the domestically-located export of tourism; the second wave included alliances or coalitions; and then the third wave included branches and online delivery (Mazzarol et al., 2003). Similar to the three wave conceptualisation, Knight (2011) identifies three generations of 'crossborder education': (1) movement of scholars and students; (2) movement of programs and providers, and (3) creation of education hubs such as those in Singapore, Qatar and Malaysia. These generations are seen to continue with the advent of successive generations (Knight, 2011) rather than as replacements for legacy modes. Knight (2015) suggests that three models of internationalisation are actually emerging now: (1) the 'classic' internationalised model involving international partnerships, international students and intercultural activities; (2) the 'satellite' model of branch campuses, research centres, and offices abroad; and (3) universities that are 'internationally cofounded' by two or more partner institutions from multiple countries.

Linking strategic orientations with possible modes and implementation approaches, Knight suggests four overall 'generic' approaches to internationalisation. These have been used to categorise common ways of understanding university internationalisation (Zha, 2003) and were later refined and added to by Knight (1999b, 2004). To the classifications of internationalisation offered by Knight (1999b) above, Meek (2007) added two additional internationalisation approaches. These approaches are the business approach of profit maximisation from international student fees and the

market approach of competition, market domination and deregulation (Meek, 2007). The original and additional approaches are described in Table 5 below.

Table 5: Generic approaches to university internationalisation

Approach	Description
Activity approach	Focus on discrete activities such as mobility, international studies, branches and joint programs
Outcomes approach	A strategic focus on desired outcomes such as profile raising or student competencies
Competency approach	Internationalisation efforts with a focus on skills, knowledge, attitudes and values (was replaced by the outcomes approach)
Rationales approach	Based on the motivations or rationales for internationalisation such as income generation or cultural diversity
Ad hoc approach	Reactively responds to new opportunities when they are presented
Ethos or 'at home' approach	An overall culture supporting internationalisation on home country campuses
Process approach	The gradual integration of intercultural dimensions into teaching, research and service missions
Abroad or cross-border approach	Focus on offshore delivery online or through branches or partnerships
Business approach	An emphasis on profit maximisation especially from international student fees
Market approach	Market-based conditions of competition, market domination and deregulation

Adapted from: Knight and de Wit (1995), Knight (1999b, 2004) and Meek (2007)

Within the rationales approach are a range of motivations including social/cultural, political, economic, academic motivations which may be driven at the national level, institutional level or a combination of these levels (de Wit, 2000; Knight, 2004). At the institutional level Chan and Dimmock (2008) summarise modes and rationales in just three approaches: the *Internationalist* that aims for international standing and world-class academic excellence; the *Translocalist* with a national focus but still a global perspective; and the *Globalist* emphasising branch campuses and other mechanisms of global delivery through transnational education (see also Cambridge & Thompson, 2004). At the national level, Teichler (2004) sees the creation of new modes of steering

institutions as a key aspect of policy change driving internationalisation.

As well as these modes of internationalisation activities, Enders (2004: 363) argues that there is “great analytic interest to study the emerging new modes of co-ordination in the higher education sector, their underlying rationales and in particular the effects of internationalisation and globalisation”. By “modes of co-ordination”, Enders (2004) refers to the way individual actions are coordinated through university governance and collaborations with state and non-state actors and seeks to explain how internationalisation impacts governance rather than how governance modes determine a particular internationalisation approach or mode. These new governance modes are seen to be based on market logics that encompass the principles of competition and freedom of choice rather than ones that are nationally delimited and governmentally run (see Enders, 2004; Hedmo & Wedlin, 2008). This moves away from the view of higher education as a public good towards the market-based view of higher education as a private good (Dill, 1997).

2.3 The Janus face of university internationalisation

Several higher education scholars describe university internationalisation as ‘Janus-faced’ (see Ramia, Marginson, Sawir, & Nyland, 2011; Sanderson, 2008; Steiner, 2000; Welch, 2012). Ramia et al. (2011), for example, use an international business perspective to argue that the globalisation of higher education is Janus-faced. This perspective sees globalisation driving internationalisation in terms of universities becoming like multinational enterprises (MNEs) leading to positive and negative outcomes for students (Ramia et al., 2011). Examples of negative outcomes of internationalisation include a sales orientation and what Knight (2013) labels ‘foreign

degree mills', 'accreditation mills' and 'rogue for-profit providers'.

The bipolarity of the Janus metaphor also proved useful to Sanderson (2008) who described the embracing of intercultural perspectives by students and faculty as serving the humanistic needs and market-based needs of students – which he suggests could still be compatible. As pictured in Figure 1, the Janus-face of internationalisation discussed here draws from Sanderson's (2008) opposing dimensions and those described by Welch (2012, 2013):

> *The Janus face of internationalisation of Australian higher education holds some lessons for other countries: one side faces in the direction of opportunistic entrepreneurialism, the other towards genuine cultural exchange based on values of reciprocity and mutuality. It is that latter face which has largely been obscured by Australia's opportunistic approach to internationalisation. (Welch, 2012: 310)*

Figure 1: The Janus face of university internationalisation

Adapted from Welch (2012) and Sanderson (2008)

The tension between market-based rationales and humanism can also be framed in terms of tension between neoliberalism as an ideology prioritising market-based values over other values like social, educational or bureaucratic domains (Rutherford, 2005), or other counter rationalities (Brown, 2003). This tension is described by Clyne at al. (2001: 124) as the clash of the "neo-liberal norm of 'globalisation' with a humanist,

education-centred norm of 'internationalisation'." Ng (2012) relates humanistic internationalisation to civic missions associated with the promotion of democratic values, ideas of global citizenship, and contributions to world peace or sustainable development.

Giroux (2006: 69) describes a shift from the traditional academic imperative to 'publish or perish' to "the neoliberal mantra 'privatize or perish' as everyone in the university is transformed into an entrepreneur, customer, or client, and every relationship is ultimately judged in bottomline, cost-effective terms." Similarly, Dowling (2008: 813) describes neoliberalism as the "infusion of market and competitive logics throughout universities, the rise of audit processes and cultures of accountability, and the replacement of public with private (student and private business) funding." This ideology of neoliberalism has also been linked to university internationalisation in Australia (see Ball, 2012; Clyne et al., 2001; Ng, 2012). The categorisation of university international activities as either humanist or market-based will be used in the research classification later in this chapter.

2.3.1 Cultural and diplomatic rationales for internationalisation

With a focus on universities in the United States but also mentioning European universities, Weidner (1962) noted a growing interest in using universities to educate people from other nations. Cormack (1968) suggests that it was after 1945 with the post-war leadership role of the United States that universities there started to attract more significant numbers of students and scholars. For Australian universities, Marginson (2002) describes their role in the 1955-1990 period as one of nation-building. Australia's 'Colombo Plan' sponsored Asian and Pacific students to study in

Australia with benefits intended for those students and the Australians who interacted with them (Auletta, 2000).

Better diplomatic relations may involve economic and political benefits and international students can contribute to cultural and ethnic diversity while possibly also becoming future leaders of their home nations (Knight, 1999a). Economic benefits may also include rationales which aim to enhance economic, scientific and technological competitiveness or may involve a focus on marketing and income generation from educational products and services (Zha, 2003). Internationalisation may also involve humanitarian rationales and outcomes (see 2005; Kreber, 2009; Zha, 2003; Wilmoth, 2004). For example, there may be positive international development impacts on branch campuses (Wilmoth, 2004). Australian universities also have legislative obligations to create benefits for local communities such as in the legislative instrument the *Higher Education Standards Framework (Threshold Standards) 2011* requiring that:

> *The higher education provider demonstrates engagement with its local and regional communities and demonstrates a commitment to social responsibility in its activities. (DIISRTE, 2013: 10–11)*

Evidence of cultural and diplomatic uses of student mobility has recently focused on Australian students rather than just inbound international students. Under the 'New Colombo Plan', Australia has sought greater engagement with the Indo-Pacific region but with a focus on improving knowledge about the region within Australia (NCP Secretariat, 2013; Robertson & Lundberg, 2013). 'Internationalisation at home' may also involve cultural motivations for particular teaching practices and curriculum in Australia (Sanderson, 2011) or greater intercultural interaction between local and

international students on campuses (Harrison & Peacock, 2009). De Vita and Case (2003) argue, however, that universities only pay lip service to student diversity and multicultural interaction but that these aspects of internationalisation could radically change the purposes, priorities and process of higher education.

2.3.2 Market-based and corporate internationalisation

Knight (1999a) notes that diplomatic and humanitarian justifications of internationalisation have been common but higher education is more often now seen as an export product. Kreber (2009) also notes that humanitarian considerations may often be secondary to economic motivations and may not even be intermingled with other dominant motivations. The shift in rationales is seen by Brandenburg and de Wit (2011) as occurring in the late 1980s as internationalisation became a multidimensional process but was driven largely by the 'big business' of international student recruitment. Pratt and Poole (1999) suggest that corporate models in Australia had started to be adopted but the level of university autonomy did not increase dramatically and a substantial degree of centralised government planning was maintained.

Gumport (2000) argues that universities have been pressured on two fronts with the need to adapt to 'unprecedented competition' and to 'public scrutiny'. Teichler (2004) notes that to guide university internationalisation, governments must legislate, certify, measure quality, and encourage transparency. Gumport (2000) suggests the possible dominant cause of organisational change in universities appears to be market factors such as consumer (student) preferences, regulation and technology. The impact of these processes on internationalisation is seen by Altbach and Welch (2011) as a

dominance of market forces with moneymaking the prime goal of university internationalisation.

Almost a century ago Veblen (2003 [1918]) charted the ascendency of business values and approaches in United States universities, particularly the rise of practices we would now label as Taylorism. Now these business values are seen to be becoming dominant through processes like 'marketisation' (see Jongbloed, 2003; Lynch, 2006; Meek, 2000; Mok, 2001; Oplatka & Hemsley-Brown, 2010; Yin & White, 1994), 'commercialisation' (see Bok, 2003; Ginsburg, Espinoza, Popa, & Terano, 2003; Willmott, 2003), 'corporatisation' (see Meyer, 2002; Mok, 2001; Neumann & Guthrie, 2002; Parker, 2011; Steck, 2003), or 'commodification' (see Lawrence & Sharma, 2002; Naidoo, 2003; Naidoo & Jamieson, 2005; Shumar, 2013; Trowler, 2001). These processes have impacted some faculties faster than others with business schools often being the first to move towards market-based and corporate practices (Clark, 2001).

Positive outcomes of marketisation identified in China by Yin and White (1994) include institutional efficiency, productivity, and greater responsiveness to the socio-economic needs of society – a critical benefit. These benefits are coupled with serious dangers: inegalitarianism; fragmentation of knowledge; high transaction costs from performance evaluation systems; declines in research and teaching quality; short-term orientations; and the emergence of 'backdoor' practices (Yin & White, 1994). Parker (2013: 263) argues that, as instruments of corporatisation, international activities of universities may create new resources to benefit teaching and research but also carry "the potential to put university operational objectives and outcomes at risk." Lee (2014) sees revenue generation as a key rationale for cross-border education but there still may be strong

aversion towards the commercialisation of education in some countries. Marginson (2014b) notes that the higher education sector in the United Kingdom has now commercialised but remains more focused on institutional prestige and is not a genuine capitalist market powered by a profit motive.

For Marginson and Considine's (2000) archetype of the 'Enterprise University' in Australia, entrepreneurial tendencies and internationalisation are important but not the only pursuit. Raising income in these universities involves international student fees, investing in globalisation and international education or distance education and flexible learning (Marginson & Considine, 2000). However, Marginson and Considine (2000) warn against a one-dimensional view of universities as dominated by profit-seeking behaviours. These authors forecast that profit-oriented and marketing-led strategies could become dominant but would make universities more vulnerable to isomorphism and loss of identity (Marginson & Considine, 2000).

2.3.3 New public management and internationalisation

New managerialism and corporate models have also been discussed in the context of public sector organisations (see Carroll & Garkut, 1996; Exworthy & Halford, 1998; Lippi, 2000). Boyne (2002) argues that market forces do drive action but, for public sector organisations, the primary constraints are imposed by the political system rather than the economic system. This is seen to apply even for sectors like education and health where there is competition (Boyne, 2002). In the case of corporatisation of other public sector organisations such as hospitals in the United Kingdom, Kitchener (1998) suggests there is only a 'quasi-market'. Similarly, Luke et al. (1989) suggest that community healthcare organisations transformed into 'quasi-firms' while Reay and

Hinings (2009) suggest that certain healthcare logics are ‘business-like’. This avoidance of using ‘market’ and ‘firm’ without a ‘quasi’ qualifier is also present in higher education (Etzkowitz, 1983, 1996b, see 2003; Kirby, 2011). Research groups or centres within universities may act like firms but with one critical difference: they do not make financial investments in order to return financial profits (see Etzkowitz, 1983; Richter, 1986). For this reason and other differences between firms and ‘quasi-firms’, Ferlie (2002) recommends customising strategies from strategic management in what he calls ‘quasi strategy’.

In the 1990s public sector change was often organised around the philosophy of New Public Management (NPM) which led to importing managerial processes and behaviour from the private sector (see Boyne, 2002; Carroll & Garkut, 1996; Dunleavy & Hood, 1994; Meyer & Hammerschmid, 2006a). NPM involves reorganising organisations to bring management, reporting and accounting approaches closer to a particular perception of business methods (Dunleavy & Hood, 1994). NPM has been identified as a force for institutional change in the public sector (see Barzelay & Gallego, 2006; Hood & Peters, 2004; Moore, 2013) in a shift that may be summarised as a process of becoming increasingly performance-focused (Hyndman & Connolly, 2011) as a result of market liberal policies (Harris, 1999; Marginson, 2002).

For universities, NPM is largely based around two elements: first, reductions of direct government involvement in decision-making, especially at operational levels, and, second, senior management including deans and university presidents or Vice Chancellors gaining much greater power over researchers (Schubert, 2009). This shift towards NPM may have impacted university internationalisation through a greater

focus on autonomy, expansion, marketisation, measurement of performance and quality control (Sirat, 2010), and entrepreneurial management rather than collegial approaches (Andresani & Ferlie, 2006; Ferlie, Musselin, & Andresani, 2008). Marginson and van der Wende (2007, 2009) describe NPM as the strongest single driver of change for two decades. They suggest that NPM-related reforms and the responses to globalisation from universities have involved a long list of 'templates of the new public management' including market approaches, competition within and between universities, partnerships with corporations and greater focus on finances and performance measurement (Marginson & van der Wende, 2009). NPM is seen to continue to push towards greater corporatisation including practices related to client-focused service delivery and 'market orientation' (Walker, Brewer, Boyne, & Avellaneda, 2011) or towards business process reengineering and other 'post-NPM' forms (McNulty & Ferlie, 2004).

Focusing on these dimensions of NPM involves shifting from the 'soft managerialism' of improving efficiency by achieving quality at its lowest cost towards 'hard managerialism' (Salminen, 2003). This hard conception involves completely reshaping and reforming institutions and systems so that managerial values take the dominant position (Salminen, 2003; Trow & Clark, 1994). Ferlie et al. (1996) suggest that this may take place in stages and they distinguish four NPM models starting from the 1980s which are summarised in Table 6.

Table 6: NPM models used in stages

Stage	Model	Description
1	The Efficiency Drive	Moves to make the public sector more efficient through business-like practices
2	Downsizing and decentralising	Delayering, downsizing and decentralising through dividing into autonomous business units
3	In search of excellence	Emphasising organisation culture in bottom-up organisational development and top-down culture change
4	Public service orientation	Fusing public and private management ideals to achieve a public service mission through best practice management

Sources: Ferlie et al. (1996) and Sporn (2003)

The final stage suggests that a fusion of two logics is pursued in what Brookes and Grint (2010: 4) describe as an effort to "re-energise the public sector by outlining a distinct public service mission and put local users and citizens at its heart." A more critical view of this orientation is offered by Fountain (2001) who notes that customer service ideas may create a paradox where enhanced customer service improves service delivery but creates political inequalities.

An example of possible fusing of public and private ideals is the dual logic of tax-supported incomes and private commercial income which might lead universities to become 'hybrid' organisations (see Mackintosh, Jarvis, & Heery, 1994; Parker, 2012). There are also situations where new and old forms of public management have blended together in universities (Deem, 2004). Shattock (2002) calls for universities to rebalance corporate-dominated and academic-dominated university governance to move towards a hybrid of 'shared governance'. Ferlie and Andresani (2009) point to a revival of NPM modes of governance in United Kingdom universities channelled through quasi-market approaches and corporate governance reforms. In Australia, the processes of marketisation and globalisation have been largely intertwined with the adoption of NPM approaches (see Marginson & Considine, 2000; Parker, 2012; Ryan

& Guthrie, 2014; Scott, 1998). The introduction of fee-paying international students to Australia was a key aspect of this marketisation and globalisation (Parker & Guthrie, 2010). NPM principles continue to be relevant to higher education systems as these principles were only recently identified in research management and university governance (Enders, Kehm, & Schimank, 2015).

Guthrie and Neumann (2007: 232) describe Australian universities as "increasingly market driven, operating more like large businesses – increasingly generating their own income and focusing on costs and economic status." Parker (2012) suggests that, for both publicly and privately funded universities, financial management involves self-generating, profit-oriented business models. However, as Marginson and Considine (2000) note – most universities are unlike large businesses which redistribute profits to shareholders because the financial objectives of public and non-profit universities are only a means to advancing the university's prestige. The one exception now is the new Torrens University Australia which is owned by Laureate Education Incorporated, itself formerly NASDAQ listed and obliged to return profits to its shareholders.

2.3.4 Comprehensive internationalisation

Knight (2014) argues that the era of ad hoc and marginalised internationalisation has ended. The centrality of internationalisation is seen in university strategic plans, national policy statements and international declarations (Knight, 2014). Similarly, Brandenburg and de Wit (2011: 15) suggest that internationalisation of higher education has "moved from the fringe of institutional interest to the very core". In suggesting that we may have reached 'the end of internationalisation' they argue for the need to move away from input and output approaches overly focused on the

number of international fee paying students (Brandenburg & Wit de, 2011). This also suggests an effort to fuse together the humanist and market-based sides of university internationalisation (see Sanderson, 2008). Alternatively, internationalisation may have already been co-opted by the 'dark side' of globalisation (Brandenburg & Wit de, 2011; Knight, 2013).

For Clark (2004b) one pathway of university transformation involves moving towards deeper forms of internationalisation. Clark (2004b) asserted the end point for this pathway is the 'deepest form of internationalisation of a university' – the inclusion of cross-cultural perspectives and learning styles. Greater cross-cultural perspectives are seen as important because fields of knowledge now stretch across nations, an effect which "brings more parts of universities into a truly international world of science and education" (Clark, 1998a: 6). Altbach (2013) also classified deeper or 'more internationalised' degrees of university internationalisation. As Gao (2014) notes though, these moves towards explicit, articulated and institution-wide internationalisation require empirical research to map and measure the phenomenon of university internationalisation.

For Gacel-Ávila (2005: 133), the future of internationalisation requires, among other factors, an acceptance of internationalisation as "an integral, central, and fundamental part of educational policy that can improve the quality and relevance of education, implemented through comprehensive strategies to help transform educational systems to meet the needs of a global society". Along with these comprehensive strategies creating change, Gacel-Ávila (2005) recommends greater cooperation among nations to establish a true global citizenry and also notes the need for educational scholars

broadly to pay more attention to internationalisation in their research. Continuing attempts to progress the concept of internationalisation, de Wit (2013) recommends a focus on ‘comprehensive’, ‘mainstream’ and ‘deep’ forms of internationalisation.

This progression to ‘comprehensiveness’ appears to be historical as Brandenburg and de Wit (2011: 15) suggest that from the late 1970s up until the mid-1980s, except for international joint research, the internationalisation activities of universities “were usually neither named that way, nor carried high prestige, and were rather isolated and unrelated.” Jones and de Wit (2012) argue that the collection of fragmented and unrelated international activities in the past and those approaches still pursued by many universities should not even be called internationalisation. This isolated, unrelated, unintegrated and non-comprehensive set of activities might instead be labelled ‘international education’ rather than internationalisation (see Brandenburg & Wit de, 2011; de Wit, 2013). Middlehurst and Woodfield (2007) recommend that overcoming fragmentation involves a coordinated approach to strategy development and a structure which is coordinated horizontally and adds international dimensions to all cross-institutional services like marketing and student support.

Hudzik (2011) suggests that the comprehensive nature of internationalisation has yet to be really achieved. Hudzik’s (2011: 6) conception of ‘comprehensive internationalisation’ is defined as internationalisation with an institutional imperative “embraced by institutional leadership, governance, faculty, students, and all academic service and support units”. For Tadaki and Tremewan (2013), this comprehensiveness will involve universities that organise international activities becoming more ordered, tangible and collaborative. For Gacel-Ávila (2005), moves towards comprehensive

internationalisation are part of a process of institutionalisation of international dimensions. This process could be unique to universities and could incorporate their service, teaching and research missions.

Alternatively, universities could become more holistically international by acting more like multinational corporations (MNCs). Engwall (2008) suggests that universities are not multinationals because their goal is reputation rather than profit but if this goal shifts, they may become more 'MNC-like'. Should all the international projects of a university become realigned with corporate practices and profit goals, there will still be a high degree of internationalisation in terms of scale and coordination of efforts but the adding of international dimensions to other parts of the university would take on a more corporate character. This may occur through a process of 'creeping corporatism' (see Barlow, 1998; Craig, Clarke, & Amernic, 1999; Mills, 1976; Panitch, 1980; Wassenberg, 1978) which in higher education may result in universities run by corporations or traditional university settings run under increasing degrees of corporate influence (Craig et al., 1999).

2.4 International business perspectives on internationalisation

Unlike higher education, where internationalisation may involve a diverse set of activities like those classified previously, internationalisation processes in corporations are chiefly seen as incremental "moves into more risky, but potentially rewarding, modes and moves into markets that are more distant in terms of psychic distance" (Johanson & Vahlne, 2009: 1412). Psychic distance in this context is seen as the difference between a firm's language, laws and rules and those in the foreign host country (see Eriksson, Johanson, Majkgard, & Sharma, 1997; Johanson & Vahlne,

2009). This ‘Nordic view’ of firm internationalisation sees expansion into foreign markets as a gradual and sequential expansion process (Welch & Luostarinen, 2006).

Models involving incremental increases are seen as failing to explain irregular international expansion patterns involving the speed of the process (pace), geographical dispersion or product range (scope) and regularity or irregularity (rhythm) of international expansion patterns in terms of peaks of activity and periods of inactivity (see Lin, 2012; Vermeulen & Barkema, 2002; Zeng, Shenkar, Lee, & Song, 2013). Welch and Paavilainen-Mäntymäki (2014) suggest that processual approaches incorporate time and dynamism to show how international activities emerge, develop, grow or terminate over time. In international business literature, process approaches initially focused on stage models but, with further empirical research, led to more dynamic ongoing processes or life cycles and, more recently, to breaking down internationalisation into finely grained micro-processes (Welch & Paavilainen-Mäntymäki, 2014).

Organisations in different industries may follow some of these less typical sequences of internationalisation with Edwards and Edwards (2001: 81) noting that the original Uppsala model was developed to understand the internationalisation of manufacturing firms but that the “internationalisation of service providers like universities might follow a somewhat different path.” Similarly, Healey (2008) found that the internationalisation of universities in Australia, Canada, New Zealand, the United Kingdom and the United States followed not a rational growth strategy but rather responded to government policy.

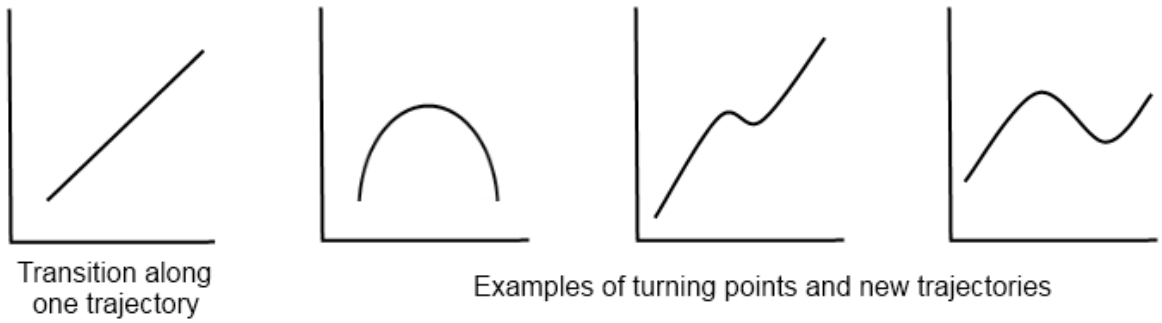
2.4.1 Trajectories of university internationalisation

Changes to the extent, intensity and nature of internationalisation may be described as ‘transitions’ or ‘turning points’. This distinction is derived from sociology and is used to describe sequences or paths of events such as those in the course of a person’s life (see Abbott, 2001; Elder, 1985; Gotlib & Wheaton, 1997; Sampson & Laub, 2005). Turning points involve major changes to an overall direction or regime by disrupting regular patterns and redirecting paths (Abbott, 2001; Elder, 1985). The idea of the turning point is common in path dependency analysis which includes investigations of mechanisms leading trajectories to retain their course (see Abbott, 1997, 2001; Araujo & Harrison, 2002; Howlett, 2009) and is seen by Powell et al. (2005: 1134) as part of “a more general move in the social sciences to analyze momentum, sequences, turning points, and path dependencies.”

The concept of turning points may also help understand organisational change to a new internationalisation trajectory (see Buttriss & Wilkinson, 2006; Turcan, 2013). Turcan (2013) adopts this concept to explain de-internationalisation by way of reductions in the level of market commitment. The broad idea of turning points, but with a focus on change across the whole organisational field (rather than just organisational change), is also used to describe major changes in the internationalisation of education (see Hargreaves & Shirley, 2009; Kerr, 1990; Lee, 2012; Salmi, 2002). Applying Abbott’s (2001) mathematical explanation of turning points and Turcan’s (2013) application to internationalisation trajectories, time can be plotted on one axis and the extent of internationalisation plotted on another with pace and intensity shown by the steepness of the trajectory. To illustrate various types of

trajectories and turning points, Figure 2 below depicts examples from Abbott (2001).

Figure 2: Turning points in internationalisation



Adapted from Abbott (2001)

The trajectories of internationalisation are seen by Hutzschenreuter, Pedersen and Volberda (2007) to be shaped partially by external forces although other factors must also be considered such as managers' knowledge and experience as well as their intentionality.

2.5 Comparing international business and higher education

As well as driving academic research, "higher education is increasingly finding itself the object of research" (Brennan & Teichler, 2008: 259). Higher education research includes studies of learning-related aspects, policy, management, and governance, and higher education is often interdisciplinary in its blending of various theoretical, methodological and practical underpinnings (see Saarinen & Ursin, 2011; Teichler, 2005). Interdisciplinary studies of higher education internationalisation have explored diverse topics including: motivations for universities to internationalise (see Altbach & Knight, 2007; Friesen, 2013; Tayar & Jack, 2013); new patterns of student mobility (see Bhandari & Blumenthal, 2010; Li & Bray, 2007; Teichler, 2005; Woodfield, 2010);

distance education (see King, 2012; Ziguras & McBurnie, 2011); ‘massification’ or widening access to higher education (see Altbach, Reisberg, & Rumbley, 2009; Rossi, 2010); and the development of intercultural or ‘global competencies’ by students through a university’s internationalisation programs (see Brookes & Becket, 2011; Deardorff, 2006; Kim, 2009; Whitsed & Wright, 2013).

2.5.1 Analogical resonance and analogical dissonance

In order to draw from international business and higher education this section identifies instances of analogous and disanalogous theories (see Fauconnier & Turner, 2008; Oswick et al., 2011). This involves a two-way ‘conceptual blending’ looking for analogical resonance between theories and analogical dissonance (see Oswick et al., 2011). As a potentially fundamental challenge to theory blending, Marginson (2004a, 2004b, 2008b) notes that the rationale for expansion is starkly different as corporations expand to maximise market share or revenues and universities expand to maximise social power, status or consumer preference. Sugden (2004) argues that if universities copy and serve large corporations, there would be a failure in the educational process leading to a small number of first tier universities failing to serve community and societal interests. However, Sugden (2004) also notes that some opportunities for universities remain to borrow international business structures and use the multinational web structure which may be suitable for research and learning by being locally relevant and still globally interlinked.

International business models and higher education internationalisation have been considered together for several decades – partly because international business courses were involved in early efforts to internationalise business school curriculum

(see Beamish & Calof, 1989; Edwards, Crosling, Petrovic-Lazarovic, & O'Neill, 2003; Kwok, Arpan, & Folks, 1994; Nehrt, 1987; Van Der Wende, 1997). Cavusgil (1993) and Schechter (1993) recommend that the internationalisation of the curriculum in business schools should be paired with whole-of-university strategies. Schechter (1993) emphases the need to internationalise the entire university including all disciplines and all dimensions, with curriculum just part of the process.

Some attempts have been made to apply international business to higher education. Chan (2004) combines the concepts of Knight and de Wit (1995) used by higher education scholars with a rarely cited strategic alliance model from international business by Liu (1998). This involves the modification of Knight and de Wit's (1995) 'internationalisation cycle' to include additional alliance-making steps (Chan, 2004). Similarly, Mazzarol (1998) likens the formation of strategic alliances in international business to coalitions among 'education services exporters'. These alliances or coalitions may be useful to universities because alliances with the most elite institutions can enhance the prestige of a university or whole higher education system (Mazzarol & Hosie, 1996). The theme of strategic alliances has led to further development of this concept in higher education as well as its adaption to better explain the particular alliances between universities and between universities and corporations (see Chan, 2004; Clarke & Hermens, 2001; Jongbloed, Enders, & Salerno, 2008; Kehm & Teichler, 2007).

The Uppsala model involving incremental internationalisation of firms has also been discussed with reference to the internationalisation of universities (see Bennett & Kane, 2011; Edwards & Edwards, 2001; Healey, 2013, 2008; Jiang & Carpenter, 2011;

Mathews, Rivera, & Pineda, 2001; Mazzarol et al., 2003; Naidoo, 2010). For example, the Uppsala model is used in Healey's (2013, 2008) discussions of university internationalisation to emphasise both similarities and differences with firm internationalisation. In his earlier conceptual paper, Healey (2008) focuses on the 'Main English-Speaking Destination Countries' (MESDC) for international students of Australia, Canada, New Zealand, the United Kingdom and the United States. Healey (2008: 354) concludes that universities are inherently international but sees the rapid internationalisation in terms of increases to international student mobility since 1990 as disanalogous to the Uppsala process of internationalisation and instead a result of 'distortionary government policy'. Edwards and Edwards (2001) see this manufacturing orientation as inappropriate for service firms but claim that the general approach of stages and incremental increases may still apply to the internationalisation of education. With recent dramatic increases in the number of students studying at British universities outside of Britain (offshore 'franchises'), Healey (2013) acknowledges that this may still be one step in a process that will eventuate in foreign direct investment (FDI) where there are university-owned foreign operations. Healey (2013: 185) recommends further research in university internationalisation, focusing on transnational education, as there are opaque trends and few explanations of why higher education institutions internationalise in this way.

Li and Roberts (2012) also see the value of stage-based models and focus on United Kingdom transnational 'franchises' or partnerships. In their study of universities in the United Kingdom engaged in China, Li and Roberts (2012) suggest that the Uppsala model has not been fully realised because export and contractual arrangements have

occurred but overall university internationalisation has not progressed past these early stages. Bennett and Kane (2011) also note the slow progression of some universities to these more involved stages. Adding to factors identified from international business, they also suggest factors that are context-specific to higher education: the demands of governments and employers for particular international competencies and the level to which the business school already relies on foreign students for financial survival (Bennett & Kane, 2011).

Another way to categorise processes or phases of internationalisation involves understanding changes in local responsiveness and global coordination (see Bartell, 2003; Boyacigiller & Adler, 1991; Howe & Martin, 1998; Mathews et al., 2001). The four phases are those used to describe the international 'evolution' of corporations over time from Phase I *domestic*, Phase II *international*, Phase III *multinational* to Phase IV *global* or *transnational* (see Adler & Ghadar, 1999; Adler & Gundersen, 2007). From this perspective, the study abroad might be the first step from *domestic* to *international,* the *multinational* stage may parallel the self-supporting international business schools in foreign countries and the *global* or *transnational* stage may parallel to distance learning (Bartell, 2003). The evolution to later phases is seen to involve reductions in ethnocentricity in terms of becoming more responsive to the needs of foreign students and employing fewer managers from the home campus to instead employ local managers or third country nationals (see Howe & Martin, 1998; Mathews et al., 2001). Boyacigiller and Adler (1991) also note the general progression towards global structures and processes and, although this progression is not a precise format or path of internationalisation, it is seen as important to ensure the future relevance and

potential contributions of academic research.

Table 7: Analogous and disanalogous concepts and theories

Authors	Resonance or dissonance between disciplines
	Analogical resonance
Cavusgil (1993)	Business faculties are logical starting points for internationalisation (Cavusgil, 1993) but whole institution approaches deliver *pragmatic* employability outcomes, *liberal* cultural sensibility outcomes and *civic* global citizenship outcomes (Schechter, 1993)
Scott (1994)	The consumer-driven environment in higher education systems requires similar entrepreneurial, marketing and managerial skills as in international businesses
Mazzarol (1998)	Trends in international business towards the formation of strategic alliances is similar to the increase in coalitions of education exporters
Bartell (2003)	The *international* stage occurred with study abroad; *multinational* with self-supporting international business schools in foreign countries; and, the *global* or *transnational* stage parallels distance learning
Mazzarol et al. (2003)	"The development of a branch campus is similar to the construction of a manufacturing plant in an international market" (Mazzarol et al., 2003: 95)
Bennett & Kane (2011)	The Uppsala model may not apply but other international business models that account for rapid internationalisation and slow, cautious internationalisation may still apply
Healey (2013)	There is currently a preoccupation with franchising among United Kingdom universities but in the future universities may progress along the Uppsala process towards FDI and university-owned operations in foreign countries
Javalgi & Grossman (2014)	Higher education internationalisation seen as 'knowledge-based services' with internationalisation processes similar to 'knowledge intensive service firms'
	Analogical dissonance
Edwards & Edwards (2001)	The original Uppsala model may not apply as it focuses on manufacturing firms but there may still be stages involving incremental increases
Poole (2001)	Even highly international universities may have a shortfall in international business competencies of risk management, finance, and strategic alliance management
Marginson (2004a)	Unlike capitalist businesses, elite institutions do not seek to maximise market share or revenue but, instead, the lodestone is consumer preferment and social status
Healey (2008)	Stages of university internationalisation are more related to government distortions than an Uppsala internationalisation process
Li & Roberts (2012)	Export and contractual arrangements are key stages for universities (focus is just United Kingdom universities in China) but overall university internationalisation has not progressed past early these stages

2.6 Chapter summary

This literature review has drawn from both higher education and international business. The historical institutionalised archetypes help us to understand the predecessors to current organisational forms and orientations for universities as a whole. Then, the historical orientations for university internationalisation were traced to cultural, diplomatic and community-focused tenets that are seen as humanist or managerial and market-based tenets seen as corporate. The idea of holistic and comprehensive internationalisation was also explained using some recent literature in higher education. With apparent trends towards corporate models, internationalisation processes studied within international business may have become more relevant to the field of higher education but not without careful adaption. To understand the nature and causes of these changes, Chapter Three will introduce a theoretical lens from new institutional theory.

3 New institutional theory and institutional logics

3.1 Chapter introduction

This chapter investigates development in institutional theory and the potential suitability of this theoretical lens for an organisational analysis of universities. Conceptualisations of institutions and institutional change are the central themes of this chronological review to determine links between external changes causing internal changes to internationalisation strategies. Through the perspectives of organisational analysis and economic sociology, the three pillars of institutional theory are explained with reference to major theoretical contributions relevant to the research question: '***How do external forces cause change to university internationalisation activities?***' Then, more recent institutional investigations of change are discussed with reference to the institutional logics perspective. This involves two types of change: first is a review of literature explaining change in institutional pressures.

3.2 Suitability of new institutional theory

Fumasoli and Huisman (2013: 158) note that "the interplay between strategies of higher education institutions and their environments is dynamic and iterative". Many theoretical perspectives may be useful to understand these dynamics and to address the research question: 'How do external forces cause change to university internationalisation activities?' Among these theoretical perspectives, institutional theory has proven particularly powerful at explaining change in the global higher education system including the related processes of internationalisation, massification, entrepreneurialism and marketisation (see Frølich, Huisman, Slipersæter, Stensaker, & Bótas, 2013; Lepori, Huisman, & Seeber, 2014; Oplatka & Hemsley-Brown, 2010;

Powell & Solga, 2010, 2011; Welch, 2012). The study of higher education may also contribute to theory building within organisational institutionalism as education has, in the words of Burch (2007: 93), “provided institutional theorists with useful case studies of institutionalizing forces.”

As discussed in the previous chapter, universities are often characterised by historical archetypes which have become institutionalised and have spread between higher education systems. Scott (2014) argues that identifying archetypes is one step in understanding the institutional environment impacting action within organisations. Scott (2014: 228) notes “institutional logics, organizational archetypes, framing processes, and repertoires of collective action help us better understand the ways in which cultural-cognitive models act both to constrain and to empower social action.” Meyer et al. (2007: 187) note that sociological institutionalism sees “higher education as deeply affected by – indeed, something of an enactment of – structures whose nature and meaning have been institutionalized over many centuries and now apply throughout the world.”

Morphew and Huisman (2002) suggest that DiMaggio and Powell’s (1983) analytical distinctions of institutional forces apply to higher education processes and may help integrate the disparate theoretical frameworks in this field. Forces of external change may also be seen as institutional change, for example, seeing the shift from administrative orientations in the public sector to managerialism as a shift from an old institutional logic to a new one (Meyer & Hammerschmid, 2006a), or transitions to NPM practices as a shift in institutional templates and change to emergent values and attitudes (Kitchener, 1998). Thus the theoretical lens of new institutionalism is

explained by first looking at the historical foundations of this lens, then more recent developments and finally the emergence of the institutional logics perspective.

3.3 Institutionalism in sociology and economics

3.3.1 From 'old' to new institutional economics

The label of 'new' suggests a departure from the 'old' in both institutional economics (e.g. Coase, 1998; Dequech, 2002; Hodgson, 1993; Williamson, 2000) and institutionalism in the sociology of organisation (e.g. Greenwood & Hinings, 1996; Ingram & Clay, 2000; Selznick, 1996; Stinchcombe, 1997). Burns and Scapens (2000: 4) argue that 'old institutional economics', 'new institutional economics and 'new institutional sociology' all have "different origins and intellectual roots, [but] they share a concern for institutions and institutional change." From economics, Hodgson (1998) recommends that an understanding of the institutional perspectives should start with the perspectives of Veblen, Commons and Mitchell as part of the 'old institutional economics'.

With Coase (1937) institutional economics transitioned from 'old' to 'new' in attempt to bind together institutionalism in a clear body of theory (see Coase, 1998; Williamson, 1979). New institutional economics' understanding of institutional change included a focus on the opportunistic actions of agents by Coase (Hardy & Maguire, 2008) and the interaction of agents and rules by North (1990). North (1971) focused on economic growth and suggested that technological change has been the key focus of investigations of economic growth but there may also be a need to investigate changes to institutions wrought by laws and voluntary rules. North and Wallis (1994) suggested that institutional change interacts with technical change and they are difficult to

disentangle. The pace of institutional change was later categorised by Williamson (2000) using four levels: (1) deeply embedded and slow changing institutions; (2) formal rules of the game in the institutional environment; (3) governance dictating how the game is played; and (4) resource allocations and employment. Table 8 outlines the development of institutional theory and major contributions to institutional economics.

Table 8: Chronology of 'new' and 'old' institutional economics

Authors	Key institutional tenets	Understanding of institutional change
	'Old institutional economics'	
Veblen (1899)	• Not just constraints on individual action but on generally accepted ways of thinking (Rutherford, 2001) • Institutions like biological genes but more malleable and mutate in different ways (Burns & Scapens, 2000)	• Evolution and mutation of habits or routines involving continuity and change or inertia and novelty (Hodgson, 1998) • Cumulative and path dependent institutional change (Rutherford, 2001)
Commons (1899; 1919; 1936)	• 'Collective Action in Control of Individual Action' (Commons, 1931) • Conflict of interest (as with Marx) important but also mutual dependence of people and maintenance of order by collective action (Furubotn & Richter, 2005)	• As customs change we realise the previously unquestioned and undisturbed compulsion of the custom (Commons, 1990 [1934]) • Groups and individuals may react to change with different levels of acceptance or resistance (Chasse, 1986; Harter, 1967)
Mitchell (1914; 1925 1935)	• Focus on money and the 'money economy' as one of the most potent institutions (Friedman, 1950) • Patterns of human action are reflected in institutions or persistent groupings (Berle, 1953)	• Business cycles generated by economic institutions and uncertain change (Friedman, 1950) • Institutions generating patterns of behaviour shaping business cycles (Rutherford, 2001)
Hamilton (1919; 1932)	• Institutions as cultural constructs and patterns of behaviour (Waller, 1982) • Institutions associated with sanctions (Dequech, 2006)	• Institutions develop ways of thought or action that become prevalent or permanent (Dequech, 2006)

'New institutional economics'		
Coase (1937; 1960)	• Institutions are important whenever there are above zero transaction costs (North, 1990)	• Interdependence between actors leads to possible opportunistic actions and higher transaction costs (Hardy & Maguire, 2008)
Williamson (1991; 1993; 2000)	• Organisational forms that emerge are those that most efficiently deal with the cost of economic transactions (Granovetter, 1985)	• Informal institutions change very slowly over centuries or millennia but institutional environment can change over decades while governance and resource allocation changes more frequently (Williamson, 2000)
North (1990; 1991; 1994)	• Institutions as rules of the game and as humanly-devised constraints shaping human interactions (North, 1990) • Political and economic institutions determine economic performance and form a society's incentive structure (North, 1994)	• North originally explained institutional change with efficiency arguments but then emphasised 'mental models' and norm-guided behaviour (Rutherford, 2001) • Institutions "evolve incrementally, connecting the past with the present and the future" (North, 1991: 98)

Coase (1984: 231) proposed that "modern institutional economics should study man as he is, acting within the constraints imposed by real institutions." North (1990) defined institutions as constraints shaping human interactions. As well as constraining forces, North (1994) saw institutions as the basis for a society's incentive structure and Williamson (2000) argued that these incentives exist in the governance level (level 3 of his taxonomy). 'New institutional economics' now has widespread use and is investigated in a vast array of literature (Hodgson, 1998). New institutional economics involves understanding institutions and their determinants (Nabli & Nugent, 1989). Unlike the old institutional economics, new institutional economics proposes that institutions can be analysed through the tools of economic theory (Matthews, 1986; Williamson, 2000). Despite variations in each author's definition of institutions and approach to institutional change, Rutherford (1995: 443) suggests that "institutions matter in shaping economic behavior and economic performance is a central tenet of

both the old and the new institutionalism, as is the recognition that institutions themselves change over time and often respond to economic factors."

3.3.2 Institutional sociology

Before the old institutional economists early economists wrote about institutions, beginning with Adam Smith, John Stuart Mill and Karl Marx who wrote when economics and sociology were much closer to each other (Swedberg, 1990). Table 9 outlines these economists and later perspectives from 'economic sociology'.

Table 9: Chronology of institutionalism in economic sociology

Authors	Key institutionalist tenets	Understanding of institutional change
Smith	• Markets need support from other institutions to ensure efficacy and viability (Sen, 2010)	• Division of labour as the agent of change (Sobel, 1979)
Mill	• Human character moulded by customs and potential to improve the human condition through the institutionalisation of new ethically and socially superior customs (Jensen, 1996)	• 'Critical periods' where old institutions are replaced or 'outgrown' and then there are 'organic periods' of stability (Megill, 1972) • Motives, feelings and opinions change and may produce institutional change (Witztum, 2005)
Marx	• Did not explicitly use the concept institutions but does discuss social norms and conventions (Dequech, 2006; Scott, 2014)	• Pressures for change move at different paces and interact with the 'superstructure' (Roland, 2004) • Institutional structure of society conditioned by technology (Lin, 1989)
Durkheim	• Individuals accept but do not create institutions (Mitchell, 1931) • Institutions seen as systems of knowledge, belief, and moral authority enforced through sanctions (Dequech, 2006)	• Collective habits become crystallised in institutions (Mitchell, 1931) • Transformation and successive degrees of crystallisation (Durkheim, 1994 [1888])
Weber	• Weber did not use the term 'institution' but examined cultural rules including customary mores, legally defined constitutions, rule systems, and social structures governing social behaviour (Scott, 2014)	• Crystallisation of institutional frameworks can be changed by those with special capacity to establish new norms and goals (Eisenstadt, 1968) • 'Inertia of customs' (Nau & Steiner, 2002)

Among these key thinkers, the sociological tradition of Durkheim and Weber is seen by Immergut (1998) as part of the theoretical core of institutionalism in organisational

theory. Hinings (2003) also proposes that Weber's work is the historical basis of organisational theory and the sociology of organisations. Nee (2001: 5) suggests Weber's ([1922] 2013) *Economy and Society* "perhaps best exemplifies the sociological approach to comparative institutional analysis."

Scott (1987: 493) suggests "the beginning of wisdom in approaching institutional theory is to recognize at the outset that there is not one but several variants." Granovetter (1985) suggests that for organisations more focused on gaining legitimacy, the over-socialised approach of sociological new institutional theory may be more appropriate than under-socialised approaches such as transaction cost economics. Granovetter (1985) also recommends that organisations be investigated in terms of how they are embedded in networks of social relationships and pre-existing social institutions impose costs and benefits on related economic processes. Kalleberg (1995: 1207) proposes that "studies that cross the boundaries between sociology and economics help to enhance our understanding of both economy and society."

3.4 New institutionalism in organisational analysis

New institutionalism in organisational analysis involves the investigation of societal and cultural factors in an organisation's environment (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983; Meyer & Rowan, 1977; Zucker, 1977). Charting the chronology of new institutionalism in organisational analysis, Greenwood, Oliver and Suddaby (2008) suggest that its conceptual foundations are found in works from two years of publication: 1977 and 1983. For Greenwood et al. (2008) this includes Meyer and Rowan (1977; 1983), Zucker (1977), DiMaggio and Powell (1983), Tolbert and Zucker (1983), and Meyer and Scott (1983). Meyer and Rowan (1977) and Zucker (1977) developed a new

approach to institutional analysis focused primarily on culture and cognition (Thornton & Ocasio, 2008). Zucker (1977) suggested that institutions are socially-defined exterior processes, obligations, or actualities that act as rules in social thought and action. Meyer and Rowan made legitimacy a central focus of their analysis while Zucker did not (Deephouse & Suchman, 2008).

The focus on legitimacy and 'rationalised myths' of Meyer and Rowan (1977) suggested that adaption to environmental change may not be based on efficiency. These rationalised myths are seen as elements of formal structure powerfully binding particular organisations (Meyer & Rowan, 1977). Through a process of institutionalisation, these social processes and myths were seen to take on a rule-like status giving rise to new organisations as well as elaborating existing organisational forms (Meyer and Rowan, 1977; Scott, 1987). Later, DiMaggio and Powell (1983) characterised organisations as dramatic enactments of rationalised myths (Townley, 2002). Meyer and Rowan (1977: 352) suggested that organisational "leadership (in a university, a hospital, or a business) requires an understanding of changing fashions and governmental programs."

Zucker (1977) also discussed institutionalisation and described it as a property variable and a process involving individual actors whose institutionalised acts are taken-for-granted, objective and exterior. They are objective and exterior because institutions were later described by Zucker (1987: 444) as: "(a) a rule-like, social fact quality of an organized pattern of action (exterior), and (b) an embedding in formal structures, such as formal aspects of organizations that are not tied to particular actors or situations (non-personal/objective)." Powell and Colyvas (2008) suggest that Zucker focused on

taken-for-granted understandings founded on participant interactions. Using ethnomethodological experiments, Zucker (1977) linked highly institutionalised action with resistance to change related to cultural persistence and maintenance of cultural understandings without direct sanctions.

DiMaggio and Powell (1983) drew from Meyer and Rowan (1977) as well as Weber but rejected Weber's emphasis on competitive market forces to favour institutional forces as the driver of organisational change (Kraatz & Zajac, 1996). Structural change was seen by DiMaggio and Powell (1983) as driven more by institutional isomorphism than competition and efficiency. The various types of change at the organisational level included change in formal structure, organisational culture, goals, programs, or mission (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983). Such change was seen to occur with different levels of responsiveness to technical conditions (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983). Contributions of key authors in new institutionalism in organisational analysis and their perspectives on institutional change are summarised in Table 10.

Table 10: Chronology of institutionalism in organisational analysis

Authors	Key institutionalist tenets	Understanding of institutional change
Meyer & Rowan (1977; 1983)	• Organisations conform to institutionalised rules or myths to build or maintain legitimacy (Meyer & Rowan, 1977)	• Adaption to environmental change cannot be based on efficiency (Meyer & Rowan, 1977) • Process of institutionalisation where social processes take on a rule-like status giving rise to new organisations and elaboration of existing organisational forms (Meyer & Rowan, 1977; Scott, 1987) • Early adoption improves performance but as innovation spreads, adoption provides legitimacy (Meyer & Rowan, 1977)
Zucker (1977)	• Focus on culture, cognition and the link between cultural persistence and degrees of institutionalisation (Zucker, 1977)	• Through institutionalisation there is greater uniformity and resistance to change (Zucker, 1977) • Institutional elements seen as highly resistant to change existing for long periods without justification or elaboration (Zucker, 1977, 1987)
DiMaggio & Powell (1983)	• Developed Weber's iron cage and specified the sources of isomorphism as mimetic, normative and coercive (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983)	• Structural change driven more from institutional isomorphism than competition and efficiency (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983) • Organisational change seen as change in formal structure, organisational culture, goals, programs, or mission with change varying in responsiveness to technical conditions (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983)
Tolbert & Zucker (1983)	• History of organisation seen as central as initial adoption may be related to internal needs but over time adoption is based on institutional conformity (Tolbert & Zucker, 1983)	• Changes in the formal structure of organisations seen as a result of diffusion of innovation from internal or institutional sources (Tolbert & Zucker, 1983) • Diffusion of an innovation will quickly slow when there is failure to legitimate a change (Tolbert & Zucker, 1983)
Meyer & Scott ([1983] 1992), Scott & Meyer (1994)	• Focus on appearances as appearing to be rational improves legitimacy and probability of survival (Meyer & Scott, 1992 [1983]) • Split societal sectors into technical sectors dominated by market logics and institutional sectors where there is a greater need to conform to institutional rules (Hinings & Tolbert, 2008)	• Organisations can deal with inconsistencies created by institutional change by only symbolically incorporating change (loose coupling) (Meyer & Scott, 1992 [1983]) • Rationalised and rationalising environmental patterns create ways of organising and organisational change (Scott & Meyer, 1994)

DiMaggio and Powell viewed organisations as imprisoned in a homogenising 'iron cage' (Ashworth, Boyne, & Delbridge, 2009). Tolbert and Zucker (1983) suggest that Meyer and Rowan (1977) and Zucker (1981) also viewed organisations as captives of their institutional environment. They also suggest, however, that an alternative view to the organisation as captive is that organisations are rational actors in complex environments (Tolbert & Zucker, 1983). Through their study of city governments though they found that public sector organisations are more likely to adopt certain organisational forms due to institutional environments rather than due to organisational actors taking autonomous actions (Judge & Zeithaml, 1992; Tolbert & Zucker, 1983). Meyer and Scott ([1983] 1992) also suggest that some 'societal sectors' see institutional forces dominating while others are technical sectors dominated by market forces. Meyer and Scott ([1983] 1992) saw technical elements as information and resources tied to the accomplishment of work and saw institutional elements as shared rules, understandings and meanings.

3.5 New institutionalism in international business

3.5.1 Institutional theory and firm internationalisation

Institutions are not just in the background or a context for strategy but are seen by Peng, Wang, and Jiang (2008) to govern international business strategy completely. Hotho and Pedersen (2012: 236) contend that "the value of institutional thought to understanding international business is increasingly recognized and the use of institutional arguments has risen considerably in recent years … [but] how they impact upon the behavior of international firms often remains unclear."

Francis, Zheng, and Mukherji (2009) argue that in the process of internationalisation

and changing market commitment levels, institutional forces may influence major changes in state. Internationalisation involves entering institutional environments characterised by significant heterogeneity, uncertainty and ambiguity of institutional forces (see Molina, 2012; Regnér & Edman, 2014). Some organisations are more likely to face complex institutional pressures. State-owned enterprises, for example, may face institutional pressures that are more complex than those faced by private firms (Meyer, Ding, Li, & Zhang, 2014) and may involve firms following the institutional logics that characterise their various government owners (Li, Cui, & Lu, 2014).

International business researchers have demonstrated the ways in which institutions influence international strategic choices (see Brouthers, 2002; Davis et al., 2000; Delios & Henisz, 2000; Doh & Teegen, 2002; Henisz, 2000; Lu, 2002) especially in terms of how institutional context impacts internationalisation, but this is usually in combination with other factors such as transaction costs and culture (see Brouthers, 2002). For example, Bello and Kostova (2012: 541) comment that scholars examining internationalisation may employ “transaction cost economics, institutional theory, agency theory, resource-based view and others.” Brouthers and Hennart (2007) found theories from economics such as transaction cost theory incompatible with institutional theory because the former leads to selection of the most efficient options, and the latter leads to selection of the legitimate but less efficient option. These theories might be reconciled through a constrained-efficiency framework whereby organisations are efficiency seeking but cannot always optimise efficiency because of institutional constraints (Roberts & Greenwood, 1997). This framework can incorporate both competitive and institutional environments to understand the adoption of certain

organisational designs or templates (Roberts & Greenwood, 1997).

Like transaction cost theory, resource-based views focus on firms making rational economic choices whereas institutional theory emphasises normatively rational choices based on legitimacy rather than efficiency (Oliver, 1997). Trying to reconcile new institutional theory with resource-based views may be difficult as the "resource-based and institutional views make different assumptions about individual and firm behavior" (Oliver, 1997: 700). The resource-based view may involve "introducing agency, allowing managers to manage how well they adapt to institutional pressures" (de la luz Fernández-Alles & Valle-Cabrera, 2006: 506). In a different resource-focused theory, Hessels and Terjesen (2010) draw on resource dependency theory and institutional theory to study the impact of global organisational fields on domestic small-to-medium enterprises (SMEs). Sherer and Lee (2002: 102) also found this combination useful and argue "resource scarcity drives, and legitimacy enables, institutional change."

An alternative combination to account for agency is offered by Giddens (2013) whose structuration theory suggests that actors have the "potential to choose actions deliberately, and to carry them through effectively, even in defiance of established rules and prevailing powers" (Whittington, 1992: 696). In this way, structuration theory can be an effective method of reconciling the agency-structure paradox when studying organisational change (Jones, Edwards, & Beckinsale, 2000). Structuration may be a natural partner to new institutional theory because isomorphic processes may involve structuration between organisations and macro institutional forces (see DiMaggio & Powell, 1983; Nicholls, 2010). Applied to international business, structuration sees

managers of multinational firms having access to a diversity of social systems and having a choice between different sets of structural principles (Whittington, 1992). Archer (1982), however, criticises structuration because it does not explain durability or a point reached in development and is instead a constant process and not a product. Table 11 compares structuration and other theories and summarises the ways they deal with questions of agency and whether decisions are based more on legitimacy or efficiency.

Table 11: Key theoretical approaches to agency and legitimacy

	Central IB implications	Handling of agency	Handling of legitimacy
New institutional theory in international business	Firms must conform to norms set by host country institutional environments (Davis et al., 2000)	Embedded agency possible through institutional entrepreneurs (Greenwood & Suddaby, 2006)	Normatively rational choices based on legitimacy (Oliver, 1997)
Transaction cost economics	Making decisions by weighing tradeoffs for long term efficiency (Anderson & Gatignon, 1986)	Self-interest and opportunistic agents making choice through bounded rationality (Williamson, 1979)	Selection of the most efficient options rather than most legitimate (Brouthers & Hennart, 2007)
Constrained-efficiency framework	Incorporates economics and sociological influences in dynamic and evolutionary processes (de Waal, Hermkens-Janssen, & van de Ven, 2011)	Agency but decisions constrained (Roberts & Greenwood, 1997)	Efficiency seeking but sometimes sub-optimal efficiency due to institutional constraints (Roberts & Greenwood, 1997)
Resource-based views	Firm specific differences seen to drive international performance (Peng et al., 2008)	Can emphasise behaviour of agents (Verona, 1999)	Focus on efficiency and economically rational choices (Oliver, 1997)
Structuration	Multiple social systems and structural systems impacting MNEs in different countries (Whittington, 1992)	Deliberate choice possible even in defiance of rules (Giddens, 2013; Whittington, 1992)	Legitimation through the process of structuration (Nicholls, 2010)

Institutional theorists' central questions about internationalisation primarily involve investigation into how firms gain legitimacy from both internal and external environments (see Huang & Sternquist, 2007; Yiu & Makino, 2002). For example, firms

entering a foreign market may need to consider the ‘institutionally correct’ entry mode to receive support and legitimacy (see Walsh & Seward, 1990; Xia, Boal, & Delios, 2009). New entrants to a foreign market are seen to need ‘institutional relatedness’ by reaching a higher degree of informal embeddedness with the legitimacy-conferring institutions in that market (Gallego & Casillas, 2014; Peng, Lee, & Wang, 2005). This may, however, mean that economic rationales such as efficiency and competitive forces are downplayed (Yiu & Makino, 2002).

Applying an institutional theoretical lens to internationalisation processes is seen by Davis et al. (2000) as requiring an examination of the types of pressures facing the organisation and its subsidiaries. These may include regulative settings in the host country, normative pressures imposed by local people and cognitive pressures to enter markets following industry norms (Yiu & Makino, 2002). Hotho and Pedersen (2012) note that there are many variants of new institutional theory used in investigations of international business phenomena. These include new institutional economics and new organisational institutionalism as well as comparative institutionalism involving international comparisons such as measures of institutional distance (Hotho & Pedersen, 2012). Institutional distance is defined by Bae and Salomon (2010) as “the difference in institutional context between countries”. Comparative institutionalism in international business is seen by Brouthers and Hennart (2007) as first requiring the measurement of differences between host country institutional environments and those in host countries. Under comparative institutionalism used by international business scholars, firms are seen to be embedded in country-specific institutional environments (see Bruton, Ahlstrom, & Puky, 2009; Busenitz, Gomez, & Spencer, 2000; Kiss &

Danis, 2008; Phillips, Tracey, & Karra, 2009).

Finding the institutionally legitimate template can involve looking to a firm's past, as in path dependency, or to competitor firms such as where market entrants mimic local or competitor firms in a host country (see Davis et al., 2000; Kostova & Zaheer, 1999). In this way, firms faced with uncertainty can reduce decision-making search costs by mimicking internationalisation decisions made by other companies (see Brouthers, O'Donnell, & Hadjimarcou, 2005; Forsgren, 2002). The imitation of another organisation's patterns of internationalisation includes mimicking entry sequence, entry timing, and entry mode (Cheng & Yu, 2008; Guillén, 2002; Meyer, 2001) to create particular spatial and temporal patterns of internationalisation (Araujo & Rezende, 2003).

The study of imitation in internationalisation paths may not always involve mimetic isomorphism. Other drivers such as follower advantages may need to be considered (Gaba, Pan, & Ungson, 2002). Still, some approaches such as that of Xia, Tan and Tan (2008) have incorporated institutional change by charting the rise and fall of a dominant international strategy in a bandwagon framework. Imitation is seen by Guillén (2003: 196) as a learning process where "firms learn from their own experiences, and from those of other firms in their same business group or home-country industry." There are, however, legitimate alternatives to imitation such as where firms can work in partnership with already legitimate local firms to transpose their partner's local credibility and reputation onto their own operations (Chan & Makino, 2007).

For mimetic isomorphism, different paths can be identified: *frequency-based* where

firms imitate the most popular practices; *trait-based* where firms imitate practices of firms similar to them (for example firms of the same size); and *outcome-based* where firms imitate practices that have led to good outcomes for other organisations in the past (see Brouthers et al., 2005; Haunschild & Miner, 1997; Lu, 2002; Williamson & Cable, 2003). These types of imitation may involve copying internationalisation decisions from competitors or from firms in the same industry; or, in the case of outcome-based imitation, may involve copying only successful firms or successful international subsidiaries (see Brouthers & Hennart, 2007; Lu, 2002; Yiu & Makino, 2002).

As an example of imitative decisions, late entrants to a foreign market tend to follow the entry mode decisions of early entrants (Lu, 2002) as imitation costs are usually lower than innovation costs (Lieberman & Montgomery, 1988) and highly visible past entry decisions have greater legitimacy (see Chan, Makino, & Isobe, 2006; Guillén, 2003). Frequency-based imitation has been observed in market entry where firms make decisions purely on the number of other firms adopting that strategy (see Greve, 1996; Haveman, 1993; Henisz & Delios, 2001). Among the trait-based imitation, firm size is a popular trait by which to investigate and organisations are likely to imitate the strategies of their size peers (Haunschild & Miner, 1997; Haveman, 1993; Scott, 2003). The other trait that may lead to imitation is industry membership with organisations following organisations from their home country and industry into foreign markets (Henisz & Delios, 2001).

New institutional theory has helped to explain and predict future directions of internationalisation paths (see Haveman, 1993; Lu, 2002) including this tendency to

imitate the paths of others. Like path dependency approaches though, institutional theory is sometimes seen as overly deterministic in its emphasis on environmental norms and firm history to explain organisational action (Judge & Zeithaml, 1992). The approach may be useful for understanding imitation and heterogeneity of institutional strategies as institutions progressively create one dominant path and firms are seen to have little choice but to follow that path (DiVito, 2012).

3.5.2 Multiple institutional pressures on internationalisation decisions

Though there may sometimes be one dominant isomorphic path, Francis et al. (2009) note that little research has explored the relative importance of the multiple sources of institutional pressures impacting internationalisation decisions. Dacin (1997) argues that other forces operate in conjunction with institutional forces to influence strategy. In such cases, Dacin (1997) recommends identifying conditions where institutional forces are more important than other forces in shaping organisations.

The plurality of institutional environments when operating across borders may include significant differences in normative forces across multiple countries which may affect corporate behaviour in significantly different ways (Campbell, 2007). The plurality of institutional and non-institutional pressures is illustrated by Clougherty and Grajek (2008: 614) who state that non-institutional factors impacting internationalisation may include many factors across each host country: “market size, market growth, labour costs, production costs, transportation costs, natural resources, and distance” and institutional factors may include regulatory forces especially “governance structures, trade barriers, FDI-specific policies, macroeconomic policies, political stability, and tax regulations”. Firms may try to reshape regulatory institutions such as these through an

attempt to achieve common standards across foreign markets (see Hillman & Wan, 2005; Yaziji, 2004).

As well as the plurality of forces, some institutional forces may be less relevant and Kostova et al. (2008) suggest that subsidiaries of MNEs may be exempt from some of the isomorphic pressures experienced by local firms. In this way, MNEs are seen to be shielded from isomorphic pressures, uninfluenced by local norms and institutions in host countries because of their foreignness (Shi & Hoskisson, 2012). MNEs and their subsidiaries are not completely exempt from the regulatory pillar but may be susceptible to different norms and cognitive rules and may survive in some countries as institutional deviants (Scott, 2014; Shi & Hoskisson, 2012). This may be possible when local pressures such as government regulations impact MNEs differently to local firms (Shi & Hoskisson, 2012). MNEs can act as institutional entrepreneurs in order to overcome or even reduce institutional distance such as through lobbying to change the regulatory pillar or through creation of new associations or networks to shift norms (Phillips et al., 2009).

In cases where subsidiaries are not exempt from local pressures, the pressures for subsidiaries to be isomorphic with local environments may conflict with pressures for a subsidiary to be isomorphic with its parent firm (see Ghoshal & Bartlett, 1990). This involves a conflict between internal and external legitimacy (Eden & Miller, 2004). This may lead to ‘institutional duality’ which involves subsidiary adherence to its internal parent company’s institutionalised rules (‘internal legitimacy’) but this clashes with adherence to the external local institutionalised rules (‘external legitimacy’) of the host country (see Farndale & Paauwe, 2007; Hillman & Wan, 2005; Kostova & Roth, 2002,

2002). Institutional duality may involve differences in knowledge and cognitive categories shared by a country (see Kostova & Roth, 2002; Zajonc & Markus, 1985). Institutional duality may be less of an issue when subsidiaries identify with and trust their parent organisation (see Björkman & Lervik, 2007; Kostova & Roth, 2002), or when host and home countries have less institutional distance (Tempel, Edwards, Ferner, Muller-Camen, & Wächter, 2006).

Araujo and Rezende (2003) find that subsidiaries vary in their relationship with the local institutional environment, with some deeply embedded in specific nations or territories while others are much more globally oriented. Rather than this focus on specific host or home nations, Drori (2008) recommends that institutionalists see multinational corporations, nations and international organisations as embedded in their context and all interconnected. This involves the dual process of global institutionalisation of world society and the diffusion of global models to the organisations embedded in the global environment (Drori, 2008). This global orientation may also involve 'macro-institutional theory' which emphasises long-term, large-scale phenomena occurring across many countries (see Desa, 2012; Suddaby, Seidl, & Lê, 2013; Vaara & Whittington, 2012).

The search for global institutions is applied differently by Delmestri and Wezel (2011: 829) who identify "a complex interaction between global cultural scripts and local beliefs, norms and values." In their international business study of multiplex cinemas, Delmestri and Wezel (2011) draw from the higher education literature, especially Meyer et al. (2007), to form this concept of global cultural scripts based on universities that demonstrate 'world cognitive models'. As well as adhering to global models, higher education is also seen to support the diffusion of global models for other organisations

in terms of “supporting the global culture of rationalized organizations” (Delmestri & Wezel, 2011: 846). This approach may help understand the legitimation which occurs when implementing different market entry modes or combinations of modes of service delivery in a foreign market (Turcan, Marinova, & Rana, 2012). Garcia-Pont and Nohria (2002) instead see global models as a matter of industry-wide imitation across countries or ‘global mimetism’ but recognise that it may be less common than imitation of more strategically similar organisations. Alternatively, Drori (2008) sees the interaction of universal standards or ‘globally institutionalised models’ as a case of different levels of embeddedness.

Relevant institutional theory concepts used in international business are summarised with exemplary studies in Table 12. This table highlights key institutional approaches starting with an example of one combination of institutional theory with other theories.

Table 12: Institutional concepts related to firm internationalisation

Concept	Example study	Explanation
‘Strategy tripod’	Peng et al. (2008)	One example of combinations used in international business to connect institutional theory with strategy and performance questions
Institutional distance	Bae and Salomon (2010)	A measure of differences in the institutional context between countries
Comparative institutionalism	Busenitz et al. (2000)	Due to embeddedness in country-specific institutional environments, we must measure institutional distance and compare markets
Imitation of dominant international strategy	Xia et al. (2008)	The dominant international strategy has a bandwagon effect and the strategy may change after institutional change
Mimetic isomorphism of international paths	Brouthers et al. (2005)	*Frequency-based* imitation of popular practices, *Trait-based* imitation of similar firms (e.g. same size or age) and *outcome-based* imitation of practices that had good outcomes for other firms
Institutional duality	Kostova & Roth (2002)	Need for internal legitimacy from parent clashes with need for external legitimacy from local host country rules (two sets of isomorphic pressures)
Global cultural scripts	Delmestri and Wezel (2011)	Global cultural scripts act as supporting mechanisms to legitimacy of an organisational form but local values and beliefs may still be incongruent with this form (no cultural fit)

3.5.3 Institutionalism in higher education compared to international business

Kondra and Hinings (1998) recommend that the structures and processes of an organisational field can be seen as institutionally derived and as idiosyncratic to that field. Just as institutional theory may struggle to deal with the distinctiveness of multinational corporations (Kostova et al., 2008), institutional explanations found in international business may struggle to deal with the distinctiveness of universities. Like corporations, universities are seen by Krücken and Meier (2006: 241) to have assumed organisational actorhood where they become "an integrated, goal-oriented entity that is deliberately choosing its own actions and that can thus be held responsible for what it does." Through this actorhood, universities can be seen to become like typical organisations and solutions from other contexts (potentially including international business) may be successfully applied to university organisations (Krücken & Meier, 2006). Half a century ago, Rourke and Brooks (1964) marked moves towards actorhood in higher education by describing a 'managerial revolution'. Uyarra (2010: 1242), however, recommends not to "overestimate the extent to which universities can be considered monolithic, rational actors pursuing a clear strategy with a single voice."

Higher education may be a distinct empirical context for testing and building institutionalist theory due to its age as a field, given that the greater the maturity of an organisational field, the more likely it is to be heavily influenced by institutional norms (see Ashworth et al., 2009; Powell & DiMaggio, 1991). Certain higher education organisations such as the private liberal arts colleges studied by Kraatz and Zajac (1996) have been found to be mature, with powerful institutional influences shaping the behaviour of the organisations within them (Kraatz & Zajac, 1996; Zajac & Kraatz,

1993). In mature and highly institutionalised fields, McGaughey (2013: 74) suggests that there may be less uncertainty and stronger prevailing logics “supported by well-established dominant actors, making change more difficult.” Fumasoli and Huisman (2013: 157) also suggest that institutional forces may be intense in areas such as how the university grants degrees but much less structurated in areas such as curricula. Despite this potential variation in the impact of institutional forces, Fumasoli and Huisman (2013) still contend that higher education organisations do have strategic intentions and scope for action – like corporations or multinational enterprises.

Educational organisations may also be distinct from firms given the amount of evidence that many are loosely coupled (see Boyd & Crowson, 2002; Burch, 2007; Fusarelli, 2002; Lutz, 1982; Meyer, 2002; Spillane & Burch, 2006; Weick, 1976; Young, 2006). Universities may be loosely coupled in terms of departments operating strategy-making functions separately from the operating core (Patterson, Cicic, & Shoham, 1997). Lutz (1982) once argued that the extent of this loose coupling is so great in universities that the system could be described as ‘organised anarchy’ (see also Cohen, March, & Olsen, 1972). More recently though, universities may be seen as much more like strategic organisational actors and ‘more complete organisations’ with clear structures (see Deiaco, Hughes, & McKelvey, 2012; Krücken & Meier, 2006; Pinheiro & Stensaker, 2013; Teichler, 2004).

Unlike many other organisations, universities may also utilise structural decoupling to protect their teaching and research activities from the overall environment or the particular agendas of other stakeholders (see Bastedo, 2007; Ferlie et al., 2008). This involves separating legitimate and illegitimate structures so that an organisation can

appear legitimate through symbolic compliance and disassociate itself from noncompliant practices (see Bastedo, 2007; Elsbach, 1994). Orton and Weick (1990) distinguish between decoupling and loose coupling depending on the responsiveness to outside forces, with decoupled systems having no elements responding to outside forces. Ferlie et al. (2008) suggest that further research is needed to explain how policy regimes, institutions, and external actors can sometimes impact university practices, identities and relationships, while others provoke decoupling between the university and its institutional environment.

Laurila and Lilja (2002) suggest that many of the problems new institutional theory has had dealing with competitive forces are because it originally focused on not-for-profit settings. Public sector organisations or other organisations without a strong profit motive may be more suited to new institutional explanations of change than firms where competitive pressures seem to take precedence (Laurila & Lilja, 2002). Even though universities might be seen as strategic actors (see Deiaco et al., 2012; Kehm, 2003; Teichler, 2004; Whitley, 2008) and increasingly managerial and corporatised (see Deem, 1998; Meyer, 2002; Teichler, 2004; Trow & Clark, 1994), universities lack a profit motive and are concerned not to violate normative notions and traditions (Morphew, 2009). This may thereby limit the potential to blend institutionalist explanations in higher education and international business.

3.6 Institutional pillars and change

To understand the sources of legitimacy and causes of isomorphism, DiMaggio and Powell (1983) recommend categorising forces into coercive, mimetic or normative pressures. Scott (2008a, 2014) contributed to the demarcation of three pillars by

describing the forces slightly differently to DiMaggio and Powell (1983): *regulative* elements of rule-setting, monitoring and sanctioning; *normative* elements which are prescriptive, evaluative and obligatory; and *cultural-cognitive* elements that emphasise shared conceptions of social reality and frames of reference. When investigating all three pillars it may be useful to draw from *both* economics and sociology because regulative forces are rooted in economics and political science, while normative and cognitive forces are rooted in sociology (Brouthers, 2002; Peng & Heath, 1996). Institutional forces can be seen as "mechanisms of coercion, imitation and normative pressure lead to the assimilation of organizations, which experience an increase in legitimacy, but not necessarily efficiency, by adopting institutionalized structures and practices" (Tempel & Walgenbach, 2007: 6). Conformity to institutionalised rules often conflicts with efficiency, and efficiency-oriented coordination and control of activities can undermine such conformity to reduce legitimacy (Meyer & Rowan, 1977).

3.6.1 Regulative and coercive pressures

Huang and Sternquist (2007) suggest that institutions are political, cognitive and sociological elements that form the external and internal environment of the firm. Institutional pressures lead organisations to conform to specific operating procedures and adhere to certification and state requirements even if this means directing attention away from task performance (Zucker, 1987). Legislation has been seen by institutional theory to have a two-fold impact on organisations: firstly through the actual coercive mechanisms and secondly through the normative and cognitive processes that laws set in motion (Dacin et al., 2002). So, given certain conditions, normative pressures lead the organisation to conform to specific operating procedures and adhere to

certification and state requirements, which can direct attention away from task performance (Zucker, 1987). When regulations change, organisational change is likely and can be a direct response to government mandate (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983). The default organisational reaction to legal mandates and regulations is conformity but it may be more about conforming to culturally meaningful and normatively legitimate decisions rather than specific regulations (Luoma & Goodstein, 1999).

As well as a constraining force, external legislative and regulatory agents can act as an enabling force on organisations. The laws and rules in an environment promote some firm strategies and decisions while restricting others (Kostova, 1997). Regulations can benefit organisations by providing stability, transparency and order (Demirbag, Glaister, & Tatoglu, 2007), and can have an even greater positive impact by creating incentive structures and bestowing legitimacy on those organisations that conform (Hira & Hira, 2000). In this way, government policies can promote divergent change (D'Aunno et al., 2000). This occurs where government bodies provide "resources and financial incentives intended to stimulate and support organizations' searches for and implementation of alternative templates" (D'Aunno et al., 2000: 684). Such regulatory incentives may include subsidies and market entry incentives (Spiller & Tommasi, 2005). For example, there may be strong market supporting institutions in a host country such that foreign firms entering that market have to leap fewer hurdles put up by the external institutional environment (Arslan, 2012). To start to account for supporting institutions some researchers advocate for the view that institutional pressures can be constraining or enabling (see Bruton & Ahlstrom, 2003; Bruton, Ahlstrom, & Li, 2010; Glynn, 2008; Mair & Marti, 2009; Tang, 2010).

3.6.2 Normative forces

Zhang et al. (2014: 824) recommend against focusing on regulatory forces because universities face "complementary and conflicting influences between different institutional pillars – in both stabilizing and change tendencies." Lepori et al. (2014) also highlight the need to focus on cognitive and normative elements rather than just regulatory change. Tadaki and Tremewan (2013) see university internationalisation as a key area impacted by changing norms and constant redefinition of social and cognitive rules. Under new institutional theory, normative rules relate to "values, norms, role expectations, duties, rights, and responsibilities" (Geels, 2004: 904). Considering the normative pillar involves seeing rational action grounded in the social context of the organisation and structured by socially-mediated normative frameworks (Roberts & Greenwood, 1997). The impacts of this socially constructed system are described by Xu and Shenkar (2002: 610): "the normative pillar prescribes desirable goals and the appropriate means of attaining them; [and] legitimacy is rooted in societal beliefs and norms." The impact of normative forces may be quite different to regulations. Norms can become social facts (Durkheim, 1982 [1895]) and are seen to constrain and enable but not determine choices of actors (Battilana et al., 2009). Such actors seem to follow norms and behaviours which institutional frameworks signal as acceptable and supportable (Peng & Heath, 1996).

Martinez and Dacin (2012: 78) propose that organisational action is driven by "a desire to achieve a fit with the organization's normative context". Norms can have a powerful influence on the range of options managers feel they can choose from, with Aldrich (1999) suggesting that managers act in a certain way, not because this way is

normatively ‘correct’ or the most rational decision to make, but because they see it as the *only* way to act. In this way, norms become internalised (see Child, 1997; Coleman, 1990; Ingram & Clay, 2000) to constrain choice “through the social actor’s own interpretative mechanisms rather than through constraints which are ostensibly imposed from outside” (Child, 1997: 49).

One set of normative forces which create the gap between rational and normative-oriented action emerge through professionalisation. This is a common focus of the new institutionalists (see DiMaggio & Powell, 1983; Lounsbury, 2002; Martinez & Dacin, 1999; Paauwe & Boselie, 2003; Slack & Hinings, 1994). Institutional theorists such as DiMaggio and Powell (1983) and Slack and Hinings (1994: 804) argue that “normative isomorphism results primarily from professionalization”. Normative institutions may include formal groups such as trade associations, professional bodies, accreditation agencies, and each profession as a whole (Grewal & Dharwadkar, 2002). Through these institutions, isomorphism is normatively ordained as fields develop professional associations or credentialing institutions with members gaining collective control over who joins the profession and over acceptable methods of work (see Greenwood, Hinings, & Suddaby, 2002; Heugens & Lander, 2009; Lawrence, 1999). Professions could also potentially limit or delay mimetic isomorphism if professional or industry norms are violated by a practice (see Davis & Greve, 1997; Jonsson & Regnér, 2009; Scott, 2014) and “practices that lack a legitimating account spread either slowly among peripheral organizations or not at all” (Davis & Greve, 1997: 8).

Another set of social and normative forces involves actors seeking approval for their actions from internal and external constituents which the actors depend on for physical,

human, financial, or reputational capital (Amburgey, Dacin, & Singh, 1996; Dacin, Oliver, & Roy, 2007). This approval may be especially important after a critical event that calls into question the organisation's compliance with normative institutional expectations (Allen & Caillouet, 1994; Scott & Meyer, 1991). As well as these external images, organisations see themselves in certain ways (self-images) and also manage pressures from external actors trying to impose images upon them in organisational fields, either as competitors or consumers (Bastedo & Bowman, 2011). Managing this identity may involve contradictory aims such as the pressure to 'stand out' simultaneously as superior to competitors while also 'blending in' with normative expectations (Handelman, 2006).

3.6.3 Cultural cognitive and mimetic forces

Members within an organisational field actively construct shared perceptions of reputation, prestige and expertise to form institutionalised myths (see Alvesson, 1993; Green & Li, 2011). Cognitive forces are seen by Ingram and Clay (2000) as interpretive lenses that individuals use to understand social facts, including other institutions. Mizruchi and Fein (1999) contend that cognitive processes of organisational decision makers are often the focus of new institutionalists and much early work on institutions, especially from the United States, neglected the influence of power and coercion exerted by organisational actors. Scott (2014) disagrees and states that regulatory elements have received more attention from scholars and he also sees coercive forces as less consequential than cultural cognitive and normative forces. He suggests that cultural cognitive factors actually lay deep foundations of institutional forms with regulations often being born out of cultural cognitive frameworks (Scott, 2014).

The cultural cognitive pillar focuses on symbolic systems including common schemas, frames and other representations guiding the behaviour of actors across an organisational field (Scott, 2008b). These frames or schemas help actors to name, categorise and understand their world and may be reflected in their values, beliefs and scripts for action (Schank & Abelson, 1977). Cognitive, cultural or normative forces are seen to lead to models or scripts and these are seen to shape actor behaviour (Clemens & Cook, 1999). The impact of the cognitive function of institutions is quite profound because it influences actors' perceptions of reality and determines the way they select, organise and interpret information (Dequech, 2003).

Internal decision makers interpret situations cognitively making sense of their environments and choices (Weick, 1995). In sensemaking theory, cognition is seen as a process whereby individuals interpret who they are and how they understand their environment to convert circumstances into action (Powell & Colyvas, 2008; Weick, 1995). In this way cognitive forces involve perceptions, scanning, interpretation and action (Daft & Weick, 1984; Thomas, Clark, & Gioia, 1993). There may, however, be a danger of studying these cognitive forces in isolation as cognitive structures and frames of reference are shaped by social space and time (Bourdieu, 1989; Weber & Glynn, 2006). Thus, internal interpretative processes may need to be considered in conjunction with the external cultural frameworks which shape them (Scott, 2014). Powell and Colyvas (2008) suggest that institutional theory and sensemaking theory can complement each other by explaining how external social norms are manifested in everyday activities. Sensemaking theory used in conjunction with institutional theory could, according to Choi and Bhakoo (2013), offer a balance between an organisation's

individual circumstances and the broader institutional environment. In this way, Kostova, Roth, and Dacin (2008) suggest a need to study internal and external social agents and their roles.

Mimetic behaviour is a cognitive force shaped by the culture of decision makers and involves adopting the successful elements of other organisations often when there is uncertainty about alternatives (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983; Zucker, 1987). Uncertainty may lead to imitation through mimetic isomorphism because it is lower risk and requires less innovation effort (Greve, 1996). Uncertainty can be reduced by imitation in two ways: through imitating past behaviour of other organisations (as well as their own past behaviour) or informing decision-makers on likely outcomes of their decisions which helps narrow the range of uncertainty (Henisz & Delios, 2001; Lu, 2002). The study of interorganisational imitation and mimetic isomorphism has been an important aspect of new institutional theory with imitation potentially important for generating legitimacy (Barreto & Baden-Fuller, 2006) as long as a large number of other organisations (see Westphal, Seidel, & Stewart, 2001) or successful organisations (see Galaskiewicz & Wasserman, 1989; Haveman, 1993) adopt the practice.

Mimetic processes can be either diffused through social phenomena in the form of a fashion (Strang & Soule, 1998) or through cognitive processes related to imitation (see Bartunek & Moch, 1987; Janssen & Jager, 2002; Westphal et al., 2001). Gradually through this diffusion, organisations are seen to become isomorphic with each other as institutionalised elements ‘infect’ other elements in a ‘contagion of legitimacy’ (Jonsson, Greve, & Fujiwara-Greve, 2009; Zucker, 1987). Spreading this contagion requires resources to enforce an order and thus, the most powerful actors in an

organisational field use their resources to enforce rules on others (Fligstein & Byrkjeflot, 1996). Imitation of organisations and isomorphism to environments changes with “the ebb and flow of normative and regulatory currents” (Aldrich & Ruef, 1999: 49). Dominant organisations can also shape norms or even become institutions themselves (Meyer & Rowan, 1977) because of their cognitive influence on other organisations which lead to imitation.

Innovation effort to differentiate rather than imitate comes with higher risk (Greve, 1996) and the pressure to innovate might compete with organisational and individual concerns with the risks posed to reputation (Power, Scheytt, Soin, & Sahlin, 2009). Risk aversion is linked to isomorphism by George et al. (2006) as more likely to lead to mimetic isomorphism because path-breaking practices are inherently risky. Kondra and Hinings (1998) also suggest that mimetic transformations are less costly and risky than untested and new organisational routines or forms. Aversion to risk was one indicators of the cultural-cognitive pillar used by Valdez and Richardson (2013). Risk-taking is seen by Busenitz and Lau (1996) as not a cultural variable but a personal variable that shapes cognition. Attitudes to risk may also be important in identifying entrepreneurial risk bearing (see Lounsbury, 2002; Ruef, 1999; Thornton & Ocasio, 1999). Though risk aversion may also be related to other factors such as the maturity of decision-makers (Kondra & Hinings, 1998), attitudes towards risk and tolerance of ambiguity or uncertainty are regularly seen by researchers as tied to cultural-cognitive institutions (see Alexander, 2012; Dequech, 2003; George et al., 2006; Knörr, Alvarez, & Urbano, 2013; Riaz, 2009; Valdez & Richardson, 2013).

3.7 Institutional logics perspective

3.7.1 Development of the institutional logics perspective

As in Scott (2008b) the institutional pillars framework can be used to explain stability and the diverse elements in the institutional environment and can be combined with the institutional logics perspective to explain institutional change. The institutional logics perspective involves understanding "interrelationships among institutions, individuals, and organizations" (Thornton, Ocasio, & Lounsbury, 2012a: 2). Institutional logics are seen as organising principles governing the selection of technologies and shaping or constraining the behavioural possibilities of actors while specifying criteria for effectiveness and efficiency (Friedland & Alford, 1991; Lounsbury, 2002). Thornton, Ocasio and Lounsbury (2012a) see the institutional logics perspective as a crucial development of new institutional theory in sociology where the role of culture in institutions is still emphasised as in the past but the 'chief orienting strategy' comes from multiple institutional logics.

This suggests a variation on Scott's (2014) idea of the 'logic of orthodoxy' which he places in the cognitive pillar (see also Zietsma & McKnight, 2009). This 'logic of orthodoxy' is institutionally-derived (Wicks, 2002) and may be taken for granted to be considered right and natural (Zietsma & McKnight, 2009). In the institutional logics perspective, though, there is this sense of taken-for-granted 'mindless cognition' but also some occasions of 'mindful cognition' (Thornton et al., 2012a). In this way the rational and mindful behaviour of individuals may partially shape and change institutional logics (Thornton, 2004; Thornton & Ocasio, 2008). Table 13 summarises the institutional logics perspective and how it incorporates change.

Table 13: Development of institutional logics perspective

Authors	Key tenets	Understanding of institutional change
Jackall (2010 [1988])	• Uncertainty leads managers to consult each other and their shared assumptions governed by the underlying 'institutional logic' (Jackall, 2010) • Managers success depends on their ability to accomplish goals in accordance with an institutional logic (Jackall, 2010)	• Jackall's concept of institutional logics is separate but related to later perspectives (Thornton & Ocasio, 2008) • Institutional logics define how executive power in organisations is gained, maintained or lost (Thornton & Ocasio, 1999)
Friedland & Alford (1991)	• Social action within any institutional setting seen to be guided by an institutional logic (Friedland & Alford, 1991) • Logics as organizing principles governing selection of technologies and shaping or constraining behavioural possibilities of actors while specifying criteria for effectiveness and efficiency (Friedland & Alford, 1991; Lounsbury, 2002) • Actors are constrained by institutions but can still mobilise different institutional logics (Friedland & Alford, 1991; Seo & Creed, 2002)	• Fields may face a multiplicity of competing institutional logics which create institutional change (Friedland & Alford, 1991) • Institutional contradictions sometimes lead to political conflicts that then transform the institutional structure of society (Friedland & Alford, 1991) • Actors faced with conflicting institutions may mobilse to defend symbols and practices from one institution or may export symbols and practices of one institution to transform another (Friedland & Alford, 1991)
Townley (1997)	• Using the example of public sector universities to study institutional logics as a set of supra-organisational norms which pattern organised social life and shape organizational structure (Townley, 1997) • With multiple logics, conflict occurs over which institutional logic should regulate action (Townley, 1997)	• Strategic responses to isomorphic change may vary depending on the historical structure and identity of an organisation (Townley, 1997) • Actors identities seen as an important source of resistance to change (Creed et al., 2010; Townley, 1997)
Haveman and Rao (1997)	• Likened institutional logics to Adam Smith's moral sentiments as they guide conduct through logic and ethics (Haveman & Rao, 1997)	• Changes in belief systems and technical conditions triggered instability and led to institutional transformation and hybrid organisational forms (Haveman & Rao, 1997)
Thornton & Ocasio (1999)	• Institutional forces difficult to separate into pillars and instead logics see inseparable dimensions of institutions as structural, normative, and symbolic dimensions (Thornton & Ocasio, 1999) • Focus on shift in institutional logic in higher education publishing from an 'editorial logic' to a 'market logic' (Thornton & Ocasio, 1999)	• New institutional logic led to organisational changes such as increases in the size of the organisation, change in ownership structure and increased competition for resources (Thornton & Ocasio, 1999) • New logics attracted new and powerful actors with different goals to executive roles (Thornton & Ocasio, 1999)

Thornton (2002)	• Historical determinants of whether a firm adopts a new institutional logic (Thornton, 2002) • Adherence to institutional logics seen to moderate vulnerability to resource dependence and resource competition (Thornton, 2002)	• In stable environments, following old logics is important for survival but in conditions of environmental change adopting new logics should ensure growth and resource competitiveness (Thornton, 2002)
Seo & Creed (2002)	• Institutional contradictions shifting actors' collective consciousness and providing 'alternative logics of action' (Seo & Creed, 2002) • Coexistence of conflicting institutional logics may limit each logic's taken-for-grantedness (Chung & Luo, 2008; Seo & Creed, 2002)	• Institutional change seen as driven by institutional participants inadequately served by existing institutional arrangements (Seo & Creed, 2002) • Change agents mobilise collective action to create institutional change (Seo & Creed, 2002) • Institutional change is "directed toward a fundamental departure from the previous principles of organising" (Seo & Creed, 2002: 240)
Lounsbury (2002)	• Institutional logics can be torn down by institutional entrepreneurs and new ones constructed (Lounsbury, 2002)	• Understanding the rise and fall of institutional logics is a complicated interpretive process and researchers may need to periodise based on change such as new regulation (Lounsbury, 2002) • Emphasis on professionals as possible key actors in transforming logics (Lounsbury, 2002)
Meyer & Hammersch-mid (2006a, 2006b)	• New institutional logics may not supersede previous logics and may only be partially incorporated into actors identities with some orthodox beliefs maintained (Meyer & Hammerschmid, 2006a)	• Shifts in actors identities can help in understanding shifts in institutional logics (Meyer & Hammerschmid, 2006a, 2006b) • For institutional logics to change or be replaced there needs to be changes in rationality criteria, new forms, practices technologies and regulations as well as new social identities (Meyer & Hammerschmid, 2006a)
Misangyi, Weaver & Elms (2008)	• Reforming to new logics requires sufficient resources to sustain new logics and resources removed from existing logics (Misangyi et al., 2008) • Possibility for hybrid institutional logics as new logics emerge as actors exploit inconsistencies between logics (Misangyi et al., 2008)	• Institutional entrepreneurs as social actors promoting change (Misangyi et al., 2008) • Logics existing in both substance and symbolism and corrupt logics can be changed at both levels through new cognitive and moral frames (Misangyi et al., 2008)

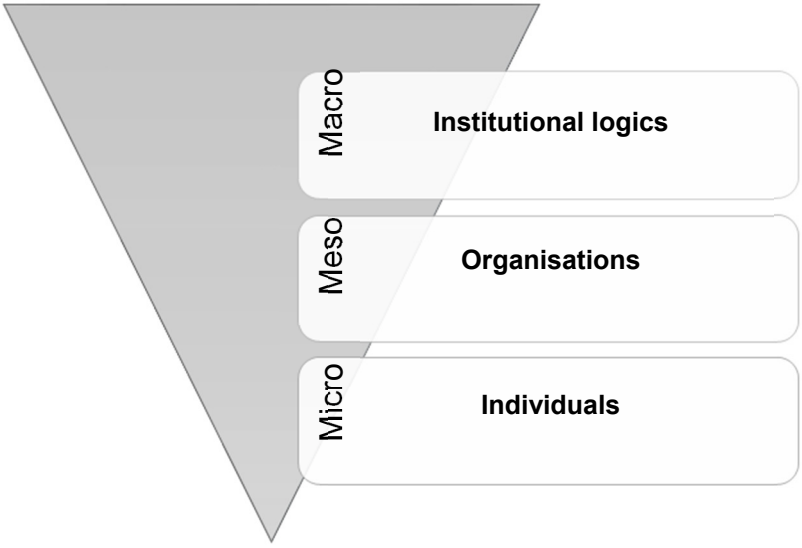
Chung & Luo (2008)	• View corporate governance practices as institutional logics (Chung & Luo, 2008) • Separate institutional logics mechanisms from agency costs mechanisms but propose they have a dual influence (Chung & Luo, 2008) • Institutional logics as regularising and constraining (Chung & Luo, 2008)	• Draw from Hannan and Freeman (1977) to emphasise organisational age as increasing organisational inertia and reducing likelihood of a particular change (Chung & Luo, 2008) • Conflicting institutional logics create opportunities for organisations to change by giving them choice (Chung & Luo, 2008)
Reay & Hinings (2005, 2009)	• Dominant institutional logic can exist with other logics subordinate (Reay & Hinings, 2005) • Institutional logics able to co-exist (Reay & Hinings, 2009) • Individual actors inside organisations use resourcefulness, abilities and energies to work in spite of competing logics (Reay & Hinings, 2009)	• An organisational field reestablishes a new status quo after radical structural change (Reay & Hinings, 2005) • Groups may collaborate to navigate institutional change and can work together effectively even when it is not their preferred option (Reay & Hinings, 2009) • Continuous and persistence actions at a micro-level can slowly and cumulatively create significant change (Reay & Hinings, 2009)
Dunn & Jones (2010)	• Identify two institutional logics that persist through support from different groups and interests (Dunn & Jones, 2010)	• The relative importance of each institutional logic oscillates over time as the power from groups supporting the logic oscillates (Dunn & Jones, 2010)
Lok (2010)	• Each institutional logic is linked to individual and organisational behaviour through an actors' identification with that logic (Lok, 2010)	• Nonentrepreneurial actors seen as able to create institutional change through everyday work (Lok, 2010) • New logics subtly challenged with some logics mutable (Lok, 2010)
Thornton, Ocasio & Lounsbury (2012a)	• Institutional logics as an interdisciplinary metatheoretical framework for understanding interactions between institutions (macro), individuals (micro) and organisations (meso) (Thornton et al., 2012a)	• Institutional entrepreneur perspective endows individuals with too much power and the cultural entrepreneur may be more appropriate given the exteriority of institutions (Thornton et al., 2012a) • Logics external to the field seen as critical to field-level change in logics and are not imported wholly but adapted to the field (Thornton et al., 2012a)

Jackall (1988) was one of the first to use the term 'institutional logics' but Thornton and Ocasio (2008) suggest his view of this concept is separate but related to later perspectives. Jackall (1988, 2010) emphasised the importance of institutional logics in conditions of uncertainty and suggested logics are rules governing how managers work

towards goals. Institutional logics were seen as the organising principles governing the selection of technologies and shaping or constraining the number and nature of possible actor behaviours while also dictating the criteria used to evaluate the effectiveness and efficiency of each possible behaviour (Friedland & Alford, 1991; Lounsbury, 2002).

Understandings of change from the institutional logics perspective involves institutions at the macro level, individuals as the micro, and organisations as the meso level as depicted in Figure 3 (Thornton et al., 2012). Change within organisations may also involve individual executives gaining, maintaining or losing power (Jackall, 2010 [1988]; Thornton & Ocasio, 1999). At the field level, change was seen by Friedland and Alford (1991) as primarily due to the co-existence of multiple competing or conflicting institutional logics and may lead to political change creating new institutional structures. Actors faced with these conflicting institutional logics may mobilise to defend symbols and practices from one institution or may export symbols and practices of one institution to transform another (Friedland & Alford, 1991). These actors are seen to be constrained by institutions but can still mobilise action and create change by navigating through the multiple institutional logics (Friedland & Alford, 1991; Seo & Creed, 2002).

Figure 3: Levels of change adapted from Thornton et al. (2012a)



Lounsbury and Boxenbaum (2013) suggest that the institutional logics perspective stemmed from Friedland & Alford (1991) and was then refined theoretically and explored empirically by Townley (1997), Haveman and Rao (1997), and then Thornton and Ocasio (1999). The empirical settings for these authors were: public sector universities (Townley, 1997), 'thrift' banks (Haveman & Rao, 1997) and higher education publishing (Thornton, 2002; Thornton & Ocasio, 1999). In the public universities, regulations led to new institutional logics but these conflicted with existing logics and created conflict for actors as the logics contested legitimacy (Townley, 2002). Similarly in higher education publishing, the competing institutional logics include an editorial logic shaped by the publishing profession or a market logic followed by *Fortune 500* book publishers (Thornton, 2002; Thornton & Ocasio, 1999). For the thrift banks, new belief systems emerged at the institutional level which led to instability, institutional transformation and hybridisation of organisational forms (Haveman & Rao, 2006). Thornton et al. (2012a) suggest that Haveman and Rao

(1997) focused mainly on the macro level while Thornton and Ocasio (1999) started to link macro and micro levels through individual and organisational cognition. New institutional logics were linked by Thornton and Ocasio (1999) to increases in the size of an organisation, new ownership structures and changes in the level of competiveness for resources. The new corporate institutional logic also led to new actors entering higher education publishing from corporate sectors (Thornton, 2002; Thornton & Ocasio, 1999).

Seo and Creed (2002) and then Lounsbury (2002) emphasised individual change agents responsible for mobilising collective action to create institutional change (Seo & Creed, 2002) or for tearing down old logics and constructing new ones (Lounsbury, 2002). Misangyi et al. (2008) suggest that this involves an actor (the 'institutional entrepreneur') who has sufficient resources and logics to demolish the old logics and construct the new. Lounsbury (2002) sees professionals as the most likely key actors in transforming logics. Rather than changing the logics themselves, Meyer and Hammerschmid (2006a) suggest that actors simply react to new logics but have some choice over which parts of the new logic they adopt and what orthodox beliefs they retain. Similarly, Chung and Luo (2008) suggest that conflicting institutional logics create opportunities for organisations to change by giving individual and organisational actors a choice of logics to follow.

3.7.2 Interactions between multiple institutional logics

The role of multiple logics and the emergence of hybrid organisational forms have been explained by many organisational analysis researchers using the institutional logics perspective (see Currie & Guah, 2007; Dunn & Jones, 2010; Reay & Hinings, 2009;

Thornton, Jones, & Kury, 2005). Many environments are pluralistic and organisations may face multiple institutional logics (see Arnaboldi, Arena, & Agostino, 2013; Battilana & Dorado, 2010; Dunn & Jones, 2010; Friedland & Alford, 1991; Kraatz & Block, 2008; Meyer & Rowan, 1977; Pache & Santos, 2010). This involves organisations being "subject to multiple regulatory regimes, embedded within multiple normative orders, and/or constituted by more than one cultural logic" (Kraatz & Block, 2008: 243).

Smith and Lewis (2011) suggest that opposing forces can take three different forms with each form exerting pressures in different ways. Two diametrically opposed forces can be both contradictory but interrelated in a 'paradox', competing choices in a 'dilemma', or a thesis and antithesis resolving through synthesis in a 'dialectic' (Smith & Lewis, 2011). Each of these forms are well represented in studies on paradoxical forces (see Eisenhardt, 2000; Poole & Van de Ven, 1989; Smith & Lewis, 2011), forces creating dilemmas of reconciling opposing choices (see Forbes & Milliken, 1999; Lipshitz & Strauss, 1997; Paquette & Kida, 1988) and dialectical forces (see Farjoun, 2010; Levy & Scully, 2007; Seo & Creed, 2002; Suddaby & Greenwood, 2005). One logic may collapse or be slowly dismantled to be replaced by a new logic (Haveman & Rao, 2006; Murray, 2010). Alternatively, new logics like professionalism could be layered on top of a previous logic such as bureaucracy through 'sedimentation' (Seo & Creed, 2002). Through the idea of sedimentation previous values, ideas, and practices persist even as structures and processes change (see Cooper et al., 1996; Lok, 2010). Alternatively, Shipilov, Greve and Rowley (2010) find that new practices may be linked to a single institutional logic but may be diffused in distinct waves which extend the logic.

Changes in institutional logics may compel organisations to change their practices to conform to the expectations of the new dominant logic (Joseph, Ocasio, & McDonnell, 2014). Alternatively, both institutional logics may persist and then organisations may combine aspects of both to become 'hybrid organisations' (see Battilana & Dorado, 2010; DiVito, 2012; Haveman & Rao, 2006; Lee & Battilana, 2013; Pache & Santos, 2010). To survive, these organisations must internally strike a balance between the logics (see Battilana & Dorado, 2010; Lee & Battilana, 2013; Zilber, 2002). Haveman and Rao (2006) note that this involves organisations overcoming segregating processes to blend together multiple organisational forms. Hybridisation may also occur at the institutional level with logics becoming hybridised (see Djelic & Ainamo, 2005; Misangyi et al., 2008; Rautiainen & Järvenpää, 2012; Svejenova, Mazza, & Planellas, 2007; Thornton et al., 2005). At the individual level multiple logics may lead to hybrid work roles (see Burns & Baldvinsdottir, 2005; Currie, Finn, & Martin, 2010; Lam, 2010; Meyer & Hammerschmid, 2006a) or may involve individuals assuming new hybrid institutionalised social identities (see Meyer & Hammerschmid, 2006a, 2006b; Rao, Monin, & Durand, 2003).

According to Reay and Hinings (2009: 629), institutional logics are "important in understanding institutional change because a change in the field's dominant logic is fundamental to conceptualizations of institutional change." When this dominant logic changes, some actors may continue to identify with a former logic and restrain from identifying with a new logic (see Creed et al., 2010; Glynn, 2008; Lok, 2010; Meyer & Hammerschmid, 2006a, 2006b; Rao et al., 2003; Westenholz, 2006). Friedland and Alford (1991) suggested that identity can function like an institutional logic itself and

Glynn (2008) suggests that, viewed like a logic, identity can constrain but also enable and advance action. Lok (2010) suggests that actors can paradoxically accommodate and resist institutional logics through working to: abduct only parts of the new logic; qualify the jurisdiction of the logic; or distance their self-identification with the new logic.

3.8 Initiators of institutional change

Amis, Slack, and Hinings (2004) suggest that characteristics of the process of change can be broken down into pace, sequence and linearity of change and suggest that these dynamics directly influence the outcomes of change. Pace, sequence and linearity have been useful categories for several change management theorists especially those studying radical change (see Amis et al., 2004; Liguori, 2012; Plowman, Baker, Beck, Kulkarni, Solansky, & Travis, 2007; Shi & Prescott, 2011; Starke, Sharma, Mauws, Dyck, & Dass, 2011). In terms of the pace of institutional change, change is rapid in many cases but changes can also occur at a glacially slow pace (North, 1990). The pace of change may also differ between emerging and mature fields as “compared to emerging fields, where logics and rules are less established, members of mature fields are mutually aware of which actors belongs to this space” (Boutinot & Mangematin, 2013: 2). Some institutional forces appear to be much more resistant and slow to change than others because “formal rules may change overnight as the result of political and judicial decisions, informal constraints embodied in customs, culture, traditions and codes of conduct are much more impervious” (North, 1990: 6) to change.

New cultural-cognitive conceptions may be difficult to change but can also have flow on effects to the other pillars as “new cultural-cognitive conceptions that provide a

foundation for new political policies, new legal mechanisms, and new normative frameworks" (Dacin et al., 2002: 49). Concerning the sequence and linearity of change, early new institutional theory focused heavily on path dependence and inertia but, more recently, theory has started to explain circumstances where genuine change occurs and can be expected (Chizema & Buck, 2006). In an early conception of sequence, LaPiere and Wang (1931) see the sequence of institutional change as four stages: "(1) Invention or borrowing (in the realm of nature control); (2) consequent institutional mal-adjustment; (3) institutional readaptation (actual); (4) ideological readaptation or adjustment." Liguori (2012) focuses on elements such as reforms in the institutional environment being incremental or radical and leading organisations to progressions or even reversals of strategy.

Given contradictory institutional pressures "the outcomes of these dynamics are therefore not readily apparent or easily predicted" (Mezias & Scarselletta, 1994: 655). As Dacin et al. (2002: 45) propose: "although institutions serve both to powerfully drive change and to shape the nature of change across levels and contexts, they also themselves change in character and potency over time." The variations in character and potency (also described as 'nature and strength') of institutional forces "operating on different parts of an organizational field are likely to produce variations in organizational responses" (Currie & Suhomlinova, 2006: 5). These dynamics of institutional change are described in Table 14.

Table 14: Dynamics of institutional change

Pace	Sequence	Linearity
• Change as either glacial or rapid (North, 1990) • Difference in pace of change for formal and informal institutions with formal laws quick to change but inertia slowing change of informal institutions (Zenger, Lazzarini, & Poppo, 2002) • Pace may involve a concentrated time frame at rapid speed or may be drawn out over an extended period of time (Amis et al., 2004; Starke et al., 2011)	• Sequence of institutional change involves iinvention or borrowing, institutional mal-adjustment, institutional readaptation, and ideological readaptation or adjustment (LaPiere & Wang, 1931). • Chance elements or systematic forces impacting eventual outcomes (David, 1985) • Simultaneous implementation or need for a specific chronology (Amis et al., 2004; Starke et al., 2011) • Specific trajectories steering towards radical change or incremental stages (Liguori, 2012)	• Predictable and path dependent change or dynamic pressures leading to varied outcomes (Dacin et al., 2002) • Through path dependence, "events can follow a multiplicity of paths leading to different outcomes" (Araujo & Rezende, 2003: 722) • Linear step-by-step fashion or an iterative process (Amis et al., 2004; Starke et al., 2011)

3.8.1 Disruptive events

Institutional inertia and the typical stability of institutions can be shaken by disruptive events which sharply end anything previously locked in (Hoffman, 1999). Hoffman (1999) categorised these events as milestones; disasters; and legal or administrative events. Examples of such events may include major changes to government regulation, technological disruptions and destabilising events such as societal upheaval (see Greenwood et al., 2002; Khavul, Chavez, & Bruton, 2013). Disruptive events have been described in different ways to connote different dynamics of change including 'jolts' (see Hyvönen, Järvinen, Oulasvirta, & Pellinen, 2012; Meyer, 1982; Meyer, Brooks, & Goes, 1990; Munir, 2005; Sine & David, 2003), 'ruptures' (see Fligstein & McAdam, 2011), 'shocks' (see Fligstein, 1991) suggesting sudden unexpected change, 'discontinuities' (see Lorange, Scott-Morton, & Ghoshal, 1986; Tushman & Anderson, 1986), 'transformations' (see Leblebici et al., 1991; Lounsbury,

2002) suggesting longer-term and multi-faceted change, and ‘triggers’ (see George et al., 2006; Rao et al., 2003). These events force organisations to reanalyse their environment (Wooten & Hoffman, 2008) and are particularly significant when they impact an industry’s image and identity (Nigam & Ocasio, 2010).

Despite the significant interest in events that are disruptive to organisations, Munir (2005) argues that some critical events do not trigger institutional change or take many years to cause a disruption. Similarly Fligstein (1991) agrees that a shock in an organisational field is necessary but not sufficient for initiating institutional change. In this way there may be an unintended and serendipitous process as some events prompt change and others do not (Hardy & Maguire, 2008). To separate out sudden institutional change from much more subtle change, Child, Lu and Tsai (2007) draw from Hoffman but separate disruptive events (which they labelled ‘critical events’) from more gradual and incremental ‘trajectory changes’. These types of institutional change may lead to different types of organisational change which Greenwood and Hinings (1996) label as evolutionary for gradual change and revolutionary for highly disruptive and rapid change.

Disruptive events are perhaps more noticeable and sudden than other sources of institutional change and Streeck and Thelen (2005) propose that there may be difficulties in the detection of change given an absence of disruptive events. Roland (2004) suggests that, when studying institutional change we should consider change moving at different paces, and proposes that political institutions change rapidly and irregularly (‘fast-moving’) and culture and social norms change slowly and gradually (‘slow-moving’). Likewise, Lawrence, Winn, and Jennings (2001) suggest that coercive

pressures can have protracted and persuasive impacts or can be quickly mandated by the state.

3.8.2 Institutional change and strategic choice

Scott (1987) suggests that change is “imposed, authorized, induced, imprinted, and incorporated” (Aldrich & Ruef, 1999: 51) into organisations. However, organisational actors may partially determine how they are influenced by these pressures such as through choices on their extent of adoption and the level of integration of institutional change (see Jamali, 2010). Oliver (1991) proposes strategies for coping with institutional pressures, varying from active resistance with a manipulation of rules and expectations to a passive or neutral response by acquiescing or fully conforming to institutional pressures and expectations. Mirvis (1997) suggests that the pace of conformity may also vary and distinguishes between ‘leaders’ adopting an innovative response, and ‘followers’ and ‘laggards’ adopting neutral or reactive responses. Both cases suggest that actors have some degree of choice about how they conform and whether they conform as they seem to make a strategic choice for conformity or resistance (see Boon, Paauwe, Boselie, & Den Hartog, 2009; Goodstein, 1994).

In each of these categorisations, institutional change clearly has a response of some kind but the categories suggest that the response may exist at opposite ends of the conform/deviate and passive/active spectra (Oliver, 1991). Within the range of the conformity spectrum Ashworth, Boyne, and Delbridge (2009) focus on higher level strategies, structures and organisational culture to propose two types of conformity: ‘compliance’, where organisations gradually comply with isomorphic pressures, and ‘convergence’, where organisations in a field resemble each other over time. Using the

empirical context of public sector organisations, Ashworth et al. (2009) suggest that organisations can ‘escape the iron cage’ and not comply with institutional pressures but the outcome may still be that they end up converging to one form resembling other organisations in that field. The apparent choice may be simplified as three options and members of an organisational field can respect institutional rules, reach compromises through decoupling, or completely break such rules (see Boutinot & Mangematin, 2013; Lepoutre, 2012). These compromises may also be described as ‘balancing’ institutional compliance with the needs of stakeholders while other organisations are more likely to acquiesce to norms and institutional processes (see Coburn, 2004; Fiss & Zajac, 2006; Oliver, 1991).

Organisations and individual actors may take on roles of ‘renegades’ (see Kondra & Hinings, 1998; Leblebici et al., 1991; Rao et al., 2003) or ‘institutional entrepreneurs’ (see Battilana et al., 2009; David, Sine, & Haveman, 2013; Déjean, Gond, & Leca, 2004; Greenwood & Suddaby, 2006; Hardy & Maguire, 2008; Levy & Scully, 2007; Li, Feng, & Jiang, 2006; Svejenova et al., 2007) who manipulate or defy institutional rules to bring about institutional change. Those successful in defying institutionalised rules then must attract legitimacy to new activities and determine new patterns of behaviour (Déjean et al., 2004) by creating new technical and cognitive norms, models and scripts and establishing them as standard (see Déjean et al., 2004; DiMaggio, 1988; Zimmerman & Zeitz, 2002). Scott (2010: 31), however, recommends against the label ‘new’ as entrepreneurs (institutional or otherwise) may simply build upon or combine existing cultural elements and “these forces will react and often will counterattack in their own defense”.

The tool of the institutional entrepreneur is the social skills that are deployed as a method of agency to encourage other actors to deviate from institutional norms (Fligstein, 1997; Green & Li, 2011). Assembling resources such as social capital is one step but there may also need to be a rationale for questioning existing institutional scripts and templates (see Barley & Tolbert, 1997; Dorado, 2005). In the case of institutional entrepreneurs and acts of deviance against institutional norms, institutionalisation may still be an important process because it acts as a stimulus for this behaviour (see DiMaggio, 1988; Heugens & Lander, 2009). Institutional entrepreneurs can create institutional change through "recurring attempts to formally redefine the boundaries and logics of the organizational fields that institutional entrepreneurs initially establish" (Khavul et al., 2013: 30). From a Marxist viewpoint, institutional entrepreneurs may be seen as no different to capitalist elites who intervene to set the course of an institution (see DiMaggio & Powell, 1983; Katz, 1975).

External to organisations, professional bodies may play a central role as agents creating, maintaining and transforming institutions (see Hwang & Powell, 2009; Parada, Nordqvist, & Gimeno, 2010; Scott, 2008b; Smets et al., 2012; Suddaby & Viale, 2011). Through tools such as licensing, training and professional development, professional associations can be seen as change agents but sometimes are just agents of reproduction rather than change (Greenwood et al., 2002). However, professional associations can in some cases endorse a particular institutional change through intra-professional discourse and by representing the profession in a specific way (Greenwood et al., 2002; Van de Ven & Hargrave, 2004).

The focus on professionals and institutional entrepreneurs represents a bottom-up

approach to understanding institutional change (see Scott, 2008b; Smets et al., 2012) as opposed to change pushed on to organisations and the professionals within them through 'exogenous shocks' such as political institutions which disrupt stability and coerce change (Clemens & Cook, 1999; Luong & Weinthal, 2004). Mahoney and Thelen (2010) suggest that as well as exogenous shocks involving radical institutional reconfigurations, endogenous developments often occur with incremental, gradual or piecemeal changes. Just as in organisational ecology theory, new institutional theory originally found it difficult to incorporate adaptive bottom-up change (Amburgey & Rao, 1996) and instead focused on change being forced down on organisations by institutions.

Institutional entrepreneurship raises questions about whether organisational fields should be studied in terms of "the totality of relevant actors" (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983: 148). Phillips, Lawrence, and Hardy (2004) argue that there is no way for actors to modify institutions directly. Instead, some actors can slowly impact discourses constituting institutions and institutional mechanisms of compliance (Phillips et al., 2004). There may also be some backlash against these actors as institutions create sanctions against those breaking the norms and rules to discipline deviance (see DiMaggio & Powell, 1983; Lawrence, 1999). Without disciplining deviance, organisations that escape punishment for one deviant practice become more likely to adopt future deviant practices (see Fiss, Kennedy, & Davis, 2012; Sanders & Tuschke, 2007). Eventually though, as March (1995) highlights, most deviant organisations perish. Organisations that deviate from institutional norms may indeed have divergent outcomes from those that conform (Kondra & Hinings, 1998) and those that deviate

from institutional pressures may be punished and, as Pinkse and Kolk (2007) suggest, the opportunity to change institutional constraints may not exist where those constraints are already strong.

Given rigidities and strong constraints, institutional entrepreneurship raises the question asked by Greenwood and Suddaby (2006: 27): “if, as institutional theory asserts, behavior is substantially shaped by taken-for-granted institutional prescriptions, how can actors envision and enact changes to the contexts in which they are embedded?” The existence of such actors who are able to change the institutions which pressure and condition them presents the ‘paradox of embedded agency’ (see Battilana & D’Aunno, 2009; Garud, Hardy, & Maguire, 2007; Levy & Scully, 2007; Seo & Creed, 2002). This paradox is not new and was a central concern of DiMaggio and Powell (1983), but the broader structure-agency debate persists. This debate continues to question whether actors subjected to regulative, normative and cultural cognitive pressures can define their own interests and produce their own identities (see Clemens & Cook, 1999; Friedland & Alford, 1991; Garud et al., 2007; Glynn, 2008). Heugens and Lander (2009) recommend that further debate over structure-agency is healthy and, despite this debate, institutional theorists have still contributed significantly by showing: “that isomorphic pressures give rise to increased isomorphism in organizational fields because of the diffusion of templates for organizing, that the diffusion of these templates benefits the conforming organizations by increasing their symbolic performance, and that organizational field-level factors actively moderate isomorphic processes” (Heugens & Lander, 2009: 78).

As a central example of the agency debate, institutional entrepreneurs are one

potential type of embedded agents who seem first to create a new activity and then "give the new activity legitimacy and determine its patterns of behaviour" (Déjean et al., 2004: 741). They represent the paradox of embedded agency because institutions reinforce continuity and reward conformity (see Garud et al., 2007; Lawrence, 1999; McGaughey, 2013) while entrepreneurship is creative and brings about change (Garud et al., 2007). Highly institutionalised or mature fields may be particularly useful for understanding institutional entrepreneurship because they are exemplar cases of embedded agency (see Greenwood & Suddaby, 2006; Major & Cruz, 2013). Institutional entrepreneurs might not be able to reach complete disembeddedness but can mobilise multiple institutional logics for their own benefit (Leca & Naccache, 2006). It is arguably only under certain conditions that actors can act as institutional entrepreneurs such as when the individual has an influential social position (Battilana, 2006). Recent literature on institutional entrepreneurship has yet to fully explain how and why some organisational fields are amenable to change (Buhr, 2012) but the age or 'maturity' of a field might make it more difficult for institutional entrepreneurs to create change (see Greenwood & Suddaby, 2006; McGaughey, 2013). In mature fields the opportunity for institutional entrepreneurship perhaps only arises when institutional pressures conflict and contradict (see Greenwood & Suddaby, 2006; Hyvönen et al., 2012) or when the field is in crisis (see Maguire, Hardy, & Lawrence, 2004). In these cases, institutional entrepreneurs can select from multiple organisational forms or create their own new forms (Hyvönen et al., 2012).

3.9 Institutional change and internal responses

Thornton and Ocasio (1999) suggest three levels of society with context and action

interconnected through institutional logics at institutional, organisational and individual levels. By creating rules and organising principles for an organisational field (Friedland & Alford, 1991), institutional logics enable or limit action at organisational and individual levels (see Sarma, 2013; Thornton et al., 2012a). At any one time there can be multiple institutional logics in an organisational field and often one logic holds a dominant position (see Battilana, 2006; Dacin et al., 2002; Schneiberg, 2002). Friedland and Alford (1991) suggest that organisational fields are always subject to multiple logics including nonmarket logics such as religious logics (Greenwood, Díaz, Li, & Lorente, 2010) like the protestant logics central to Weber (2000).

Multiple institutional logics may be embodied in multiple organisational forms (see Greenwood et al., 2010; Haveman & Rao, 1997). Different organisational forms may also arise due to variations in the nature and strength of institutional forces producing greater convergence around one template for similar organisations and divergence with different templates for different organisational groups or segments of the field (Currie & Suhomlinova, 2006). The design of an organisation can be dictated in a template or archetype (see Cheng & Yu, 2008; Currie & Suhomlinova, 2006; Dacin et al., 2002; D'Aunno et al., 2000; Johnson et al., 2000; Roberts & Greenwood, 1997). More than one organisational template is feasible and at some stage templates become out-dated where institutional change pressures organisations to adopt new templates (see Cheng & Yu, 2008; Heugens & Lander, 2009). Isomorphic convergence itself would seem to imply that organisations converge from one template to another (Greenwood et al., 2002). This change from one institutionally prescribed and legitimated template to another could involve de-institutionalisation and then

reinstitutionalisation (Hinings, Greenwood, Reay, & Suddaby, 2004).

De-institutionalisation can be seen as a gradual dissipation or rejection of an organisational practice (Dacin & Dacin, 2008; Oliver, 1992). This involves erosion or discontinuity of institutional practices and templates (Peng, 2003) which may involve gradual abandonment of deeply ingrained past practices carried by organisations as 'institutional baggage' (Roth & Kostova, 2003). De-institutionalisation may be triggered by institutional change such as changes to political, functional and social pressures (see Dacin & Dacin, 2008; Oliver, 1992). For example, firms structured as conglomerates in the 1980s faced legislative changes and normative pressures involving new business rhetoric denouncing the strategy of diversification (Davis, Diekmann, & Tinsley, 1994). This example of de-institutionalisation involved large firms in the United States following a process of 'de-diversification' and 'de-conglomeration' through takeovers and restructurings (Davis et al., 1994). As another example of de-institutionalisation, Ahmadjian and Robinson (2001) investigated downsizing triggered initially by economic pressures although institutional pressures shaped the pace and process of organisational change. In this case of industry-wide change, de-institutionalisation in each organisation gains momentum over time (Ahmadjian & Robinson, 2001). Similarly, when faced with institutional pressures to privatise, public sector organisations experience a de-institutionalisation of public sector templates and then an institutionalisation of new private sector templates (Johnson et al., 2000).

With de-institutionalisation 'sedimentation' may occur, where one institutionalised logic is layered on another, or a distinctive transformation may occur, where one logic sweeps away the residue of the other (Seo & Creed, 2002). Dacin and Dacin (2008)

also suggest that, as organisational practices erode, 'remnants' of the old practice may act as foundations for new practices or may facilitate the reemergence of an old institutional template. This idea is similar to Roth and Kostova's (2003) concept of 'institutional baggage' and the idea that new institutions "are not created from scratch but are built upon older institutions and must replace or push back" (Holm, 1995: 400) the pre-existing institutional forms. This can be conceptualised as a new learning curve but this may need to be preceded by an 'unlearning curve' to gradually forget past practices (Bettis & Prahalad, 2006; Prahalad & Bettis, 1986).

3.10 Research framework

The following section presents the framework used to guide the data collection and analysis process. Using international business and higher education literature, a classification of 'internationalisation situations' is presented. This classification helps to categorise universities based on their overall strategic orientation and commitment to internationalisation. International business researchers see multinationals increasing their level of resource commitment to foreign markets as a key dimension for such a categorisation while the archetypes and orientations of universities suggest modifications to common models and classifications developed for multinational corporations.

3.10.1 Internationalisation situations

The literature review above shows that higher education and international business have clear differences in how they see the internationalisation process. Many international business researchers see the process as a set of incremental increases in levels of risk and reward (see Eriksson et al., 1997; Johanson & Vahlne, 2009; Welch

& Luostarinen, 2006). Conversely, higher education researchers see the process as one of infusing international dimensions into the organisation domestically as well as possible creation of activities abroad (see Dewey & Duff, 2009; Gacel-Avila, 2005; Jones & de Wit, 2012; Kehm & Teichler, 2007; Knight & de Wit, 1995). The two perspectives represent two orientations – one that is market-based and the other that is humanist. Those universities with a market-based orientation might see internationalisation as corporations see it while universities with humanist orientations might see internationalisation 'holistically' shaping teaching, research and service missions.

A classification based on 'internationalisation situations' was suggested by Johanson and Mattsson (1988) to group industrial firms and involves identifying particular 'episodes' or 'situations' (see Johanson & Vahlne, 2009) within internationalisation processes as identified in the Uppsala model. Johanson and Mattson (1988) classified internationalisation as either 'low degree' or 'high degree' and looked at the degree of internationalisation of the firm and the market it was entering. Since this original conceptualisation, 'internationalisation situations' have been used by multiple international business scholars (see Andersson, 2002; Hadley & Wilson, 2003; Louart & Martin, 2012; Madsen & Servais, 1997) but may need to be combined with other models and frameworks to determine how organisations move between different situations (Andersson, 2002; Chetty & Blankenburg Holm, 2000). The idea of particular episodes in the internationalisation process has also aimed to identify less common 'internationalisation situations'. For example, episodes of decreased market commitment have been described as 'de-internationalisation situations' (see Benito &

Welch, 1997; Freeman, Deligonul, & Cavusgil, 2013) and new commitments as 'reinternationalisation situations' (see Holmlund, Kock, & Vanyushyn, 2007; Welch & Welch, 2009).

The 'internationalisation situations' that will be used in this study differ from the Johanson and Mattsson (1988) approach. The key similarity with Johanson and Mattsson (1988) and also Andersson (2002) is in differentiating internationalisation situations based on the different degrees of internationalisation of the firm, which can be either 'high' or 'low'. The degree of internationalisation is seen as the level of commitment to foreign markets in terms of the extent, intensity and nature of university internationalisation activities (see Bennett & Kane, 2011; Middlehurst & Woodfield, 2007). Rather than categorising different degrees of internationalisation of the market as in the Johanson and Mattsson (1988) approach, the duality of the 'Janus face' of higher education internationalisation is used to categorise market-focused or humanist international strategies. The resulting four internationalisation situations are presented in Table 15.

Table 15: International situations applied to universities

	Market-focused	Humanist
Low degree of internationalisation	**1** International corporate projects	**2** International community projects
High degree of internationalisation	**3** Corporate internationalisation	**4** Comprehensive internationalisation

These four situations are explained as follows:

Category 1 – International corporate projects: Universities undertake international activities focused on revenue generation from 'markets' of foreign students. Other

motivations exist but corporate practices and revenue orientations are dominant. There is a low degree of internationalisation with limited projects offshore and less dependence on international sources of revenue. The activities are not completely aligned or coordinated and there is 'marginal compatibility' (see Levine, 1980) between projects.

Category 2 – International community projects: Universities operate international activities focused on benefiting specific communities. Most projects aim to 'break-even' with revenue aims subordinate to the interests of academic communities, student communities, communities in developing countries or social benefit more broadly through international research projects. There is a low degree of internationalisation with limited cross-border activities. The activities are broadly linked but not aligned or coordinated. In Categories 1 and 2 international elements and activities are *ad hoc* rather than systematic and marginal rather than central (Davies, 1995; Levine, 1980).

Category 3 – Corporate internationalisation: Universities develop many export-focused activities which lead to revenue generation from 'markets' of foreign students and other foreign income sources. Corporate practices and revenue orientations are dominant and there is an aim to repatriate profits from foreign markets. There is a high degree of internationalisation with many large-scale projects offshore and greater dependence on international sources of revenue. The activities are aligned and centrally coordinated. These activities are responsive to market needs similar to those Bartell (2003: 43) describes as "substantive, integrated, university-wide internationalization in response to pervasive and rapidly changing global environmental demands."

Category 4 – Comprehensive internationalisation: A university manages a set of activities which involves revenue generation but this is not the main goal. Other motivations exist but corporate practices and revenue orientations are dominant. There is a low degree of internationalisation with limited projects offshore and less dependence on international sources of revenue. The activities are clearly aligned or coordinated and are 'comprehensive' in the sense used by Van Der Wende (1999) which involves a high degree of compatibility and goal congruence. With both Category 3 and Category 4 international strategies, the international dimension becomes systematic and centralised (Davies, 1995) as well as comprehensive and integrated (Van Der Wende, 1999) in terms of being integrated into mission statements, planning and review systems, policies and procedures, hiring and promotion, governance, and other operational or administrative processes (Knight, 1999a).

3.10.2 Research question

Through reviewing the literature on internationalisation and higher education management, the following section details a framework for the research. Models from strategic management have been regularly applied to university internationalisation but these models focus mainly on internal factors such as Rudzki's (1995) model where organisational development and strategic planning are the central forces driving internationalisation. Rudzki's (1995) dimensions of university internationalisation have proved useful to several studies of higher education internationalisation (see Burnett & Huisman, 2010; Chan & Dimmock, 2008; Knight & de Wit, 1995; van Dijk & Meijer, 1995) but focus largely on internal forces causing change. Levine (1980) also proposed a model of innovation within higher education organisations which was later adapted

by Van Der Wende (1999) to focus on internal factors such as compatibility of strategies, goal congruence and perceived profitability although external forces are not clearly incorporated into the model.

Clark (1983) argues against cause-and-effect approaches which see university managers as passive responders to immutable external forces. Instead, Naidoo (2004: 467) suggests that we should understand: “first, the relationship between macro sociopolitical forces and universities and, second, why institutions within the same system develop divergent strategic responses to external pressures.” Likewise, Fumasoli and Stensaker (2013) warn against a sole focus on external drivers of change. Instead, they recommend understanding universities as organisations with their own leeway when dealing with legal and normative frameworks derived from the external environment (Fumasoli & Stensaker, 2013).

Vidovich and Currie (2011) also call for further research to understand regulatory change in the external environment. They point to “a need to examine the complex interrelationships between external and internal environments” (Vidovich & Currie, 2011: 54) to better understand university management and governance. Likewise, Middlehurst (2013) recommends further studies on internal and external drivers of change due to changes of government (in this case the United Kingdom government) and increasingly dynamic and volatile environments. To understand external causes of change and how these forces interact with internal practices and strategies, this thesis proposes the research question as:

RQ: How do external forces cause change to university internationalisation?

Answering this question involves the investigation of external forces, their interaction, and their impact on actors within universities in causing change to the degree and nature of internationalisation goals and programs. As established in the literature review, the nature of internationalisation goals and programs may shift from humanist to market-focused orientations (or back to humanist). This leads to the first subsidiary research question:

> ***SRQ1: What causes a change in orientation for international goals and programs?***

As well as a change in orientation, the degree of internationalisation may gradually increase or decrease. This involves moves towards or away from deeper, comprehensive and coordinated international dimensions. The increasing importance of internationalisation is seen as a process of institutionalisation of international dimensions (Gacel-Avila, 2005) and we thus might expect major withdrawals or reductions in the degree of internationalisation as a process of de-institutionalisation. Understanding changes in the degree of internationalisation has historically been a key concern of international business scholars (e.g. Cavusgil, 1984; Ramaswamy, Kroeck, & Renforth, 1996; Riahi-Belkaoui, 1998; Sullivan, 1994). More recently, higher education scholars and practitioners have also become interested in increasing levels of internationalisation albeit with less of a focus on the scale of offshore operations and more on the infusing of international dimensions across the entire university in a 'comprehensive' or 'holistic' way (e.g. Dewey & Duff, 2009; Gacel-Avila, 2005; Horn, Hendel, & Fry, 2011; Hudzik, 2011; Jones & de Wit, 2012). This leads to the second subsidiary research question:

SRQ2: What causes a change in the degree of internationalisation?

3.10.3 Conceptual framework

One of the main criticisms of the 'internationalisation situations' framework is that it does not help explain moves between situations or change within a situation (Chetty & Blankenburg Holm, 2000). Thus the conceptual framework aims to add to the research classification to explain why and how a university might move between each of the four internationalisation situations. These moves are seen as particular types of organisational change. Particular empirical contexts in international business may favour institutional approaches that seek to explain organisational change, such as those described in the research framework, by studying the interaction between institutional change (Gelbuda, Meyer, & Delios, 2008). To understand organisational change, Hage (1999) recommends linking macro institutional change at the societal level with meso analysis of organisational change. As institutional logics change at the macro level, organisations change at the meso level and individuals within those organisations change at the micro level to conform to new roles and structures (Suddaby, Cooper, & Greenwood, 2007). With institutional change, we expect values, practices and systems of the organisation to change (Parkhe, 2003).

The proposed conceptual framework is based on Figure 4 (page 114) and the Research Classification in Table 15 (page 106). In doing so, this framework will be used to explain the causes for changing priorities between humanist and market-based internationalisation (see Clyne et al., 2001; Sanderson, 2008; Welch, 2012, 2013). This framework will be used to explain causes for change in the degree of internationalisation in terms of change to the focus, scope, and content of international

programs and the move between reactive strategies to pro-active strategic planning (see Delgado-Márquez, Escudero-Torres, & Hurtado-Torres, 2013; de Wit, 2011).

The conceptual framework links together multiple levels of change and multiple internal responses to change. As recommended by Goodson (2001: 55), we should examine external, internal and personal levels of change rather than “limit the work on educational change to internalistic or even externalized models of institutional change”. The conceptual framework proposed connects external institutional change to internal organisational change resulting in specific changes enacted by individual managers. Connecting these levels is complicated by difficulties establishing universal and direct causality between the institutional and personal levels of change, such as how institutional change causes new attitudes and practices to be adopted by academics (Kehm & Teichler, 2012). As Maassen and Stensaker (2005: 214) note: “we know that changes in the environment are related to changes in universities and colleges, but how they are related and which factors influence the institutionalisation of changes is still something of a ‘black box’ in higher education studies”.

The components of this ‘black box’ are seen in this thesis as those elements that link institutional change with university internationalisation. Frølich et al (2013) also use the term ‘black box’ and try to open it by linking macro-transformation processes involving many different institutional spheres to micro-processes of organisational strategising. In the conceptual framework, four levels of change are proposed leading to movement between four internationalisation situations. The four levels of change are: (1) external institutional change; (2) organisational change, (3) change in orientation and (4) change in international goals and programs. This framework is informed by the

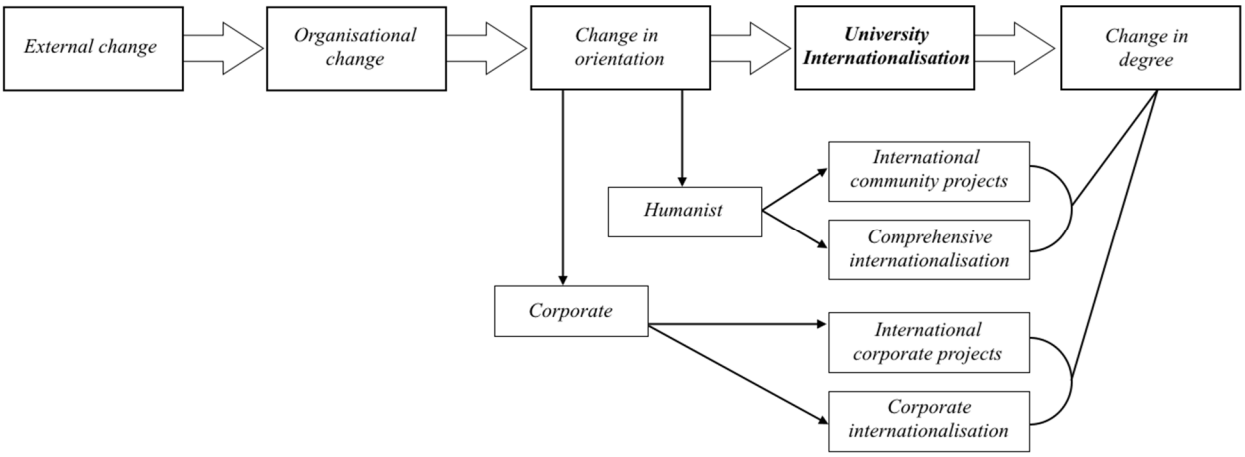
theoretical groundwork prepared by Frølich et al (2013: 85) who note that “strategising in higher education potentially involves more than the input from organisational leaders, while we accept the importance of these leaders as key interpreters of the institutional pluralism that we suggest resides in the organisation as well as in its environment.”

Movement between the internationalisation situations involves either a change between humanist and corporate orientations or a change in the degree of internationalisation. Change between humanist and corporate orientation involves a shift away from human attributes regarding knowledge and community service to market imperatives (Rutherford, 2005) which is linked to institutional change primarily through deregulation, competition policy and marketisation policy (Jongbloed, 2003). Change between a low and high degree of internationalisation involves increases or decreases in the scale of international operations and greater or lesser alignment of international strategies. The degree of internationalisation can be categorised as ‘low’ where there are a collection of loosely connected international projects and ‘high’ where there are significant international dimensions to a university and attempts to align all internationalisation strategies. Other indicators of the degree of internationalisation include student mobility in the form of international student recruitment or student exchanges (Kehm, 2005) or the number of foreign guest researchers (Teichler, 1999). However, in this thesis the aim is to identify causes for major turning points rather than a fine grained analysis using specific measures of the degree of internationalisation.

As depicted in the conceptual framework in Figure 4, a change in the degree of

internationalisation may occur within a humanist or corporate orientation to move from a collection of projects to deeper forms of internationalisation with a wider scope and aligned focus (or back to a collection of projects). Alternatively, a change in the degree of internationalisation may be coupled with a change in orientation leading to significant restructuring and either the creation of new international operations or cessation of programs through market withdrawals.

Figure 4: Conceptual framework



3.11 Chapter summary

The conceptual framework presented in the previous involves external change leading to organisational change and a change in orientation. From the institutional pillars framework, we can see three likely sources of external change: regulative or coercive forces, normative forces and cultural cognitive or mimetic forces. A change in orientation may be triggered by particular changes within the pillars. The search for the underlying institutional logics may also help understand why a university changes its orientation from humanist to corporate with remnants of the previous orientation remaining in some cases. This chapter has outlined the suitability of institutional theory as an explanatory lens within international business appropriate for the empirical

context of internationalisation at Australian public universities. Within new institutional theory, the institutional logics perspective can help explain how institutional forces cause change to university internationalisation activities. The ‘pillars of new institutional theory’ help categorise these forces of change as either related to regulatory change, a change in cognitive frames of reference or a change in norms.

As well as the institutionalised archetypes forming the historical basis for organisational design in higher education, a set of meta-logics will be investigated in higher education. These meta-logics are seen to shape the orientation, strategies and actions of each university – including the degree of internationalisation and the nature of international goals and programs. The institutional logics perspective should help connect institutional change with internal organisational change. Changes between institutional logics or the existence of multiple logics will be investigated and then the effects of such changes on international orientations and activities explained. The connections between institutional, organisational and individual levels of analysis will be explained through retroductive inference based on the research methods described in Chapter Four.

4 Research methods

4.1 Chapter introduction

This purpose of this chapter is to explain the ontological and epistemological approach adopted as well as the practical research procedures followed. The chapter first explains the research paradigm of critical realism and then explains the ontological implications of this paradigm for an analysis within the theoretical lens of the institutional logics perspective. Then, using considerations from the institutional logics perspective, the unit of analysis, sample and informant selection decisions are explained. Procedures are outlined for the twenty-nine in-depth semi-structured personal interviews conducted at thirteen universities. The procedures for collecting and analysing the qualitative data are analysed. To conclude the chapter, further issues of critical realism are discussed to outline potential contributions of the research in terms of mechanisms that may be analogous to internationalisation processes in different organisational fields or institutional contexts. Chapter Four aligns the research methods to answer the research question: "***How do external forces cause change to university internationalisation?***"

4.2 Research paradigm

A clearly defined research paradigm is useful because "whenever a piece of research is carried out, researchers make assumptions about how the world is (ontology) and how we can come to know it (epistemology)" (Easton, 2002: 108). As Hughes (1998) notes, "every research tool or procedure is inextricably embedded in commitments to particular versions of the world and to knowing that world." A critical realist ontology guides the methodological considerations explained in this chapter.

4.2.1 Critical realist ontology

Fairclough (2005) sees critical realism as particularly valuable to understanding organisational change. Critical realism has been found to be compatible with neo-institutionalist explanations of organisational change (see Delbridge & Edwards, 2013; Leca & Naccache, 2006; Mutch, 2007; Mutiganda, 2013; Wry, 2009) including changing institutional logics in higher education (see Deem, Hillyard, & Reed, 2007; Welsh & Dehler, 2007). Reed (1997: 38) suggests that "critical realism establishes the most promising analytical and explanatory framework for conducting the in-depth analysis of the interplay between structure and agency as it shapes the reproduction and transformation of organizational forms." Critical realism may also help explain change in open systems involving actors who learn and then change their behaviour (Sayer, 2000).

The foundation of the critical realist ontology is seen by Fleetwood (2005) as the "claim that an entity *can* (which does not mean it *does*) exist independently of our knowledge of it." Archer et al. (1998) see critical realism as a movement in philosophy and the human sciences largely emanating from the work of philosopher Roy Bhaskar (2008 [1975]). Critical realism stratifies ontology into three domains: the *real* or 'deep' domain structures and causal mechanism; the *actual* domain of events and actions, and the *empirical* domain of experiences and perceptions (see Ackroyd & Fleetwood, 2000; Bhaskar, 2008; Steinmetz, 1998). Ontologically, critical realists believe that a reality exists independent of observers (Easton, 2010). Epistemologically, critical realists believe that this reality is not readily accessible to researchers (Easton, 2010) but seeks possible representations of reality rather than seeing all interpretations as

equally good (Fairclough, 2005). The dominant strand of critical realism sees the structures and mechanisms of phenomena as real and as independent of our knowledge and experience of them but also recognises that knowledge of phenomena is produced through social activity (Bhaskar, 2008).

Delbridge and Edwards (2013: 9) suggest that as critical realists move "from ontological to epistemological considerations, our knowledge of social phenomena is to be found in the relational connection between the observable features of social action and those unobservable structures that shape events." According to Easton (2010: 123), understanding social phenomena requires "recording and analysing the associated events that take place as a result of the actors acting". Critical realism emphases both structure and agency as internally related and reliant on each other to exist (Fleetwood, 2005). This means that decisions cannot be seen as simply the result of external forces and critical realist explanations must account for the ability for human actors to exercise free will, think and act creatively, and do novel things (see Archer, 2000; Fleetwood, 2005). This involves a greater room for agency and social change than competing ontologies and concepts such as Bourdieu's (1977, 1990) habitus frameworks which generate and regulate the practices and ideas of individual 'agents' (Archer, 2000; Battilana, 2006).

Dobson (2001) suggests that critical realists see philosophical research paradigm issues intimately intertwined with methodological issues. Morais (2011) recommends that critical realist explorations in international business should involve methods where process thinking helps understand dynamic causal mechanisms, systematic theorising beyond just propositions and hypotheses, and critical evaluation of theories beyond

just observable data. The process adopted here is Sayer's (2000: 14) process of "identifying causal mechanisms and how they work, and discovering if they have been activated and under what conditions." The activation of causal mechanisms is determined using retroduction (see Morais, 2011; Sayer, 2000). In critical realism retroduction is the main mode of inference rather than induction or deduction and explanation is the key objective rather than prediction (Hesketh & Fleetwood, 2006). Retroduction is the logic of inference used by critical realists and may help break down disciplinary barriers in social science (Downward & Mearman, 2007). Retroduction involves understanding the mechanisms generating a phenomenon and, in the case of social phenomena, we consider concept-dependent actions, texts and institutions as well as structures generating irregular patterns of events (Easton, 2002; Sayer, 2010). This is a key distinction because causal explanation relies on people, groups of people, their environments and the relations between them which are seen to combine to cause events (Easton, 2002).

Based on the critical realist ontology and retroductive mode of inference, this thesis explains the social phenomenon of university internationalisation. The impact of multiple institutional logics is investigated in terms of how these logics and other forces of institutional change lead to organisational change within Australian public universities. As explained in the research framework, the organisational changes under investigation are the overall changes in orientations for universities and the changes to university international activities.

4.2.2 Critical realism and institutional theory

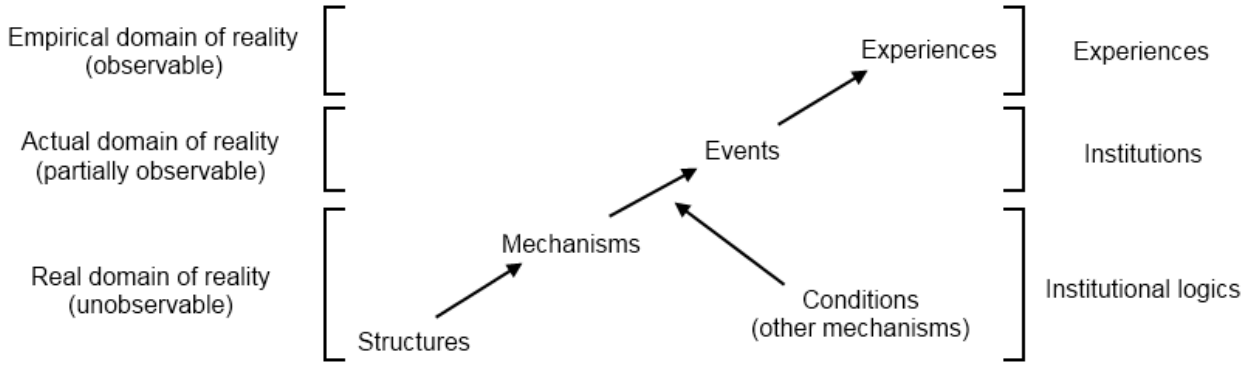
According to Deem, Hillyard and Reed (2007: 4), critical realism "accepts much of the

analysis that institutional/archetype theory advances." Whereas institutional theory operates at the theoretical level, critical realism is positioned at the meta-theoretical level (Hesketh & Fleetwood, 2006) and so is the institutional logics perspective (Thornton et al., 2012a). Wry (2009) notes that both critical realism and new institutional theory locate the behaviour of organisations within causally complex social contexts and provide a useful lens for understanding corporate practices (in his case, ethical business practices), the mechanisms which produce them and the outcomes they produce. There may be inherent difficulties identifying mechanisms such as rules, routines and institutions as they may be abstract and difficult or impossible to observe empirically (Burns & Scapens, 2000), but it may be possible to infer these causal mechanisms retroductively based on observable experiences and events (see Leca & Naccache, 2006).

The stratified ontology and dualism of agency and structure in critical realism is used to understand interrelationships of institutional structures on multiple levels of analysis while overcoming the paradox of embedded agency (see Fairclough, 2005; Hodgson, 2007; Mutch, Delbridge, & Ventresca, 2006; Wikgren, 2005). Embedded agency involves human agency which some institutionalists dismiss by arguing that institutional theory is unconcerned with individual behaviour (Battilana, 2006). The paradox can be resolved by seeing agency in the initial creation of institutions but once created, these institutions constrain agency (Battilana, 2006). Leca and Naccache (2006) suggest a stratified method for applying critical realism to institutional change. In their framework, institutional logics are conceptualised as unobservable in the real domain, institutions are partially observable in the actual domain and experiences of

organisations and individuals are in the observable empirical domain (Leca & Naccache, 2006). Figure 5 depicts the levels suggested by Leca and Naccache (2006) and annotates their framework with Sayer's (2000) conceptualisation of causation and Morais' (2011) explanation of common categories used by critical realists: the empirical, actual and real domains. Thus, to study institutional logics, we will make inferences retroductively from experiences and from accounts of events to understand possible institutional logics and their impact on internationalisation activities and manager experiences of these activities.

Figure 5: Critical realist stratified model of institutional analysis



Adapted from Leca and Naccache (2006), Morais (2011) and Sayer (2000)

Within critical realism, the 'morphogenetic approach' involves understanding logics (see Archer, 1995; Greener, 2005; Mutch, 2009). Logics in morphogenesis involve structural and cultural 'conditionings' influencing human actors which create 'emergent properties' and 'situational logics' directing interactions (Greener, 2005). These 'situational logics' are seen to give directional guidance to actors and predispose them to specific courses of action (see Archer, 2014; Herepath, 2014; Willmott, 2000). This may involve supplying good reasons for particular courses of action in the form of

premiums or penalties (Archer, 2014) leading individuals to reproduce or transform particular conventions and practices (Bhaskar, 2015). Like critical realism, the institutional logics perspective helps understand interactions between three levels by creating an integrated conceptual architecture (see Delbridge & Edwards, 2013; Friedland & Alford, 1991; Thornton & Ocasio, 2008; Thornton, Ocasio, & Lounsbury, 2012b). Delbridge and Edwards (2013) contend that courses of action can be explained at the individual and organisational level and these levels of analysis can be linked to societal forces, with all levels connected through critical realism positioning agency in the context of the 'real' domain where logics have causal powers and in the 'actual' domain where actors transpose institutional logics into scripts, rules and norms (see Leca & Naccache, 2006).

Boxenbaum and Battilana (2005: 358) argue that institutional logics may be very difficult or impossible to observe because "before they manifest in action, institutional logics are cognitive templates of a highly abstract nature." Bhaskar (2011) sees social phenomena as the product of a plurality of structures but still sees a hierarchy of explanatory value so he recommends a search for structures which play the most significant role in generating social phenomena. Thus this thesis seeks to identify the dominant institutional logics generating change to orientations, goals and programs in Australian universities. Even though the institutional logics perspective has been selected as the main theoretical lens, there is still a clear effort to follow Al-Amoudi and Willmott's (2011: 30) recommendation that retroduction be "subjected to empirical scrutiny and rational judgement vis-à-vis the claims of competing explanations."

4.3 Justification of methods

This thesis draws from qualitative methods through personal interviews due to ontological, epistemological and theoretical considerations related to institutional theory and the social phenomenon of university internationalisation. Yeung (1997) notes though that in some cases, quantitative and statistical methods are oblivious and qualitative methods like interactive interviews are needed to abstract causal mechanisms. To understand individual agents in their causal contexts, Sayer (2010) suggests that intensive critical realist research typically involves qualitative in-depth investigation of individual agents and their contexts through interactive interviews, ethnography and qualitative analysis (see also Welch, Piekkari, Plakoyiannaki, & Paavilainen-Mäntymäki, 2011). Interpretive qualitative research is seen by Sayer (2000, 2010) as useful to understand actors' reasoning and circumstances in specific contexts.

4.3.1 Qualitative approaches in international business

Several international business scholars have identified a growing need for and interest in qualitative research (see Awate, Larsen, & Mudambi, 2014; Doz, 2011; Jack & Westwood, 2006; Jonsson & Foss, 2011; Welch, Marschan-Piekkari, Penttinen, & Tahvanainen, 2002). Doz (2011) recommends that qualitative research is uniquely suited to explaining organisational processes and answering questions of 'how', 'who' and 'why' individual and collective organised action unfolds over time in particular contexts. Welch et al. (2002) note a growing recognition of the benefits of qualitative methods in international business and recommend further interviewing of elite managers involved in internationalisation. Jack and Westwood (2006) agree there is

significant potential to fully embed qualitative data collection methods in international business research but not without also embedding methodological decisions within ontological and epistemological orientations.

Key studies on the internationalisation process such as those of Johanson and Vahlne (1977) used qualitative research as the sole basis for theory building. Qualitative research has also informed theorising on the internationalisation process of service firms (see Blomstermo, Sharma, & Sallis, 2006; Sanchez-Peinado & Pla-Barber, 2006; Sharma, 1989). Qualitative methods may be particularly useful to international business due to its multi-cultural, multi-dimensional and dynamic nature (Birkinshaw, Brannen, & Tung, 2011). Qualitative data has helped international business scholars to explain how cultural contexts impact meaning (Polsa, 2013); to generate contextualised explanations of cause and effect (Haley & Boje, 2014); and to explore the rationale behind internationalisation decisions (Awate et al., 2014).

4.3.2 In-depth interviewing

In-depth interviewing is seen as a suitable method for critical realist probing into complex social phenomena (see Healy & Perry, 2000; Hughes, Bence, Grisoni, O'Regan, & Wornham, 2011). Similarly, Yeung (1995: 313) recommends that critical realists should use qualitative personal interviews to "probe deeply into the processes and mechanisms of international business." Qualitative analysis and interviews in critical realism can help understand individual agents in context to answer the question 'what produces change?' (Easton, 2010). Townley (2002) suggests that semi-structured interviews can help explain responses to institutional pressures involving competing rationalities and suggests that interviews should be with informants who are

most responsible for the introduction and implementation of change. Thus semi-structured interviews were conducted with senior managers involved in changes to international goals and programs. Consistent with Berry and Taylor (2014), Directors and Coordinators of international offices were the key focus. As well as Directors and Coordinators, the executives they report to in the chancellery were also interviewed. Just like the Berry and Taylor (2014: 589) study, “all interviewees were experienced professionals who were well-connected within international university networks, and some had worked at several different institutions.”

Qualitative research through personal interviews has proven useful for advancing institutional theory (see Aurini, 2006; Chow, 2004; Jones & Kriflik, 2006; Judge & Zeithaml, 1992; Smale, 2008) including within the institutional logics perspective (see Currie & Guah, 2007; Greenwood & Suddaby, 2006; Purdy & Gray, 2009; Shipilov et al., 2010; Thornton & Ocasio, 1999). Thornton and Ocasio (1999), for example, used interviews to explain the shift from one dominant institutional logic to a new dominant logic.

4.4 Unit of analysis and sampling

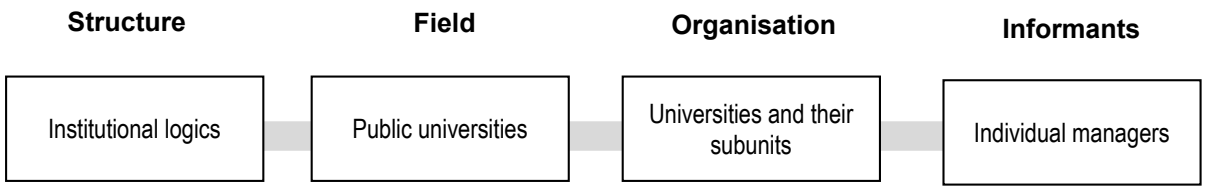
4.4.1 Organisational field

Using a retroductive methodology, this research aims to make inferences about invisible logics by understanding the visible events, observations and practices that are caused by those logics (see Houston, 2010; Wry, 2009). Following Lok (2010), this thesis focuses on the micro level of analysis but does not lose sight of the overall macro level institutional logics which are interpreted and reworked by individuals in their practices and identities. The unit of analysis selected is the entire organisational field

level of the university sector. The university sector in Australia is being investigated because it is regularly described as a higher education system being transformed by tensions between collegial academic traditions and managerial corporate approaches (see Marginson, 2002; Meek, 2002; Rizvi & Lingard, 2011).

Understanding this sector involves connecting the experiences of individual informants with higher levels of analysis as shown in the hierarchy depicted in Figure 6. From the individual level, inferences are made about the subunit level of international offices or offshore branches where internationalisation practices mostly take place, from the organisational level to understand overall strategic orientations, and from the organisational field level to understand how logics may be reproduced or translated across similar universities.

Figure 6: Levels of analysis



The organisational field involves populations of organisations participating in the same cultural and social sub-system (Scott, 2008a). The focus taken in this thesis is the same as Lepori et al. (2014: 3): “the higher education organizational field – the set of organizations in the domain of higher education, like producers, suppliers, regulatory agencies … [and within] the field, we focus on the community of higher education institutions”. This field level helps to explain understand how change is diffused to individuals and helps identify field-level norms which impact the orientations and

practices of individuals (see Davis, 2010). The study of multiple levels of analysis responds to Boxenbaum and Jonsson's (2008) call for more studies which explain how heterogeneous institutional forces influence individuals, organisations and institutional logics. However, real structures cannot be fully uncovered by actor accounts (Alvesson, 2009; Archer, 1998) so this thesis cannot fully explain the structural level.

Meyer and Rowan (1977: 361) recommend that institutional "research should compare similar organizations in different contexts" so organisations sharing a single organisational field were selected. Within higher education, Kyvik (2009) suggests there are multiple sectors of non-university higher education, vocational education and universities or colleges. As a result, the selection of organisational field was limited to that of Australian universities only. This category includes organisations varying in size and status but which share similar traits, principally that of being a 'public university' which is the most common form in the sector. Its three private universities – the University of Notre Dame Australia, Bond University and Torrens University Australia – were excluded from sampling and are likely to be at the extreme end of corporatisation (see Franke, 1991; Stone, 1990). Major studies such as Marginson and Considine (2000) also largely excluded private institutions from their analysis of institutional isomorphism and corporatisation.

4.4.2 Sampling procedures

Clark (2008) recommends that interviewing in a critical realist paradigm should involve purposive sampling with key groups until data saturation is reached. Vincent (2005) also recommends that critical realists use cross-sections to reflect a broad range of informants in order to assess the general relevance of a theoretical orientation. A

cross-section may be important because “just as one cannot observe the diffusion of an innovation at the individual level, one cannot see field-level norms without observing the entire field” (Davis, 2010: 304). Critical realist interviewing involves maximising valid and reliable information from informants and minimising distortions, biases, errors and misunderstandings (see Holstein & Gubrium, 2010; Järvensivu & Törnroos, 2010). Yeung (1997) recommends that critical realists should carefully theorise categories of the objects of investigation and draw a sample. Downward, Finch and Ramsay (2002) see positivist research as sampling under the assumption that characteristics of a population are well understood while critical realist sampling should be more theoretical. As such, theory was used to guide maximum variation sampling (see Miles, Huberman, & Saldaña, 2013; Patton, 2005) involving sequential selection of universities and then informant selection within those universities. Maximum variation sampling is a type of purposeful sampling which cuts across a great deal of participant variation and, as common patterns emerge across these variations, the core and central experiences of all respondents and shared impacts of contextual factors are identified (Patton, 2002). This focus on maximal variation in the universities represented helps “to incorporate as much diversity as possible into the research design” (Lye & Hamilton, 2000: 178).

Initial sampling was based on reaching a cross-section of the major strategic groupings in Australia. The three main strategic groupings of universities in Australia can assist with analysis even though these groupings are self-selected (see Goedegebuure, Coates, van der Lee, & Meek, 2009; Kiley, 2011; Li & Miller, 2013; Marsh, Smith, King, & Evans, 2012; Valadkhani & Worthington, 2006). This study aimed to include at least

one member from the Group of Eight (Go8), the Australian Technology Network (ATN) and the Innovative Research Universities (IRU) as well as a regional university and one or more universities not in a major strategic group.

As displayed in Table 16, Australian universities include eight universities in the Go8, seven in the IRU, five ATN universities (Group of Eight, 2012), six in the newly created Regional Universities Network (RUN) (Regional Universities Network, 2013) and the remaining fourteen universities are not in a major grouping. Those universities that do not belong to a major strategic grouping are labelled 'non-aligned' (NA). Though no RUN members were included in the sample, this strategic grouping is much newer and may be a weaker affiliation. Still, at least one university was selected from the informal group of universities that have an obvious regional location (see Goedegebuure et al., 2009).

Table 16: Case cross-section and sample

Grouping	Universities studied	Total population	Proportion sampled
Go8	4	8	50%
IRU	4	7	57%
ATN	1	5	20%
RUN	0	6	0%
NA	4	14	36%
Total	**13**	**40**	**33%**

The interviews involved three types of departments or units: international offices, offices focused on offshore or transnational delivery and executive units within chancelleries. At some universities, the designation of Pro Vice Chancellor (PVC) was used to designate branch managers and at others this role was similar to a Deputy Vice Chancellor International (DVC) role. Some roles in Table 17 have been modified slightly to avoid easy identification of the university. Due to the high profile of many

senior university executives and the public university staff directories, exact role titles are not described here as they may identify respondents who were assured of confidentiality. Table 17 shows the range of respondents interviewed with their role at the organisation listed.

Table 17: Roles of respondents

University	Role
ATN 1	ATN 1, Director ATN 1, Manager
Go8 1	Go8 1, Director Go8 1, Manager
Go8 2	Go8 2, DVC Go8 2, Manager
Go8 3	Go8 3, DVC Go8 3, PVC
Go8 4	Go8 4, DVC Go8 4, Manager
IRU 1	IRU 1, Branch Manager IRU 1, DVC IRU 1, Manager
IRU 2	IRU 2, Branch PVC IRU 2, Director IRU 2, Manager
IRU 3	IRU 3, Director IRU 3, DVC
IRU 4	IRU 4, DVC IRU 4, Manager
NA 1	NA 1, Branch Manager NA 1, Director NA 1, Manager
NA 2	NA 2, Director NA 2, DVC
NA 3	NA 3, Branch PVC NA 3, Director
NA 4	NA 4, Director NA 4, Manager

Respondents held positions in the central international offices or chancelleries of each university with titles such as ‘Deputy Vice Chancellor’, ‘Pro Vice Chancellor’ and ‘International Director’. In most cases, two respondents were interviewed at each university but a third respondent was sought in two cases: (1) a university where additional information was needed to fill the gaps in a respondent’s knowledge about an older internationalisation project; and (2) two universities where offshore branch managers held primary responsibility for a particular internationalisation strategy. At each university, a period of three hours was spent interviewing respondents face-to-face at their office except for one interview which was conducted by telephone. Faculty-level decision-making was not investigated as the case institutions had centralised much of their strategic planning, but faculty informants were considered useful in universities with predominately decentralised strategic planning mechanisms. This does not suggest that universities are now decentralised completely as performance management systems may still centralize control but strategic planning for internationalisation is mostly set in chancelleries.

A consistent set of interview questions was asked in the semi-structured interviews. The sequence of interviews involved an initial interview with a middle-level manager involved with the establishment or expansion of offshore education projects. Then, a second interview was conducted with a more senior manager at the International Director, Deputy Vice Chancellor or Pro Vice Chancellor level. Multiple interviewees within an organisation help with data triangulation by identifying contrasting views (Roseira, Brito, & Henneberg, 2010) and was used to check the validity of information about the organisation between informants (Glick, Huber, Miller, Doty, & Sutcliffe,

1990). These contacts were identified from the Universities Australia database, with most participants identified from the list of internationalisation committee members for this industry body of which all Australian universities are members. Multiple interviews at each case university helped to understand the impact of institutional forces on everyday operations from the manager along with a broad strategic perspective from the top levels of university management.

As the theoretical focus of this study relates to evidence of corporatisation compared with other institutional logics, the universities were ranked by approximate levels of corporatisation. These levels were determined using publicly available financial data on revenue sources, especially figures on financial dependency on government funding over the ten years from 2003 to 2013 (shown in Appendix C). Though reduction in public expenditure is only one indicator of corporatisation (see Christopher, 2014), greater reliance on market generated revenues is often seen as the key indicator of corporatisation (see de Zilwa, 2005; Gray, Guthrie, & Parker, 2002; Marginson & Considine, 2000; Parker, 2011). Organisations were selected from the top quarter, bottom quarter and middle half of the ranked list to help identify confirming or disconfirming cases, extreme or deviant cases and typical cases (see Miles et al., 2013). The deliberate hunt for negative instances (Miles et al., 2013) or variations which occur when organisations adapt to different conditions (see Lincoln & Guba, 1985) ended at a likely point of theoretical saturation when themes were regularly replicated or appeared redundant which occurred after twenty-nine interviews. Theoretical saturation was expected between fifteen and twenty-five interviews (see Kvale, 2008; Lamb, Sandberg, & Liesch, 2011) but to ensure greater variation in roles,

a third interview was conducted at three organisations.

4.5 Interviewing processes

Potential interviewees were contacted by email with a list of interview topics and a set of explanatory letters discussing the broad focus of the study. A consent form was also attached assuring the interviewees of data de-identification and confidentiality. One interviewer conducted all semi-structured in-depth interviews which took place in person at each informant's place of employment including branch campuses in Singapore and Dubai where multiple Australian universities operate branches or degree delivery partnerships. The interviews were recorded with two digital audio devices and the interviewer made notes of non-verbal cues that might impact the interpretation of the audio data. Interviewees were asked then to reconsent to the interview and were later sent copies of transcripts if they wished to check for inaccuracies.

Bastedo (2009: 213) recommends the setting of "standards for distinguishing situations in which logics were not in evidence from those in which logics were clearly operating … by focusing informants' attention on specific policies formulated during the period under study, and then asking broad questions about the integration of policies and probing the extent to which there was broad consensus". These logics were investigated by asking about motives for international programs, the external forces that impact these programs and the outcomes of the programs for the university and for stakeholders in the community. The semi-structured interviews involved a basic interview guide reproduced in Appendix B including questions around motives, institutional forces, modes of internationalisation and transitions or turning points in the

internationalisation process. As with Easton's (2010: 128) guidelines for critical realist studies, data was captured to explain "ongoing or past events asking at all times why they happened or are happening and taking into account the problems and issues associated with interpreting the empirical data back to the real entities and their actions."

The interview guide was tested and refined after four pilot interviews. Pilot interviews can be useful for refining the focus and clarity of interview questions as well as for identifying important emerging themes (see Hays, 1974; Mertova & Webster, 2009; Poulis, Poulis, & Plakoyiannaki, 2013). A pilot study can also help assess the feasibility of the research protocol and determine whether the data analysis techniques are well suited to answering the research question (van Teijlingen & Hundley, 2002). The pilot study helps to fine tune the interview guide (see Perry, 2000) and identify the relative salience and frequency of particular events and strategies (see Uzzi, 1997).

The pilot study occurred in June of 2012 with the four pilot interviews occurring across two universities. After the pilot, further questions and probes were added to the interview guide depending on the role of the interviewee and the scale of that university's international activities. Probes were focused on checking whether a particular response reflected a superficial change in appearances or a more substantive change in rationales and actual practices. To identify the importance of different institutional logics, respondents were also asked to rank the importance of different motives for internationalisation especially reputational impact, revenue generation and community benefit. Following Rubin and Rubin (2012), no attempt was made to lead the interview but follow up questions were asked on relevant issues.

The twenty-five interviews conducted after the four pilot interviews occurred through the second half of 2012 and first half of 2013. This involved travel to most Australian capital cities as well as Singapore and Dubai. Depending on the length of answers and whether there was a need to probe further, the interviews lasted an average of thirty-nine minutes not including 'small talk' at the beginning and end of each interview which was used to build trust. Trust building was further established by explaining past work experience in the international education sector and, in some cases, mention of shared contacts. This process helps to engage interviewees on a personal level to create an atmosphere of rapport and trust which helps interviewees share genuine and open responses (Welch & Piekkari, 2006).

Eisenhardt and Graebner (2007) warn that interviews are an efficient way to gather rich, empirical data but may be biased due to impression management efforts by respondents and retrospective sense-making. To partially overcome impression management responses, the advice on interviewing given by Alvesson (2003) was followed with interview interventions made to discourage standard jargon or institutionalised responses using questions such as 'can you explore that with other words?' To minimise retrospective biases, managers were asked about the most recent changes to international activities and the most likely causes of these changes.

4.5.1 Coding of transcripts

The twenty-nine transcripts were analysed in NVivo 10 (produced by QSR International). NVivo is qualitative data analysis software application useful for storing and coding data sources (see Kreiner, Hollensbe, & Sheep, 2006; Whiteman & Cooper, 2011) which aids systematic and consistent data analysis (Sinkovics, Penz, &

Ghauri, 2008; Tippmann, Scott, & Mangematin, 2012; Weitzman, Denzin, & Lincoln, 2000). Sinkovics, Penz and Ghauri (2008: 695) note that “analysis software such as N*Vivo offer appropriate features to cope with the international dimension of research” and also claim that “N*Vivo can in fact help to add rigour to the qualitative research process.” (Sinkovics, Penz, & Ghauri, 2008: 699). NVivo may also be suitable to critical realism because it helps compare and contrast a pluralism of perspectives to understand complex social phenomena (Hughes et al., 2011).

All data was coded by one researcher using themes in the data and applying Reay and Hinings’ (2009) approach of investigating institutional logics by focusing on the rationale managers give for particular actions. The main coding involved highlighting possible signs of institutional logics. Many statements could not neatly be categorised into one logic but careful attention was paid to whether mention was made of profit or revenue as the central aim or whether other aims were emphasised. The interview coding was then carefully cross-checked. The interview results were then tabulated and written up using Pratt’s (2009, 2008) structure of a single in-text ‘power quote’ which summarises central themes and tabulated ‘proof quotes’ to illustrate the coverage of the theme.

4.6 Generalisability

Burns and Scapens (2000) suggest that investigations of institutional pressures are difficult because rules, routines and institutions may not be completely identifiable given that they are often abstract, difficult or even impossible to observe empirically. Similarly, Boxenbaum and Battilana (2005: 358) argue that institutional logics may be very difficult or impossible to observe because “before they manifest in action,

institutional logics are cognitive templates of a highly abstract nature." A further limitation is the lack of generalisability although, consistent with critical realism, generalisation could still be pursued even if not in a purely factual sense but rather as general tendencies (Morais, 2011; Tsoukas, 1989). Mir and Watson (2001) suggest that critical realists should not try to generalise findings unless there is clear scope for replication across samples, populations and research methods. In this case, generalisation is also difficult given the different historical and cultural contexts of each national system of higher education.

There is also a danger of upper-echelon bias as interviews were conducted only with senior managers (see Hambrick & Mason, 1984; Park & Harris, 2014). These findings may also be specific to higher education although Burch (2007) acknowledges that public education has helped institutional theorists with useful case studies of institutionalising forces and similar themes may operate in other sectors especially those heavily influenced by governments. There may also be unique opportunities in highly institutional fields to understand institutional logics because there are stronger prevailing logics (see McGaughey, 2013) and thus the impact of such logics on internationalisation processes may be more clearly observable.

4.7 Chapter conclusion

The retroductive methodology helps explains events by hypothesising causal mechanisms (see Bhaskar, 2015; Mingers, 2004; Mingers, Mutch, & Willcocks, 2013) and is thus aligned to the research question which investigates how institutional change causes organisational change in Australian public universities. The research methods and procedures were selected to align with the ontological and

epistemological underpinnings of critical realism. Qualitative research and in-depth interviewing was justified by these underpinnings and conventions in qualitative international business were followed carefully. The potential for the interviewer to bias interviewees was acknowledged and limited through clear interview guides and use of practices designed to improve researcher reflexivity. Qualitative data from interviews with twenty-nine senior managers across thirteen Australian public universities was coded using the research framework presented in Chapter Two. Chapter Five will present the results of these interviews relevant to the research framework.

5 Results

5.1 Chapter introduction

This chapter presents the results of the twenty-nine interviews with senior university managers. These results help to explain the central research question 'How do external forces cause change to university internationalisation?' The results are presented to show change in coercive, imitative and normative pressures (Tempel & Walgenbach, 2007) and the internal responses they cause. This chapter also presents results related to the two subsidiary research questions: (1) 'What causes a change in orientation for internationalisation goals and programs?'; and (2) 'What causes a change in the degree of internationalisation?' The promise of confidentiality and careful de-identification of data was given to interview respondents to help establish the validity of the data (see Clair, Maclean, & Greenberg, 2002; Simon & Houghton, 2003; Woods & McNamara, 1980). Following Pratt (2009), these findings are presented using illustrative 'power quotes' included in-text as well as tabulated quotes that show the coverage of a particular theme across the twenty-nine interviews. The five central components of the conceptual framework are used.

5.2 External institutional change

This section highlights interview results related to DiMaggio and Powell's (1983) three pillars of new institutional theory: regulative; normative; and cultural-cognitive. These pillars are discussed in terms of the effects of the institutional rules on the actions of the university managers interviewed. Institutional change within these pillars is also discussed in terms of how they cause organisational change and university internationalisation.

5.2.1 Regulative

Regulatory forces were discussed by respondents in relation to both change in regulations and the everyday difficulties of being highly regulated. The regulatory compliance and auditing processes were discussed as an administrative 'burden':

> *"Australia is highly regulated and it imposes huge administrative burdens on institutions, particularly for Go8 2 because we've got offshore presence, so your scale of compliancy increases tremendously because you have got to make sure your campuses are up to scratch quality wise so it is restrictive. It is restrictive, it is necessary yet I think the degree of restriction does impose huge administrative burdens." (Go8 4, Manager)*

The regulatory burdens involved the government agency TEQSA monitoring and auditing each university's activities in Australia and offshore. This was of particular concern to those universities operating branch campuses:

> *"[For the branch there are] extra layers, extra hoops to jump through for every audit or accreditation visit here, there's 2 or 3 there. So it's massively audited, I'd say over audited, I used to say we may not be able to run programs anymore. Being audited is going to be our keeper." (NA 3, Director)*

Though these regulatory forces created clear costs for all universities involved in this study, there was some acknowledgement that the auditing process from TEQSA and its predecessor AUQA were still important for ensuring quality:

> *"I actually think that what AUQA probably did was flush a lot of issues out which probably wasn't necessarily a bad thing. So I think we're going to see a similar focus on what we're doing internationally and similar concerns to ensure that what we're doing is of a quality that they are comfortable with." (NA 2, Manager)*

Australian government approaches to student immigration also had both a constraining

and enabling impact. Regulatory changes to immigration policy improved the flow of international students into the universities but also created other administrative constraints:

> *"Every time they tweak the student visa requirements, that affects us. So it's – there's a policy side on what they've done around student visas and what they've done around the streamlining the visa processing is really, really welcomed ... Often the policy is the easy part it can be around the processes and procedures, advice that immigration give students, you know, the ease of which the student can get a visa, all of that kind of thing impacts on us as well because the student deals with us and then they have to go." (Go8 1, Manager)*

In some cases, regulatory change related to immigration presented an opportunity for universities to attract more students to Australia. This included changes to student visas and also to visas granted after graduation to work for a short period:

> *"in general, post-study work rights have been well received. Very well received. They're great. It's just I wish they get it right. And we've talked to them about this, everybody has." (IRU 4, Manager)*

In host countries where the universities operate branches or work with partners to deliver courses, local governments also placed legislative and regulatory constraints on operations. However, for universities such as NA 4, the initial market entry was actually facilitated by a foreign government's legislative change:

> *"[a Dean] at that time saw an opportunity there. There's a legislative change that enabled outside providers to come in and be approved in [host country]. And there weren't enough places in [discipline] within the universities in [host country]. (NA 4, Manager)*

For IRU 3, a host country government also created an opportunity by funding foreign

studies and by creating a gap in the local educational market by not supporting its own local universities to run nursing courses:

> *"that was in a response to the Norwegian government's desperate need for tertiary qualified nurses and its unwillingness to invest in local universities to meet that need." (IRU 3, Director)*

For IRU 2, the priorities of the host country government were seen to align closely with their vision for the campus. The education hub approach used in Singapore, the United Arab Emirates (UAE) and Malaysia aims to support market entry and also encourages branch campus expansion in order to bring international students to the hub:

> *"the vision of becoming an educational hub, is exactly in line with want we want to do, they're working to have expanded programs, we're working to have expanded programs, working to bring students from overseas so that education becomes an export product, we're also looking at that and doing that right now so the alignment is very good." (IRU 2, Branch PVC)*

It was only Go8 4 that acknowledged regulatory forces in Australia as major constraints to international strategies while also trying to impact the form of those forces. This represents some evidence for institutional entrepreneurship. Go8 4 entered a dialogue with the regulator to get them to change their standards to fit 'innovative' new models:

> *"TEQSA itself needs to understand how innovative models in internationalisation need some flex so it's one of those classic things, if you're at the bleeding edge, and the others, the organisations that monitor and assess you are trying to keep pace with that … actually we've had times where they've changed their decision. When they've said no to something and then said 'actually you're right, maybe we should change'." (Go8 4, DVC)*

For Go8 4, being 'at the bleeding edge' meant pushing regulatory boundaries. This included working to actually change the regulatory constraints placed on their international activities by encouraging the regulator, TEQSA, to change some of their requirements around international mobility of staff. As a new regulator though, this body may have been more flexible than well-established government agencies and TEQSA (2012) state that their new Risk Assessment Framework was informed by "sector consultation conducted in late 2013 and TEQSA's own experience of the first cycle of risk assessments."

Table 18 below highlights the regulatory forces of change categorised in terms of whether the regulatory change enabled or constrained each university investigated.

Table 18: Quotes illustrating regulatory forces

University	Constraining regulatory force	Enabling regulatory force
IRU 2	"keeping up to date with [regulatory change in offshore markets] and being able to be fleet-footed enough to be able to do those in a best practice way, can be challenging." (IRU 2, Director) "the requirement on us is that we provide a similar or equivalent- you can argue about the terminology- education experience to [home campus city]." (IRU 2, Branch PVC)	"the vision of becoming an educational hub, is exactly in line with want we want to do, they're working to have expanded programs, we're working to have expanded programs, working to bring students from overseas so that education becomes an export product, we're also looking at that and doing that right now so the alignment is very good." (IRU 2, Branch PVC)
IRU 1	"in 2010 the Council for Private Education was formed under the Private Education Act and that put a huge number of restrictions on these private providers like [us]" (IRU 1, Branch Manager) "AUQA were incredibly thorough in terms of their auditing of offshore operations, let me tell you." (IRU 1, DVC)	"I think governments are definitely supportive of activities in Australia but then that's because you're putting into the economy." (IRU 1, DVC)
Go8 3	"And there are some indirect consequences of government policies that's having an impact on us is generally the reduction in research funding." (Go8 3, PVC)	"there are policy settings at the moment, such as the streamlined visa process and the post-study work rights put Australia in a very strong position … there are a number of policy environments where government is being extremely supportive" (Go8 3, DVC)

Go8 2	"we have to spend more and more and more and more of our bottom dollars not on educating students, not on doing the best research, but complying with a really finicky compliance-based regulatory scheme." (Go8 2, DVC)	"the good news on TEQSA is I think this nuanced regulation that they're trying to do where they do a lighter review with those who've got a proven track record and a heavier review that haven't." (Go8 2, DVC)
IRU 3	"I think having it fall under TEQSA will apply more scrutiny to peoples' activities in the offshore programs." (IRU 3, DVC) "with the tax office in China with the Ministry of Education in China, every time there's a significant shift of personnel, there is a major need to identify who the new people are, talk to them, build up their understanding of the core collaboration and so on." (IRU 3, Director)	"that was in a response to the Norwegian government's desperate need for tertiary qualified nurses and it's unwillingness to invest in local universities to meet that need." (IRU 3, Director)
IRU 4	"we're really concerned about the idea that TEQSA might want to go and visit one of our partners in China and look at the qualifications and staff in a Chinese partner university and some of these universities are very good universities. This will not help our relationships at all." (IRU 4, DVC) "I think the problem is that we'll just get exhausted with rules." (IRU 4, Manager)	"in general, post-study work rights have been well received. Very well received." (IRU 4, DVC) "We used to have local state bodies that would give us approval for CRICOS codes and so on now it's done by TEQSA. It made little difference. It's better actually, it's faster." (IRU 4, DVC)
NA 2	"[TEQSA are] going to be looking at it from a number of, of perspectives including risk and risk management" (NA 2, Manager)	"I actually think that what AUQA probably did was flush a lot of issues out which probably wasn't necessarily a bad thing" (NA 2, Manager) "I think the government, the share of the government revenue has increased in fairness to the current government" (NA 2, DVC)
NA 4	"By the time we got it approved by the Minister, the market had completely changed." (NA 4, Manager)	"There's a legislative change that enabled outside providers to come in and be approved in [host country]." (NA 4, Manager)
Go8 4	"if you're at the bleeding edge, and the others, the organisations that monitor and assess you are trying to keep pace with that, some of the changes you want to make become complex" (Go8 4, Manager) "Australia is highly regulated and it imposes huge administrative burdens on institutions" (Go8 4, Manager)	"TEQSA keeps you honest and it keeps you straight, and it does monitor the fact that there are other institutions trying to play who aren't necessarily solid or as thorough or as quality focused." (Go8 4, DVC) "TEQSA itself needs to understand how innovative models in internationalisation need some flex … actually we've had times where they've changed their decision. When they've said no to something and then said 'actually you're right, maybe we should change'." (Go8 4, DVC)

Go8 1	"the student deals with us and then they have to go off and deal with immigration. And we kind of can't control that so much. And then they come back to us, so they're an integral part of the process but we don't control what they do." (Go8 1, Manager) "Every time they tweak the student visa requirements, that affects us." (Go8 1, Manager)	"what they've done around the streamlining the visa processing is really, really welcomed" (Go8 1, Manager) "Places like Singapore, they're very receptive to foreign universities coming in and teaching new programs." (Go8 1, Manager)
ATN 1	"in the absence of those strong Commonwealth government revenues or a decline in those revenues, then the question is where will you make up the gap in your, in your funding base? And inevitably, I think the right answer would be – some of that would be international student revenue, some of that should be research revenue, some of that should be corporate education, some of that should be philanthropy and the list goes on" (ATN 1, Manager)	"a very strong emphasis from the State government was about building collaborative alliances for research." (ATN 1, Manager)
NA 1	"with the TEQSA risk frameworks, we'll be particularly, particularly focused on making sure that we meet the requirements of the regulatory body." (NA 1, Manager) "In terms of pulling back in some locations that could be an industry sector change, a government priority change, that forces us some sort of change or technological change" (NA 1, Director)	"we welcome TEQSA, because I think, in the end, you've got to have standards, and what TEQSA's showing is like, what are your IT standards at the partner institution, are they appropriate to what you're doing here, is it equivalent or, you know, the learning outcomes, so, we see that as a positive" (NA 1, Director)
NA 3	"the regulatory and quality what, regime, I guess, makes them [offshore branches] very, very difficult to do well and do and put your hand on your heart and say that student is having the same quality experience that they might have if they were studying here."(NA 3, Branch PVC) "[our branch campus], it's massively audited, I'd say over audited, I used to say we may not be able to run programs anymore." (NA 3, Director)	"having the [foreign] state government as your partner is a good thing and a bad thing. It's good because they're stable, they want you to succeed, you're plugged into the sort of state economic agenda." (NA 3, Branch PVC)

5.2.2 Normative

The normative pillar involves the various expectations of what constitutes appropriate behaviour which is acceptable to the community or society and, thus, legitimate (see Child & Heavens, 2003; Roberts & Greenwood, 1997). Scott (2014) suggests that normative systems include values and norms and normative rules which can create prescriptive, evaluative, and obligatory dimensions. As such, the findings presented

here involve comments about prescriptions, evaluations and obligations related to the external sources of normative pressures from the main external stakeholders who define and diffuse norms: the media, strategic groups, accreditors and ranking bodies.

Regarding the media, one DVC at Go8 2 likened the intensity of media pressures to coercive regulatory forces:

> *"you have to be aware that you're complying and you're regulated by the media — you know, the kind of reputation stuff, and you're regulated by the relationships with the government and you need positive relationships to make it work." (Go8 2 DVC)*

Other stakeholders include accreditation bodies as normative forces which impact goals, programs and strategies. The common example was business schools which conformed to different international accreditation systems. This involved up to three different accreditation systems which impacted international strategies:

> *"[our three business school accreditations] it does direct to some degree how we engage internationally and who we engage with. Like if we engage with too many non-accredited business schools, we'd be in strife." (ATN 1, Director)*

But this same Director also noted that overall accreditors were more enabling than constraining of international strategies:

> *"[we must meet] the accreditation requirements of the three different agencies. More likely than not, that would require them to do it in partnership with another accredited business school in another country. And I don't think there'd be a problem, in fact it's, I see the accreditation requirements as being an enhancer for our international path than a detractor." (ATN 1, Director)*

For Go8 2, their main business school accreditation was seen as a constraint on their

offshore ambitions:

> *"our AACSB accreditation ... that puts severe restrictions on the abilities to be able to run offshore programs. The primary reason has to do with the lecturer in charge. It is the lecturer in charge [who] must be what's called 'academically qualified', an AQ, and most of the offshore teaching models are built around lots of different staff coming in and facilitating, especially using staff in whatever country you're delivering it in. And in a lot of those markets those staff won't be AQ and that can be problematic for us." (Go8 2, Manager)*

Other norms discussed by the managers included reference to the type of university and compared norms for private higher education providers with norms for public universities. For an IRU 3 manager however, this split was not as clear cut:

> *"all universities are really, you know, they're public in one sense but really not public in other senses. I think – I don't think, an equivalent of a private university – one sitting next door – probably would have pretty much the same constraints" (IRU 3, Director)*

Given the range of internationalisation strategies adopted by public universities an IRU 4 manager noted that the regulations and norms for public universities were not prohibitive:

> *"I can't think of anything we've thought about doing that we wouldn't be allowed to do. It's more that we've only got a certain amount of resources and that we have to invest in the things that we think will have the most value to us." (IRU 4, DVC)*

Likewise, an NA 4 manager when asked whether being a public university limits international strategies replied:

"I haven't seen it … Because I think we've seen Australian universities that have done some innovative things. – yeah, I don't think it limits it. Maybe it should a little bit but no – I don't think it does." (NA 4, Manager)

Rather than identify as a 'public university', several universities were members of a strategic grouping and this group was mentioned as a reference point and source of norms. Nine of the thirteen universities belong to a particular grouping including the Australian Technology Network (1), Group of Eight (4) and Innovative Research Universities (4). These strategic groups acted as reference groups and as sources of benchmarking data:

"we regularly benchmark against the Group of Eight and we see them as our benchmark partners" (Go8 1, Manager)

For IRU 2, collaboration involved sharing data and also other aspects of international marketing:

"we cooperate a lot [within the IRU] so there's a lot of synergy there … there's some IRU institutions that don't have offshore operations, there's some that have really diversified student populations, there's some that are more focused on Asia than Europe, there are some that are more focused on Europe than Asia … there's a lot of synergy there and there's a lot of synergy to work from. But we all have our differences as well." (IRU 2, Director)

For a Go8 1 Manager, being a member of the Group of Eight meant that particular internationalisation paths were less likely to be pursued as:

"like the other research intensive universities around the world, most Group of Eight see something fundamentally different about, about studying on a campus. So the translation of that experience offshore is difficult." (Go8 1, Manager)

Norms and standards were also described in terms of particular ideal types of universities. The ideal of the 'world class university' or 'the research university' was expressed. These ideals were not always as abstract as they seemed because they are sometimes codified in various global university rankings and the Excellence in Research for Australia (ERA) Initiative:

> *"when you talk about world-class … the measures are always, you know, the three world rankings, which I presume you're familiar with. The QS, Times and Shanghai Jiao Tong and they are all functions of research." (Go8 2, Manager)*
>
> *"under ERA all of the research is now ranked or not ranked and so if you are not ranked, it's not that you are not good but you are not world class" (NA 2, Manager)*

Others were more cynical of rankings and downplayed their role in determining international strategy. Instead they preferred other measures, for example, one that quantifies support services and satisfaction for international students:

> *"I'm cynical when it comes to ranking but it's one of these 'every child wins a prize' business … I do notice that there are questions about internationalisation in all of these ranking surveys, what I think is more important to us is, I'm sure you've heard of, the international student barometer?" (ATN 1, Manager)*

For IRU 1, the ideal of the 'big university' was seen as important for shaping student perceptions and an international presence was seen as a way to create that impression:

> *"the more campuses you have, there's that perception 'yes, it's a big university' for a, from a student's point of view. So it, whether there is validity to that*

perception or not is a different matter but then still from the student's perspective 'wow, that's a big university'." (IRU 1, Manager)

Student pressure to appear large was not the main concern of NA 1 but there were similar efforts to appear globalised and international:

"one of the reasons why we are in transnational as well, [is] because we have a vision to be a global provider of education. So a lot of universities have pulled back on transnational because of the risk factor but NA 1 has been innovative, in the sense that it has continued to push forward with transnational because it facilitates internationalisation of the curriculum, industry partnerships and provides a platform for mobility for students and we want to further enhance that in the future." (NA 1, Manager)

Thus the sources of external norms were varied and do not offer one clear model or source of normative legitimacy but did concern external appearances. The need to conform to particular outside organisations' expectations was clear and this included accreditors who dictate highly prescriptive rules about international programs. Table 19 below summarises the main enabling and constraining normative forces and attitudes towards managing external impressions.

Table 19: Quotes illustrating normative institutional forces

University	Constraining normative force	Enabling normative force
IRU 2	"I think we see transnational as inherently risky. And you haven't got a great deal of control over your reputation, over quality, and so they fear for the, you know, the kind of the image of IRU 2 overseas and feel that it's not actually doing our reputation – potentially not doing our reputation any good." (IRU 2, Manager) "I want them leaving with an education, not just a qualification. And so you move away from the image of the degree mill." (IRU 2, Manager)	"I think IRU 2 is seen as fairly active, in Australia I think IRU 2 is seen as fairly active in Asia, I think, rightly or wrongly I think that's how it's seen." (IRU 2, Manager) "The IRU institutions ... we cooperate a lot so there's a lot of synergy there" (IRU 2, Director)

IRU 1	"if the partner does come into some strife or there's reputation issues or, you know credibility issues, then you are kind of stamped with the same issues, you are tarred with the same, you know bad publicity." (IRU 1, Manager)	"if you have the more campuses you have, there's that perception 'yes, it's a big university' for a, from a student's point of view. So it, whether there is validity to that perception or not is a different matter but then still from the student's perspective 'wow, that's a big university'." (IRU 1, Manager)
Go8 3	"having a standalone [Go8 3] campus in a different country, I think our feeling at the moment is that is probably not consistent with the image, the positioning, and the brand of [Go8 3]" (Go8 3, PVC)	"there's a lot in common between the Group of Eight" (Go8 3, DVC) "it's clear that the Group of Eight universities have an awful lot more to gain internationally by working together and by – not in everything – but broadly speaking to collaborate because there's enough [students and funding] out there in the world." (Go8 3, PVC) "we define ourselves by the company that we keep." (Go8 3, PVC)
Go8 2	"your consciousness, you're awareness of how certain acts will be perceived in the public via the media should put some constraint on how you perform." (Go8 2, DVC) "you have to be aware that you're complying and you're regulated by the media – you know, the kind of reputation stuff, and you're regulated by the relationships with the government and you need positive relationships to make it work." (Go8 2, DVC) "[Our AACSB accredition] puts severe restrictions on the abilities to be able to run offshore programs." (Go8 2, Manager) "when you talk about world-class … the measures are always, you know, the three world rankings, which I presume you're familiar with. The QS, Times and Shanghai Jiao Tong and they are all functions of research." (Go8 2, Manager)	"The Go8 brand is very powerful – extremely powerful." (Go8 2, Manager) "Everyone claims to be world-class in their own way they want to define or measure that." (Go8 2, Manager)
IRU 3	"all universities are really, you know, they're public in one sense but really not public in other senses. I think – I don't think, an equivalent of a private university – one sitting next door – probably would have pretty much the same constraints that, you now, the private universities still trying doing things with quality they still trying to achieve the same sort of educational goals [but] they might be a bit more willing to take risks" (IRU 3, Director)	

IRU 4	"[AACSB will impact] our offshore partners. We'll have to work with that." (IRU 4, DVC)	"so there's lots of similarities [between IRU universities], a few differences, but there seem to be more in common than not." (IRU 4, Manager) "[As a public university] I can't think of anything we've thought about doing that we wouldn't be allowed to do." (IRU 4, DVC)
NA 2	"under ERA all of the research is now ranked or not ranked and so if you are not ranked, it's not that you are not good but you are not world class" (NA 2, Manager) "[there is] a perception in Australia that we're essentially just a university of undergraduate teachers and nurses." (NA 2, DVC)	"I think we're more nimble and that's not a criticism of the Group of Eight. The Group of Eight has got a greater reputation so they've got more to lose." (NA 2, DVC)
NA 4	"where our rankings are and things. It will mean we have certain levels in certain countries." (NA 4, Manager)	"NA 4 is different from the big Sandstone institutions, that just on their reputation alone get students walking through their door. We've always had to be flexible and innovative and different." (NA 4, Manager)
Go8 4	"[in] the Group of Eight you've got to maintain some quality standards, you've got to maintain significant quality standards" (Go8 4, Manager)	"our campus is acknowledged as one of the best universities in somebody else's country." (Go8 4, DVC)
Go8 1	"like the other research intensive universities around the world, most Group of Eight see something fundamentally different about, about studying on a campus." (Go8 1, Manager)	"we regularly benchmark against the Group of Eight and we see them as our benchmark partners" (Go8 1, Manager)
ATN 1	[our three business school accreditations] it does direct to some degree how we engage internationally and who we engage with. Like if we engage with too many non-accredited business schools, we'd be in strife. (ATN 1, Manager)	"I see the accreditation requirements as being an enhancer for our international path than a detractor." (ATN 1, Manager) "we work very happily in the ATN because they're a lot of good folk there and there's a lot of goodwill" (ATN 1, Manager) "I've noticed that universities come up with all sorts of creative ways to express what their ranking is in the most favourable light" (ATN 1, Manager)
NA 1	"one of the reasons why we are in transnational as well, [is] because we have a vision to be a global provider of education." (NA 1, Manager)	"when the ranking surveys come out to those institutions, they're aware that we're doing good research because we've had that transnational link" (NA 1, Manager)
NA 3	"I think the Australian public would imagine [offshore teaching] it's a money making endeavour. But it's not, even if some universities thought it might be, it's not." (NA 3, Director) "For accreditation it's both, for foreign branch campuses really jump to two masters. The professional organisations…both have to accredit engineering programs which not only means more work but sometimes they ask for different things" (NA 3, Director)	"the research engine of a university and the research engine helps you go up in the rankings and so we have to go offshore because that's where the scale is –the big PhD population" (NA 3, Director)

5.2.3 Cultural-cognitive mimetic forces

For Scott (2014), the key indicators of normative forces are certification and accreditation while the key indicators of cultural-cognitive mimetic forces are common beliefs, shared logics of action and isomorphism related to mimetic mechanisms. This section focuses on mimetic imitation as a mechanism of cultural-cognitive forces and also highlights cognitive frames of reference related to risk. The results involve interpretive processes (cognition) shaped by external cultural frameworks (Scott, 2014) expressed in the actual practices and attitudes of Managers rather than trying to identify the force itself. These frameworks help shape identity and create a sense of 'being in the same boat' (Dacin et al., 2002).

Mimetic and imitative behaviours were seen as a common practice but also as the opposite of differentiation. For the DVC at NA 2, differentiation was a question of having a unique mission:

> *"much of the sector is still guilty of not having a differentiated mission – if I was to be critical of the Group of Eight, the Group of Eight have a mission which is a self-fulfilling mission around sandstone tradition, long established quality." (NA 2, DVC)*

Similarly an NA 3 manager suggested that there is limited differentiation in strategic orientations as mission and vision do not vary greatly:

> *"when you look at a university visions and missions mostly be the same one, they don't differentiate very much … the more comprehensive you are the more you share all of your ideals and all your goals and all the statements and purpose with all the other universities" (NA 3, Director)*

For a Go8 4 Manager, international strategies were one possible source of

differentiation involving the forging of a unique set of alliances:

> *"building alliances with the best in the world … acts as an additional differentiator because the alliances that you are a part of can allow you to tackle bigger issues and sometimes those issues are quite complex and need complementary skills to be brought to the table right upfront." (Go8 4, DVC)*

In this sense, difference is valued but only when it is 'positive':

> *"In many ways through its differentiation that's a more justifiable space than simply saying we'll rank alongside our peer group. Because then people will say 'that's fabulous but what's different?' And it's a difference that sometimes helps. Positive difference I should say." (Go8 4, DVC)*

Despite this valuing of difference, this manager, who had experience in British universities, nevertheless saw the Australian higher education system as largely undifferentiated from other higher education systems:

> *"the Group of Eight is viewed as very high end, the other universities, the broader array of universities, I think that Australian system is excellent, and it needs to start differentiating itself in part to its own people" (Go8 4, DVC)*

Some university managers saw their university as innovative, quick, and as niche-course or niche-market focused. This innovativeness was expressed by an IRU 2 manager as enabled by the university's smaller size in terms of number of courses:

> *"one of IRU 2's both strengths but also one of its constraints is that it's a smaller institution, not as many courses registered, and the courses that are registered, are particularly of a very niche value which puts IRU 2 in a very unique point for student choice." (IRU 2, Director)*

> *"we're very quick to the innovation agenda and we can do that very well in terms of being small ... so I think yeah absolutely we do some fantastic things here.*

Again it's a big claim to say 'innovative full-stop' but we definitely do some things extremely well and better than a lot of other places." (IRU 2, Director)

For NA 3, it was not their size but that instead an innovative quality was seen to be deeply embedded in the organisation unlike more 'traditional' universities:

"for a university like us we're not traditional, we're not a Group of Eight, we're challenging the Group of Eights in terms of our research ranking but we're not a Group of Eight [and] we don't want to be. So being innovative and being nimble and agile is definitely part of our DNA." (NA 3, Director)

5.2.4 Cultural-cognitive framing of risk

Some respondents mentioned risk with regard to their own frames of risk and others mentioned organisational attitudes to risk. Some of these frames of risk are derived directly from government-defined risk frameworks:

"the TEQSA risk frameworks, we'll be particularly, particularly focused on making sure that we meet the requirements of the regulatory body. There are a number of risks, in that there's financial risk, there's reputation risk associated, there's the standard risk, making sure that your programs continue to match the same as what you deliver onshore as well" (NA 1, Manager)

IRU 3, NA 1, IRU 2, and Go8 4 also discussed the risk of innovation and the risk of being the first university to adopt a particular international strategy. NA 3 also pursued the 'innovative' label and framed this against the conservatism in the 'Sandstone Universities':

"innovation is the one that we would prefer to call it as. Yeah sure, for a university like us we're not traditional, we're not a Group of Eight" (NA 3, Branch PVC)

From two Group of Eight universities, this comparison holds at Go8 1 and to a lesser

extent Go8 2:

> *"How tolerant of risk? [Go8 1 is] not very risk tolerant at all. And that's a very cautious, conservative organisation … There's absolutely nothing wrong with being like that. [Go8 1] is not an early adopter. It is not operating in that space where we're the first to go out and do something." (Go8 1, Manager)*
>
> *"We have a culturally very conservative approach, particularly to stuff that's outside of [Go8 2]. And so we march very, very cautiously in that area. All of that being said, there's a couple of things, which if done in the right way, my – I could foresee something happening" (Go8 2, DVC)*

However, it was not just the managers at Group of Eight universities who identified conservative approaches to risk in their universities:

> *"[ATN 1] is considerably risk averse and it's a very conservative place in lots of ways, very conservative." (ATN 1, Manager)*

For another Group of Eight university, Go8 3, an acceptable level of risk-taking was labelled as 'creative' and also as 'innovative':

> *"you've got to think carefully about how you're going to view risk in that space, and say look, if I view risk as fundamentally a creative opportunity, I'm probably going to go about things quite differently and not view it as all the walls have closed down, all the windows have been barred, all the fun's gone away." (Go8 3, DVC)*
>
> *"you don't want to crush that spirit of innovation, you've got to figure out a way saying 'here are your legal obligations, but here's ways of translating that so you can still, you know, satisfy yourself that you are being innovative in that space." (Go8 3, DVC)*

IRU 3 also suggested that a small amount of risk in international programs is acceptable and there was an aim to find a balance between innovative risk-taking and

taking on levels of risk that are inappropriate for a public university:

> *"we try to avoid risk – very risky projects. But I wouldn't say we're risk averse, either." (IRU 3, DVC)*

Table 20 below outlines illustrative quotes related to these two types of cultural-cognitive forces.

Table 20: Quotes illustrating cultural-cognitive framing of risk and imitation

University	Risk framing	Imitation
IRU 2	"[We are working to improve quality because] we feel the way we currently do it is – I suppose is posed as an unacceptable risk potential risk to our reputation as a university." (IRU 2, Manager) "the new VC … instinctively I think sees transnational as inherently risky. And you haven't got a great deal of control over your reputation" (IRU 2, Manager)	"when you look at the Monash script that's out there at the moment, it's quite possible that Australian education will become 39 shades of beige." (IRU 2, Director)
IRU 1	"the only thing the university has is its reputation so it should guard it jealously [laughs] and not just embark on offshore operations for raising revenue because I think that, that is much too risky an environment in which to operate." (IRU 1, DVC) "the reputational risks associated with having multiple franchised operations, they're too risky from a quality assurance perspective." (IRU 1, Manager)	
Go8 3	"But we need to [increase Chinese student enrolment], we need to make that happen in a way which doesn't put either the educational experience of those students or of any other students at risk and doesn't put the University at risk from a financial perspective, simply because of the ebbs and flows of recruitment" (Go8 3, PVC) "you can view risk as something that prevents you from doing things, or you can actually view risk as something that says if you see a risk actually an opportunity, an idea might come out of that." (Go8 3, DVC) "I view risk as fundamentally a creative opportunity" (Go8 3, DVC)	"You could have an institutional culture that basically fundamentally says we can't try new things because we'll get burnt or it will do terrible things … you don't want to crush that spirit of innovation, you've got to figure out a way saying 'here are your legal obligations, but here's ways of translating that so you can still, you know, satisfy yourself that you are being innovative in that space." (Go8 3, DVC)

Go8 2	"We have a culturally very conservative approach, particularly to stuff that's outside of Go8 2." (Go8 2 DVC) "I would say the appetite of the academics and the senior administrator academics at the University is conservative and therefore limited." (Go8 2 DVC)	"the new VC is – does have some universities around the world which he wants to model us on." (Go8 2, Manager)
IRU 3	"[a branch campus] involves significant capital investment and universities tend not to want to do that." (IRU 3, Director) "we try to avoid risk – you know, very risky projects. But I wouldn't say we're risk averse, either." (IRU 3, DVC) "[Private providers] might be a bit more willing to take risks than we are as a public university. I don't think they would be substantially different." (IRU 3, Director)	"we've done some pretty kind of courageous and innovative things." (IRU 3, DVC) "we do take some calculated risks, so we actually have a fully developed process by which anyone who wants to develop a transnational project goes through it internally. And so you know, there's a lot of due diligence. There's a lot of business cases put forward. So it's not – it's not a – we try to avoid risk – you know, very risky projects. But I wouldn't say we're risk averse, either." (IRU 3, DVC)
IRU 4	"We're not going to invest capital offshore. It's just too risky for us" (IRU 4, DVC) "when it started [in the] late 60's [IRU 4] was the radical university in Melbourne.Very radical university in many ways, but over the years it has sort of become more conservative." (IRU 4, DVC)	"[our corporate partner] takes a lot of the risk." (IRU 4, DVC) "[a branch campus] would have to be with a partner who took most of the risk." (IRU 4, DVC)
NA 2	"most university administrations are fairly cautious and the expense of an offshore campus and the risk associated with it is something you really have to think long and hard about" (NA 2, Manager) "whatever we do we're going to do it fairly carefully um and, and, and strategically to ensure that it doesn't put the university at risk." (NA 2, Manager)	"much of the sector is still guilty of not having a differentiated mission" (NA 2, DVC)
NA 4	"Australia providers did a review and cleanout of TNE programs, including NA 4. I think that if anything, that's made us actually very conservative around TNE, around our branch campuses." (NA 4, Manager) [Why would the council dis-endorse a foreign branch?] "It would be just risk-aversion" (NA 4, Manager)	"I think because it just had the dynamic leadership at the time, [our university] was prepared to take a gamble" (NA 4, Manager) "[branch campuses] provide opportunities for students who don't want to or can't come to Australia, but also to mitigate your risk around where your students are based and perhaps the countries they're from." (NA 4, Manager) "NA 4 is different from the big Sandstone institutions, that just on their reputation alone get students walking through their door. We've always had to be flexible and innovative and different." (NA 4, Manager)
Go8 4	"[branch campuses] just puts too much pressure on resources." (Go8 4, Manager) "I'd rate [Go8 4] as innovative, it's trying to be innovative and I think adventurous" (Go8 4, Manager)	"Go8 4 is normally seen as being at the fore of having an innovative, sometimes brave approach to how it internationalises, we have way more international presence than others … we are on a more strategic footing that are potential game changing projects and they're

		predicated on international, not even necessarily using our own campuses and locations but actually just new ways of engaging internationally." (Go8 4, DVC) "building alliances with the best in the world even though you are moving up in the ranks rapidly which we are, it acts as an additional differentiator" (Go8 4, DVC)
Go8 1	"[this university is] not very risk tolerant at all." (Go8 1, Manager) "[Go8 1 is a] very cautious, conservative organisation" (Go8 1, Manager)	"Go8 1 is not an early adopter. It is not operating in that space where we're the first to go out and do something." (Go8 1, Manager)
ATN 1	"[this university] is considerably risk averse and it's a very conservative place in lots of ways, very conservative." (ATN 1, Manager) "ATN 1 is not really into transnational activity to any extent really worth talking about. It's extremely limited, it's just part of the, it's kind of the psyche of this place." (ATN 1, Manager) "Everything needs to be well reasoned, well thought through, well challenged, before it actually passes muster. That sometimes can drive you crazy but actually it's the thing that saves our bacon" (ATN 1, Manager)	
NA 1	"the TEQSA risk frameworks, we'll be particularly, particularly focused on making sure that we meet the requirements of the regulatory body. There are a number of risks, in that there's financial risk, there's reputation risk associated, you know, there's the standard risk, making sure that your programs continue to match the same as what you deliver onshore as well" (NA 1, Manager)	"Transnational is, is full of a lot of risk but NA 1 is a risk manager rather than being risk averse." (NA 1, Manager) "[NA 1 is] such an innovative university and very outward looking and the university manages risk rather than shuts down." (NA 1, Manager)
NA 3		"innovation is the one that we would prefer to call it as. Yeah sure, for a university like us we're not traditional, we're not a Group of Eight" (NA 3, Branch PVC) "when you look at a university visions and missions mostly be the same one, they don't differentiate very much … the more comprehensive you are the more you share all of your ideals and all your goals and all the statements and purpose with all the other universities" (NA 3, Director)

5.3 Internal responses

Though institutional logics may not be empirically observable (Burns & Scapens, 2000), this section aims to understand how observable experiences and events reflect

multiple possible causal mechanisms (see Leca & Naccache, 2006). Casual mechanisms are investigated for changes to new orientations for internationalisation and changes in the degree of internationalisation as per the research framework. As shown in the illustrative quotes, many of the informants described internationalisation activities in terms reflecting a strong orientation towards revenue generation, measuring costs and outcomes, and entering new markets to capitalise on opportunities.

5.3.1 Financial and revenue orientations

The need to deliver quality programs was regularly mentioned by the twenty-nine informants and was sometimes seen as a trade-off between the costs of delivering high quality programs and profitability:

> *"I mean the quality aspect that I don't think was as much a driver as the revenue." (IRU 2, Manager)*

Working in the opposite direction, Commonwealth government policy on research funding led some respondents to look towards various forms of revenue-raising including expansion of international student enrolments:

> *"in the absence of those strong Commonwealth government revenues or a decline in those revenues, then the question is where will you make up the gap in your funding base? …some of that would be international student revenue, some of that should be research revenue, some of that should be corporate education, some of that should be philanthropy" (ATN 1, Manager)*

In many cases, it was not actually a profit that universities were seeking but rather break-even status, a modest surplus, or 'royalties' to cover ongoing costs. This is more like revenue replacement or 'topping up surpluses' to remain viable:

"to be commercially viable is an important part of the university's thinking they don't want to be running ventures at a loss." (IRU 2, Director)

"So we're kind of open to what works in terms of viability. I mean obviously, a business case has to be made. It can't be just a loss leader or something like that." (IRU 3, DVC)

In the case of Go8 2, a market logic with profitability and revenue aims was much more explicit:

"the international [student revenue] from a financial perspective is – I can't emphasise how important it is." (Go8 2, Manager)

Other managers identified internationalisation as foremost a revenue-generating exercise but it also served other reputational aims and was seen to lead to improved outcomes for students:

"a program has to be profitable, otherwise if it's not profitable, that can impact on reputational, on reputation as well so, it's hard to rank those, but number one, has to be profitable, and then everything else can feed from that as well." (NA 1, Manager)

5.3.2 Orientations towards corporate practices

As well as mentions of revenue and profit-maximisation, other practices resembled those of corporations. These include discussions of the overall purpose for a university and specific practices related to monitoring and managing performance. Speaking to the purpose of universities, a DVC at IRU 4 acknowledged that non-corporate logics can exist in higher education but suggested that they should not:

"It's a nice humanitarian thing to do, but we're not charities, we're universities" (IRU 4, DVC)

For another manager, importing of practices from corporations into universities did not always make sense:

> *"for global commodity companies like McDonalds where there's a relatively small number of things that they have to control and a small number of things that can go wrong. I suppose it makes it relatively easier than an organisation like a university. I mean, how do you franchise a course?" (Go8 1, Manager)*

Practices related to measuring financial performance and effectiveness of staff through 'key performance indicators' (KPIs) were also discussed:

> *"KPI in terms of, there was return on investment and of course there was a gross margin on the operation. I think also we had KPIs around research performance of our branch campus staff and then there was less measurable but equally important was our brand, to grow our brand" (IRU 1, DVC)*

Likewise for IRU 2, there was an acknowledgement of profit-based KPIs albeit discussed in the past tense to suggest that strategic orientations have changed or merely as attempts for managers to distance themselves from the approach:

> *"grow load, grow revenue and that was the single KPI" (IRU 2, Manager)*

For ATN 1, performance management involved revenue and cultural diversity of students:

> *"there's so many aspects to internationalisation. On the one hand, there's the obvious thing of how successful are we with the number of international students we attract here. Whether they are fee-paying or exchange students, that's one. And by any measure we would have to say that we were successful in terms of numbers, diversity is a big one for us" (ATN 1, Manager)*

The number of international students was also used as one of several key

measurements of success by NA 1 for their offshore programs:

> *"in a transnational sense, we, we measure success by the strength of the partnership, we measure it by, we do measure it by student recruitment numbers but we also look at student outcomes, we also look at our profile and our reputation within the country" (NA 1, Manager)*

For programs with less of a profit-focus, such as at NA 2, measuring performance was much less of a concern:

> *"I think the intent of the program has been entirely altruistic, but I think it's one of those things, where these things, they flow out of it, you don't measure them, you don't count on them, but they do, those, those benefits do accrue." (NA 2, Manager)*

Not all offshore programs at NA2 were seen as altruistic though and a different manager at NA 2 noted that their international student recruitment was 'market-driven'. Like other managers who mentioned corporate orientations, this NA 2 manager discussed the market-driven characteristic using past tense to suggest that they have moved away from it:

> *"[we were] probably guilty, along with much of the sector that its growth came where it could get it, so it wasn't, you know, market-focused, it was market-driven." (NA 2, DVC)*

Other corporate-like practices included a strong emphasis on strategic planning and the creation of internationalisation plans which link to overall university plans. Change in these plans involved strategic reorientations and realignment of international goals and programs with overall strategic orientations:

"we're going to develop more meaningful relationships in order to help us achieve some of our broader university strategic goals that our outlined in our strategic plan" (Go8 3, PVC)

"the university's new strategic plan was finalised and announced about a half of dozen times, end of last year. One of the consequential documents will be the development of a new internationalisation plan derived from that." (IRU 4, Manager)

Table 21 highlights a selection of quotes from the interviews which mention financial or revenue objectives. As well as these financial objectives, related practices of managerialism and corporation-like approaches are tabled including performance management practices and the creation of strategic plans.

Table 21: Quotes illustrating financial rationales and corporate practices

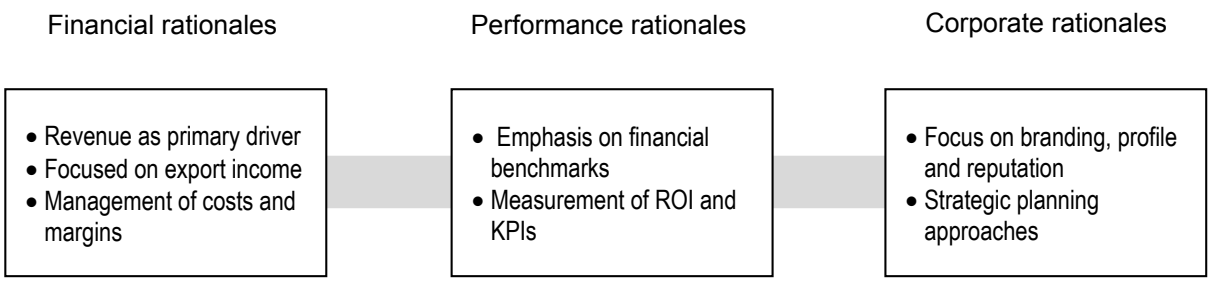
University	Financial and revenue focus	Evidence of corporate practices
IRU 2	"'I mean the quality aspect that I don't think was as much a driver as the revenue." (IRU 2, Manager)	"grow load, grow revenue and that was the single KPI." (IRU 2, Manager)
IRU 1	"You always hope that there will be balance such that, you are allowed to appoint good staff, you are allowed to pay good money as opposed to just being squeezed for a higher profit." (IRU 1, Branch Manager)	"whether an investment of that magnitude is justified in comparison to doing, investing in something else is something that needs to be looked at before a decision is made" (IRU 1, Manager) "KPI in terms of, there was return on investment and of course there was a gross margin on the operation. I think also we had KPIs around research performance of our branch campus staff and then there was less measurable but equally important was our brand, to grow our brand" (IRU 1, DVC)
Go8 3	"I don't think that there's any university in the country which won't be looking at cost saving and I don't think there will be any university which won't be looking at increasing revenue [and] the extent to which additional international recruitment [can be increased]" (Go8 3, PVC)	"we're going to develop more meaningful relationships with in order to help us achieve some of our broader university strategic goals that our outlined in our strategic plan" (Go8 3, PVC)

Go8 2	"the international from a financial perspective is – I can't emphasise how important it is." (Go8 2, DVC) "[to do international online delivery] really, really properly – to get into a TV studio and you know, professionally record whatever it is you need to say, then to have the platform set up so that you can have engagements with students, it's a lot of money. It's a bucket load of money." (Go8 2, Manager)	"there's a lot of relationship capital put into it [our offshore partnership]. I think most who would come new to it would argue that that capital investment – that relationship capital investment – hasn't been leveraged. So it's not like a lot of money has gone into it but a lot of senior executive time has gone into it" (Go8 2, DVC)
IRU 3	"[offshore courses] do have to reach some sort of financial benchmark, whether that's good profits or certainly cost recovery and, you know, benefits in terms of professional development or whatever." (IRU 3, Director)	"internationalisation is a strategy that is formally documented in the University." (IRU 3, DVC)
IRU 4	"We can leverage [offshore partnerships] those to bring students to Australia where we can really make money." (IRU 4, DVC)	"It's a nice humanitarian thing to do, but we're not charities, we're universities. I really don't have a clear picture of what [competitor] is trying to achieve." (IRU 4, DVC) "the university's new strategic plan was finalised and announced about a half of dozen times, end of last year. One of the consequential documents will be the development of a new internationalisation plan derived from that." (IRU 4, Manager)
NA 2	"international [activities in the past] was around a revenue perspective. I would say that I don't believe it was researched-focused and I still don't believe that it's research-focused." (NA 2, DVC)	"[we were] probably guilty, along with much of the sector that its growth came where it could get it, so it wasn't, you know, market-focused, it was market-driven." (NA 2, DVC) "I think the intent of the program has been entirely altruistic, but I think it's one of those things, where these things, they flow out of it, you don't measure them, you don't count on them, but they do, those, those benefits do accrue." (NA 2, Manager)
NA 4	"The pressures with TNE [offshore programs] are around finding profitable models." (NA 4, Manager)	"[the offshore branch] fits the description of a commercial activity of the university" (NA 4, Manager)
Go8 4	"[in the early 90s] international education was being hocked as an export services sector so with all that capacity, if you try to fill that capacity with international students which becomes a lucrative venture" (Go8 4, Manager) "to be commercially viable is an important part of the university's thinking they don't want to be running ventures at a loss." (Go8 4, Manager)	

Go8 1	"The fly-in, fly-out model [of offshore teaching] gives you much lower, you know, almost negligible in some cases – income and margins and but lower risk." (Go8 1, Manager)	"for global commodity companies like McDonalds where there's a relatively small number of things that they have to control and a small number of things that can go wrong. I suppose it makes it relatively easier than an organisation like a university. I mean, how do you franchise a course?" (Go8 1, Manager)
ATN 1	"there was a view here which is not really been, been tested that you know, universities, universities generally lose money by engaging in transnational activity. I don't support this point of view" (ATN 1, Manager)	"there's so many aspects to internationalisation. On the one hand, there's the obvious thing of how successful are we with the number of international students we attract here. Whether they are fee-paying or exchange students, that's one. And by any measure we would have to say that we were successful in terms of numbers, diversity is a big one for us, internationalisation and success, there's more than 100 nationalities here." (ATN 1, Manager)
NA 1	"a program has to be profitable, otherwise if it's not profitable, that can impact on reputational, on reputation" (NA 1, Manager)	"in a transnational sense, we, we measure success by the strength of the partnership, we measure it by, we do measure it by student recruitment numbers but we also look at student outcomes, we also look at our profile and our reputation within the country" (NA 1, Manager)
NA 3	"we wouldn't get into [comprehensive delivery in China] that because they're really hard to make money from, really hard to make money from unless you got scale." (NA 3, Branch PVC)	

Figure 7 summarises the main rationales reflected in the above quotes. These rationales are all related to corporate-like practices and show which practices are being imported from corporations.

Figure 7: Identified rationales of corporatisation



5.4 Change in orientation

5.4.1 Aversion to financial or revenue rationales

In some cases, organisations aimed to move away from the corporatist image for their international activities and saw a revenue focus as something to avoid (or at least to appear to avoid):

> *"We don't want to be seen as a rapacious money-grabbing institution that has no regard for the individual" (NA 2, Manager)*

Other informants expressed concern about commercial offshore partners which may suggest the sort of 'misalignment of incentives' observed by Bjerregaard (2010) when studying university partnerships with firms. Instead they focused on contributing to particular communities:

> *"when we think of internationalising we now think of who do we partner with, what are the graduate, postgraduate sort of issues as well as the undergraduate, how do we contribute in-country, less about taking things from country" (Go8 4, DVC)*

In one case where the offshore partner did not follow a commercial logic, there seemed to be much more alignment with the strategic orientation of this university:

> *"I'm looking forward to moving towards one partner … It would be difficult to manage with a commercial partner – a purely commercial, for-profit partner like [Partner 1]. [Partner 2 is] not for profit, they kind of understand what we're trying do." (IRU 2, Manager)*

5.4.2 Non-financial objectives

A further theme of poor financial performance of many offshore activities was regularly

repeated which suggests that non-revenue objectives were involved. The argument was that offshore activities led to such limited profits that other goals must be met in order to justify market entry:

> *"I think you'd want to be very careful of a kind of a gold rush mentality because in the long term I think you need objectives that go beyond income" (NA 3, Director)*
>
> *"at the end of the day it still has to be either a cost neutral exercise or there has to be some benefits." (Go8 1, Manager)*

For IRU 3, the existence of modes other than international student recruitment suggested that non-financial motives must be involved:

> *"I don't think offshore programs are lucrative. I mean they are profitable. You've got to be able to recover your costs and there's got to be some additional funds to make it worthwhile. But if you would just base, if you were just focusing on profitmaking, you would focus on undergraduate Chinese business students taught in Australia." (IRU 3, Director)*

As well as financial return, NA 1 measured success using a broader set of measures:

> *"I always say that success isn't limited to financial return or student recruitment numbers. Success should be measured broadly in regard to internationalisation strategies." (NA 1, Manager)*

Measures of success included reputational impact and, though revenue is one measure itself, too much focus on revenue-raising threatens reputational aims:

> *"the only thing the university has is its reputation so it should guard it jealously and not just embark on offshore operations for raising revenue" (IRU 1, DVC)*

5.4.3 Community and social benefit

One manager at NA 2 linked the need to serve communities to the university's offshore activities and its overarching mission:

> *"a lot of the transnational activities that we're involved in are really more about our community engagement activities so they are more mission-aligned in that sense and aligned to our contributory mission." (NA 2, Manager)*

This manager acknowledged though that the university still gained from these activities by improving their reputation. Even so, the stated intent of programs in developing countries was usually related to altruism:

> *"it's going to have a reputation impact with that community, it's going to have a reputational impact in the region … I think the intent of the program has been entirely altruistic" (NA 2, Manager)*

For a manager at Go8 4, it was not just their offshore activities which aimed to serve overseas communities but also their research linkages:

> *"we believe that it's with connection to the global community, that one actually gets to deliver the change in an impactful way." (Go8 4, DVC)*

Similarly for ATN 1, research collaborations were seen to benefit both local and global communities:

> *"we're not the sort of organisation to hold things to ourselves, in the research collaboration space we're more likely to be pushing it out because we actually don't see the value of research unless it benefits the community. So we don't do it to benefit ourselves, we do it to benefit our community whether that be defined as a domestic or an international community." (ATN 1, Manager)*

For NA 3, the 'community' involved academics in Australia and their interests were

seen as potentially at odds with commercial interests offshore:

> *"if a national education system mandates that you must teach a particular version of philosophy or history or whatever it might be, the university's academic community then has to take a, have a think about, is this appropriate for us to teach or not?" (NA 3, Branch PVC)*

For IRU 2, community logics had substantive elements as well as more superficial concerns related to the university's 'image':

> *"social responsibility, political responsibility, you know good political citizens, good regional citizens, that's more the kind of image that we're trying to project." (IRU 2, Manager)*

For NA 2, IRU 3 and IRU 1, the substantive elements involved building capacity for higher education in less developed countries:

> *"working closely with partners internationally and, you know, developing capacity with them – with their staff – and developing international kind of experience for their own staff." (IRU 3, DVC)*
>
> *"Is it that you want to build your reputation by capacity building in countries like Africa? Is it that you're catering to a grant that you got from the government to offer certain very specialised programs in places like Papua New Guinea?" (IRU 1, Manager)*

Also discussing Papua New Guinea partners, NA 2 suggested that partners could be formed with capacity building as the focus:

> *"from an aid perspective, from a capacity building [gives NA 2] the option to partner with an offshore institution, and I genuinely mean partner" (NA 2, DVC)*

An NA 1 manager suggests that the activities of their university and others operating offshore campuses are actively engaged in humanitarian efforts in a substantive

manner rather than 'lip service' but still tied to image outcomes:

> *"you look at Monash what's it doing with Oxfam in South Africa, you're looking at RMIT in Vietnam, Curtin and Monash in Malaysia, they're doing a lot of that community engagement and outreach, to varying extent of course, but it's, we see it not just as lip service, so really trying to develop something for the broader community there, and also ensuring that their students have positive outcomes and broader recognition and profile". (NA 1, Director)*

The approaches that do reflect rationales and practices that do not appear to be linked to corporatisation are shown in Table 22.

Table 22: Quotes illustrating community orientations

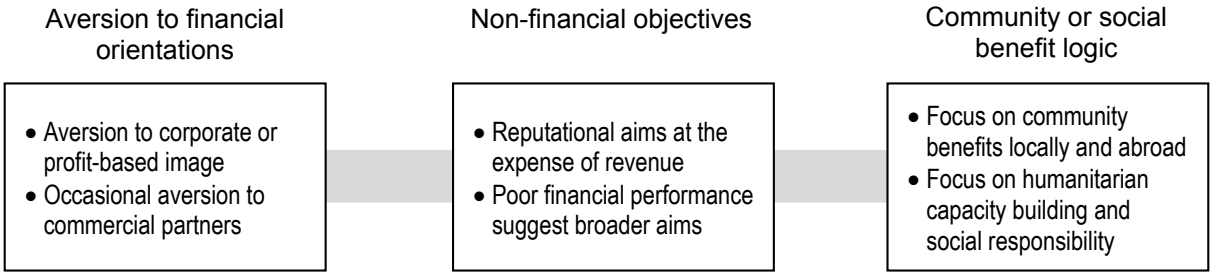
University	Non-financial approaches	Approaches benefiting communities
IRU 2	"[our partner is] not for profit, they kind of understand what we're trying do." (IRU 2, Manager) "social responsibility, political responsibility, you know good political citizens, good regional citizens, that's more the kind of image that we're trying to project." (IRU 2, Manager)	"we need to ensure that the conversation around internationalisation doesn't just revolve around recruitment, that it does revolve around partnership and we move towards win-win scenarios" (IRU 2, Director)
IRU 1		"every setup [offshore] is different … Is it that you want to build your reputation by capacity building in countries like Africa? Is it that you're catering to a grant that you got from the government to offer certain very specialised programs in places like Papua New Guinea?" (IRU 1, Manager)
Go8 3	"[internationalisation] it's not a transactional, I don't see it as a transactional concept, where a number of bodies going over the border is a reflection of what it is at all. It's not." (Go8 3, DVC)	"we have a very specific remit and responsibility written into our constitution." (Go8 3, PVC)
Go8 2	"From a research perspective if your universities aren't doing internationally relevant research, then you're not in the game. So it's very important. Last one, from a community's perspective, our alumni networks are global networks" (Go8 2, Manager)	"From a student learning perspective, I would say that we have better classrooms and better learning experience if we have diverse classrooms." (Go8 2, Manager)
IRU 3	"if you were just focusing on profitmaking, you would focus on undergraduate Chinese business students taught in Australia." (IRU 3, Director)	"some developing countries where we're doing it pro bono, for example, teaching and that sort of thing." (IRU 3, DVC)

IRU 4	"I guess people imagined we were being entrepreneurial and being business driven but not really, talk to people in what we call 'the real world' who work in industry where they're accountable to shareholders. We're not that entrepreneurial." (IRU 4, Manager)	
NA 2	"We don't want to be seen as a rapacious money-grabbing institution that has no regard for the individual" (NA 2, Manager) "if you look at particularly at our transnational activities you'll see there's not much in the way of money associated with what we do" (NA 2, Manager) "We won't do it [capacity building] at a loss; we won't do it to make money." (NA 2, DVC)	I think the intent of the [offshore] program has been entirely altruistic" (NA 2, Manager) "a lot of the transnational activities that we're involved in are really more about our community engagement activities so they are more mission-aligned in that sense and aligned to our contributory mission." (NA 2, Manager) "we're looking for institutions and organisations that do have some sense of alignment with our mission in the sense of contribution. You know humanitarianism and I guess our philosophy of, of er our well, the underlying philosophy of community engagement" (NA 2, Manager)
NA 4	"While the financial considerations are important, particularly from our Council who is always interested in that, there are all sorts of other academic and strategic roles, why we are there." (NA 4, Manager)	"I think we've been extraordinarily successful, we still don't have a huge presence there but the respect that we have earned in the local community, the willingness, local businesses and local councils, they see us as doers, they see us as being quite different from the local universities" (NA 4, Manager)
Go8 4	"with Malaysia, we do have some takes, we take some royalties to cover the costs of our academics visiting and the kind of things we do there, but the profit is reinvested into the university through research scholarships" (Go8 4, Manager)	"we believe that it's with connection to the global community, the one actually gets to deliver the change in an impactful way." (Go8 4, DVC) "when we think of internationalising we now think of who do we partner with, what are the graduate, postgraduate sort of issues as well as the undergraduate, how do we contribute in-country, less about taking things from country" (Go8 4, DVC)
Go8 1	"internationalisation of the curriculum, if you think about what that means, it's, it's around making sure that what you teach is relevant in a global context." (Go8 1, Manager)	"It's great having people come here. So the kids here on campus have exposure to different cultures, people from other countries." (Go8 1, Manager)
ATN 1	"I would certainly like to see us do more [offshore partnerships] over time but not all being financially driven but actually being driven to support holistic relationships internationally." (ATN 1, Manager)	"we actually don't see the value of research unless it benefits the community. So we don't do it to benefit ourselves, we do it to benefit our community whether that be defined as a domestic or an international community." (ATN 1, Manager)
NA 1	"those type of conglomerates [of some offshore partners] are very commercially oriented and again there is a tension" (NA 1, Director)	"[research offshore] it's about contributing to the country that you're participating in so we, we're very much focused on looking at the environment that we're operating in." (NA 1, Manager)

	"you look at Monash what's it doing with Oxfam in South Africa, you're looking at RMIT in Vietnam, Curtin and Monash in Malaysia, they're doing a lot of that community engagement and outreach, to varying extent of course, but it's, we see it not just as lip service, so really trying to develop something for the broader community there, and also ensuring that their students have positive outcomes and broader recognition and profile" (NA 1, Director)	"wherever we're running we want to hook on to that, some type of community engagement outreach for our students" (NA 1, Director) "we see it not just as lip service, so really trying to develop something for the broader community there, and also ensuring that their students have positive outcomes and broader recognition and profile" (NA 1, Director)
NA 3	"making money, profitability is one that, that in our view, is just not something that we want to, we want to chase." (NA 3, Branch PVC) "I think you'd want to be very careful of a kind of a gold rush mentality because in the long term I think you need objectives that go beyond income" (NA 3, Director) "a university needs comprehensive research capacities, infrastructure, deliver a whole range of amenities to students in a way that's a big black hole for money, not a maker of money." (NA 3, Director)	"if a national education system mandates that you must teach a particular version of philosophy or history or whatever it might be, the university's academic community then has to take a, have a think about, is this appropriate for us to teach or not?" (NA 3, Branch PVC)

Figure 8 summarises the rationales that do not clearly link to business-like practices. These contributory and community-focused rationales suggest a strategic orientation which counteracts corporatisation.

Figure 8: Identified rationales of community benefit



5.4.4 Hierarchy of objectives

To determine whether international goals and programs are predominately market-based or humanist, respondents were asked first to describe their objectives and motivations in their own words and then rank each of these in the order of perceived

importance. Respondents were also asked whether certain objectives were incompatible with other objectives. The objectives discussed included revenue generation and profits, prestige and reputation, and community benefits.

An example of the prioritisation of rankings and reputational objectives was given by the DVC at NA 2 who described reputation as the main goal:

> *"We won't do it [capacity building] at a loss; we won't do it to make money … [our offshore research capacity building is] not going to generate profit but it will cover costs. The key thing that it does, and I think the key thing with international education at a postgraduate and a high degree level that is underscored is reputation. It goes purely to reputation." (NA 2, DVC)*

For a NA 1 Manager, profit was seen as the dominant motive:

> *"number one, [the offshore program] has to be profitable, and then everything else can feed from that as well." (NA 1, Manager)*

Likewise for IRU 1, revenue generation was seen as the top of the hierarchy:

> *"I think the underlying reasons, in terms of hierarchy, are going to be money first of all and profit. And then, below that it'll be enhancing the reputation." (IRU 1, Branch Manager)*

For another manager, the income generation and community goals were seen as compatible rather than subordinating goals in a hierarchy:

> *"The main aim of IRU 3 University for recruiting international students is it's integral to our internationalisation strategy. So it's about generating income. It's about generating an international community on-campus. It's about internationalising the domestic students." (IRU 3, DVC)*

Similarly, at NA 2, revenue and humanitarian goals were seen as compatible.

Revenues could also come through a community-benefit focused offshore program:

> *"at least 10% in the next triennium of our international activity will come from in some form of international revenue but aid driven or capacity building." (NA 2, DVC)*

For Go8 2, when discussing the motives of university managers, 'doing the right thing' was about goodwill but also 'self-interest' as it involves building a reputation which protects future business interests:

> *"why do universities still do the right thing? One, I think universities do the right thing because they're not in it to make money" (Go8 2, DVC)*
>
> *"[universities are] not-for-profit. People are in it for doing the right thing. So one, people are not there trying to just rip people off, so there's generally a fair amount of goodwill that will make sure people will do the right thing. The other reason I think people do it is because it's in your self-interest. So it's a bit like game theory. If you go in and try to make a fast buck, you can make the fast buck on the first deal. But as soon as that reputation gets out, you're not going to make it on the second deal." (Go8 2, DVC)*

For Go8 3, NA 3 and IRU 3, revenue and benefitting the student community also sat hand-in-hand:

> *"we certainly have capacity to increase our international recruitment in many areas … [but it also] adds to the whole campus experience for everyone to have a good mix of international students." (Go8 3, PVC)*
>
> *"recruiting international students is it's integral to our internationalisation strategy. So it's about generating income. It's about generating an international community on-campus. It's about internationalising the domestic students" (IRU 3, DVC)*
>
> *"everything that benefits the university and makes it successful will weave back into its financial stability as well. So if we have good research going on overseas,*

we have people going there and we have people coming from there and we have good programs." (NA 3, Branch PVC)

5.5 Change in degree

For IRU 3, a consistent trajectory was expressed where the goal was to maintain consistent growth rather than rapid growth:

"we tend to have more stability and consistencies, steady growth of programs, rather than some of the fluctuations but also some of the major commercial successes of other universities." (IRU 3, Director)

For Go8 3, the existing trajectory was seen as already progressing towards further internationalisation even when institutional forces change:

"even despite the [government budget] cuts, that the university's DNA's still strongly committed to doing those things and we wouldn't walk away from that." (Go8 3, DVC)

ATN 1 also suggested that their focus was strong and unlikely to change as it was part of their DNA even if a new Vice Chancellor arrived:

"[ATN 1's] progress with internationalisation hasn't changed in terms of its focus. It's just probably a little bit more acute in terms of now having a document that spells it out." (ATN 1, Manager)

"As good a Vice Chancellor [as ours] is. There is a DNA in this place which is actually, that he is a product of as much as a, as a Director of." (ATN 1, Manager)

For Go8 4, new programs and 'innovative' international strategies were seen as a consistent feature of their growth trajectory:

"Go8 4 is normally seen as being at the fore of having an innovative, sometimes brave approach to how it internationalises … we have projects in the pipeline, particularly now that we are on a more strategic footing that are potential game changing projects and they're predicated on international, not even necessarily using our own campuses and locations but actually just new ways of engaging internationally." (Go8 4, DVC)

NA 2 described their trajectory as a J-curve with their position just at the start of that curve:

"I think there's a growth phase I think you certainly, it's like a J-curve, you certainly see things take off but they do reach the top of the curve, and then I they do and then they do to a certain extent plateau and then they fluctuate I think from there" (NA 2, Manager)

For NA 4, this growth plateau for one of their offshore operations was seen as due to regulatory constraints:

"We'd like to expand there but we'll only do that in a sustainable way and finding ways to do that within the regulatory environment is an interesting challenge." (NA 4, Manager)

As well as a change in the motives and rationalities for internationalisation, some universities highlighted a forthcoming change in their foreign operation mode. For NA 3, this mode change involved refocusing on domestic activities and international partnerships:

"we've got to have research investment here. Or we have got to have partnerships that give us additional sources of funding to invest in research. Opening a campus in Zanzibar or Dubai or something like that just doesn't rate that highly on our agenda." (NA 3, Branch PVC)

Like NA 3, NA 4 runs branch campuses and expressed an interest in keeping the

branch but adding new modes and activities to existing branches rather than open new branches:

> *"[we are] perhaps moving away from trying to get programs on the ground approved, more so using our presence on the ground and maintaining our programs but using it as a footprint to try and broaden our distance education opportunities. So a bit of a switch in emphasis I'd say." (NA 4, Manager)*

For NA 1 though, branches were not out of the question but partners were preferred, if good partners could be found:

> *"we haven't chosen to go into a branch campus model in Singapore, or in Malaysia, because we've found good partners to operate in so that provide the infrastructure so we haven't, we haven't gone down that path but having said that we have signed an MoU to explore a branch campus" (NA 1, Manager).*

Grounds to discontinue offshore programs for NA 2 include quality assurance risks, failure to reach a financial benchmark or a change in senior leadership:

> *"One of the risks comes through quality assurance … I suppose the other reason why some of these programs might not continue is they do have to reach some sort of financial benchmark, whether that's good profits or certainly cost recovery and benefits in terms of professional development or whatever."(NA 2, Manager)*

For NA3, market withdrawal was instead based on a change in the level of risk as their relationship with a foreign partner changed:

> *"[a partnership in China] started to deteriorate, so that was – we couldn't continue like that. There were too many risks involved in that." (IRU 3, Director)*

However, another manager suggests a more dramatic turning point in strategy through a preference for different foreign operation modes:

"what Go8 4 seems to be doing is looking at a new ways of doing something without having to invest huge amounts." (Go8 4, Manager)

For NA 1, divestment in foreign markets might occur for several different reasons:

"In terms of pulling back in some locations that could be an industry sector change, a government priority change, that forces us some sort of change or technological change that doesn't require multimedia development anymore" (NA 1, Director)

For a Go8 4 Manager, the trend towards lower investment modes was seen as part of a broader industry trajectory. It was also clearly part of their strategy as they divested one of their branch campuses:

"I think the international education landscape has evolved from the twinning in the 1980s and 90s to the branch campus and now to different partnership models and I think Go8 4's experience seems to capture those different aspects of its development, from the physical presence to joint venture around a particular research academy to a strategic alliance that seems to be an interesting trajectory that's happening." (Go8 4, Manager)

For NA 3, the focus away from branches to partnerships was also apparent:

"research partnerships and research projects and the like and build our reach and build the network through which our students can benefit, directly or indirectly, without necessarily creating another NA 3 in another country. And there is a belief I think in the university at the moment that that's the most logical way forward and the path of the least resistance."(NA 3, Director)

For NA 1, there was a suggestion that resources could not stretch to further international operations:

"intrinsically there is a handbrake in saying, 'no this is too hard, we can't do it', you know, and it's all about allocation, where are you going to put those

resources and what are the benefits back? So again, from our point of view, the, our growth trajectory in what we can do in TNE is limited. Regardless of the models, it's still limited to the capacity of each of our faculties or divisions or schools in terms of what we can do." (NA 1, Director)

For IRU 1, adding research activities to offshore branches was seen as the next stage whereas in the past:

"The university's viewpoint was to make money and I don't think they really thought anything about research-active." (IRU 1, Branch Manager)

For Go8 2, the prospect of 'cutting back' in their offshore partnership campus loomed but they first aimed to 'ramp up' enrolments:

"we've probably over-invested in mental time and energy. So we either need to cut back on the mental time and energy or we need to ramp it up. We're trying to make a good go of ramping it up. If that were to fail, then the logical thing would be you cut back on mental time and energy. We're still in the phase of trying to make it ramp up." (Go8 2, DVC)

As a different end goal, the progression towards research-intensity is one possible alternate trajectory. Offshore branches are not always research-active and the NA 1 manager suggested that their offshore campus may need to progress towards being research intensive to increase benefits their host country:

"we've just presented, we completed a paper on community partnerships as well which we hope to take forward in the future, so, so research intensity in transnational is a natural progression, as you begin, the partnership evolves and it becomes more mature as well depending on the country requirements." (NA 1, Manager)

With regard to intended future orientations, there was an emphasis on aligning all goals

and programs in a 'holistic' way:

> *"we can become more holistically international through those other aspects, such as student mobility and curriculum and actually a good student experience." (NA 4, Manager)*

Other informants suggested that the financially driven nature of internationalisation activities was becoming a thing of the past and intended to pursue activities serving host country needs:

> *"I would certainly like to see us do more of those [offshore partnerships] over time but not all being financially driven but actually being driven to support holistic relationships internationally." (ATN 1, Manager)*
>
> *"[NA 2's] international and this will sound slightly critical it was around a revenue perspective. I would say that I don't believe it was researched-focused and I still don't believe that it's research-focused … it wasn't, you know, market-focused, it was market-driven." (NA 2, DVC)*

In some cases, turning points are seen as not the result of institutional change but instead a change in senior executives:

> *"a new Vice Chancellor can always say, 'no, this is not the kind of university we want to be'." (IRU 3, Director)*
>
> *"University Vice Chancellors, Rectors, Presidents whatever and Pro Vice Chancellors and Provosts et cetera they cycle through, you know they don't stay forever and so a new one comes along and the vision changes" (NA 2, Manager)*

However, IRU 2 acknowledged that, while a new Vice Chancellor is often the internal impetus for change, an external impetus is still critical:

> *"We have very specific aims now in relation to transnational. There've been quite a few kind of – the impetus for that's come from a number of sources. Some of*

it's internal, some of it's external. The internal impetus has come from the arrival of the new VC ... Externally in Singapore, particularly the government is also concerned about overseas universities in partnership with private institutions in Singapore." (IRU 2, Manager)

As well as host country regulatory change, the new home country regulator was seen a trigger for a new objective of giving offshore and onshore students 'equivalent' experiences which may require a mode change:

"TEQSA is another very significant component, reason for the change, we have to demonstrate equivalence of experience for students, equivalence of standards and when you haven't got control over those or you've got limited control, there's risk." (IRU 2, Manager)

For the IRU 2 Director, a shift in rationalities was seen as occurring across the sector. Sector wide change in strategic orientations was described as a 'change of narrative':

"there's no doubt we need to be competitive but that competitive nature needs to be based on solid foundation stones and what I've seen over the last little bit has been a real change of narrative around what an international student means to Australia" (IRU 2, Director)

These shifts were also seen by IRU 2 as leading to a shift in modes away from 'franchising':

"And generally, I mean internationally, the franchise model which we adopt is increasingly considered to be pretty crappy … It's not the way we want to do business. It was before, I think it suited [IRU 2] before to just grow load, grow revenue" (IRU 2, Manager)

When considering withdrawal from higher commitment modes, NA 2, Go8 1 and NA 3 each signalled a reinvestment from international to local expenses:

"our focus and this will be for the next generation really will be with consolidation here, our transnational activities will be with partners" (NA 2, Manager)

"I don't see them [our faculties] wanting to divert resources that would be for our students onshore, away from those students to students or program that's offshore … But at the end of the day, if you've got a finite number of resources, your priority will be students onshore and students offshore." (Go8 1, Manager)

5.5.1 'Comprehensive' and 'holistic' internationalisation trajectories

A change in Vice Chancellors may also bring a different model such as that of 'holistic internationalisation':

"I think our new Vice Chancellor will be looking for – will be very supportive of holistic internationalisation which is a good thing." (NA 4, Manager)

Achieving a holistic focus seemed to be easier for those universities that did not have a strong legacy of highly profit-focused programs:

"we're in a luxurious position, where the load focus and the revenue hasn't been as strong, that we can become more holistically international through those other aspects, such as student mobility and curriculum and actually a good student experience." (NA 4, Manager)

This also suggests that holistic internationalisation cannot exist in conjunction with financially driven projects. This was further supported by ATN 1

"I would certainly like to see us do more of those over time but not all being financially driven but actually being driven to support holistic relationships internationally." (ATN 1, Manager)

A change in the nature of internationalisation also involved moves to make partnerships more holistic by being aligned with broader aims at ATN 1 and Go8 4:

"We are looking increasingly to broaden and make more comprehensive those relationships. And in an ideal world, many of those – not all – but many of those would have a research connection as well." (ATN 1, Manager)

"[Our office] is starting to shift from not just being administrative but more strategy" (Go8 4, Manager)

The corporation-like practice of strategic planning also suggested a turning point to make internationalisation the main focus at IRU 2 and NA 4.

"Senate is in the process of endorsing our new strategic plan which centres around internationalisation" (IRU 2, Director)

"one of the key pillars of our new strategic plan is further internationalisation." (NA 4, Manager)

For NA 1, the holistic approaches were seen as those that focus on partnerships as part of broader trends reflected in who the sector is hiring:

"you can already see a shift when you look at different international strategies of different universities, when you look at the recruitment and the sort of people that they're now recruiting, you see a lot of interest in recruiting people to manage partnerships and pathway so it's definitely the way of the future." (NA 1, Manager)

For IRU 2, the new approach was not centred on growth but rather consolidation. When asked about the future, the IRU 2 manager noted that:

"it's not about growth in student numbers it's far from it. I'd be rather pleased if we had the same number in 5/10 years of students but I would want those students to have, probably with a smaller number of partners or a better, similar number of partners but more equitable, dispersed." (IRU 2, Manager)

For Go8 4 and IRU 2, internationalisation was seen to be taking on a much more

strategic and research focus and less focus on international student recruitment:

> *"But if it's the business of just getting into it of using your agents to bring in students, we've actually decoupled that. It's still meshed in, decoupled is actually the wrong word, it's still very close to us … [but] we're freed up to think of the big strategic issues facing the world in research and education." (Go8 4, DVC)*

> *"we need to be very cognisant of who our audiences are and we need to ensure that the conversation around internationalisation doesn't just revolve around recruitment, that it does revolve around partnership and we move towards win-win scenarios" (IRU 2, Director)*

Figure 9 below summarises the three new approaches that try to bring about a greater 'depth' in international goals and programs. This 'depth' is seen as the alternative to 'width' which increases the scale and scope of international operations.

Figure 9: Deeper forms of university internationalisation

Table 23 lists the quotes from interviews which suggest turning points in the internationalisation of the universities.

Table 23: Quotes illustrating turning points in internationalisation

University	Turning point in modes	Turning point in orientations
IRU 2	"we need to be very cognisant of who our audiences are and we need to ensure that the conversation around internationalisation doesn't just revolve around recruitment, that it does revolve around partnership and we move towards win-win scenarios" (IRU 2, Director)	"I think we're probably more interested in working with our own, within our own time zone, within our own region. Number of students, about the same. Number of partners, probably the same. Quality of offering, much enhanced." (IRU 2, Manager) "if the procedural problems are a symptom of a cultural mismatch or non-alignment between our aspirations academically and the partner's aspirations, that's a reason to consider pulling out. And we have that situation in at least one, with at least one of our partners." (IRU 2, Manager)
IRU 1		"Student recruitment shouldn't be leading our internationalisation. Our broader internationalisation leads our, leads international student recruitment." (IRU 1, DVC)
Go8 3	"I personally don't know have a number in my mind which is the percentage beyond which you have too many international students." (Go8 3, PVC) "we have a lot of capacity to grow our international enrolments in most of our programs without it becoming – I mean, we're clearly not – we're not going to compromise quality" (Go8 3, PVC)	
Go8 2		"[for our offshore campus] we either need to cut back on the mental time and energy or we need to ramp it up. We're trying to make a good go of ramping it up. If that were to fail, then the logical thing would be you cut back on mental time and energy. We're still in the phase of trying to make it ramp up." (Go8 2, DVC)
IRU 3		"we were starting to get very worried about the quality assurance processes of our partner, which was a university and we felt that it was starting to cut corners. So regrettably, we had to end that program." (IRU 3, DVC)
IRU 4	"We currently have about 20% international students and we'd like to grow to about 25%. We don't want to go beyond that. And we need to get that spread across faculties. We don't want all 25% in one faculty." (IRU 4, DVC)	
NA 2	"there's a desire to grow what is almost a non-existent level of international postgraduate" (NA 2, DVC)	"our focus and this will be for the next generation really will be with consolidation here, our transnational activities will be with partners" (NA 2, Manager)
NA 4		"we'll probably distill it down to, you know, fewer areas of focus that we still capture those things." (NA 4, Manager)

Go8 4		"I was asked to actually put it on a more strategic footing … we're freed up to think of the big strategic issues facing the world in research and education." (Go8 4, DVC)
Go8 1		"I mean, this, this university is starting to pull back a bit from the idea of transnational." (Go8 1, Manager) "I don't see [our faculties] them wanting to divert resources that would be for our students onshore, away from those students to students or program that's offshore … But at the end of the day, if you've got a finite number of resources, your priority will be students onshore and students offshore." (Go8 1, Manager)
ATN 1	"We are looking increasingly to broaden and make more comprehensive those relationships [with foreign universities] and in an ideal world, many of those – not all – but many of those would have a research connection as well." (ATN 1, Manager)	
NA 1	"The challenge for institutions is to recognise when, what an exit strategy might be.And when you should implement that, or whether you are there to stay and actually develop further then add more products, or adding research or value add to what you're doing already." (NA 1, Manager) "we're looking for opportunities for our own students to have an experience overseas, we're looking for opportunities for research collaboration, for industry development, that's the whole, that scope of internationalisation that we're looking at." (NA 1, Manager)	"In terms of pulling back in some locations that could be an industry sector change, a government priority change, that forces us some sort of change or you know, you know technological change" (NA 1, Director)
NA 3	"there could be a point where any university says 'ok, we've been here for 10-15 years, there isn't enough business or social or political case to be here for another 15 and we have to start the process of withdrawing' and there are many ways for that to happen. But that would need a lot of careful managing because it would register as failure and business failure in the minds of the populations and the country where the university was" (NA 3, Director) "we are going a hell of a lot further in terms of relationships with very good quality universities where we can do these double degree arrangements we can do partnered PhD arrangements, we can have research collaborations and so on." (NA 3, Branch PVC)	"If we want to be Australia's leading university in [broad discipline], we've got to have research investment here. Or we have got to have partnerships that give us additional sources of funding to invest in research. Opening a campus in Zanzibar or Dubai or something like that just doesn't rate that highly on our agenda." (NA 3, Branch PVC)

5.6 Chapter conclusion

This chapter has presented quotes from twenty-nine semi-structured interviews to investigate the institutional forces causing change to university internationalisation activities. The results of these interviews show institutional change including regulatory, normative and cultural-cognitive changes. The interview data has been organised using these pillars of institutional theory and then also in terms of how the responses might reflect different institutional logics. The justifications for international activities and the orientations of managers suggest elements of both corporate and community benefit strategic orientations. These two broad sets of logics were discussed by the interviewees either in a hierarchy of importance or were drawn on in combination. The interaction of these logics was linked to changes in internationalisation activities in terms of the modes of operation used and the strategic orientation for international goals and programs more broadly. Some universities appear to be progressing along a consistent trajectory whereas others have signalled a change or 'turning point'. The causes of these turning points have been regulatory, normative, and cultural cognitive as well as some change due to internal factors such as change in Vice Chancellor.

6 Discussion

6.1 Chapter introduction

This chapter compares the results presented in Chapter Five with the overview of the literature presented in Chapters Two and Three. The institutional logics perspective is used as a basis to discuss the interview data and this chapter compares findings with other empirical studies and theories in higher education and international business. This chapter starts with an explanation of causes of coercive, normative, and cultural-cognitive change and how these findings complement or contradict other studies in higher education. Then there is an explanation of change in underlying institutional logics and a discussion of how institutional change may be linked to turning points in internationalisation activities. The structure for this chapter is derived from the research question and subsidiary research questions.

6.2 Institutional forces of change

As for Wilkins and Huisman (2012), who studied international branch campuses, the regulative, normative and cultural-cognitive pillars have proven a useful framework for analysing university internationalisation. Practically though, these mechanisms are difficult to separate as they overlap rather than being operationally distinct (Hoffman, 1999) such as where normative isomorphism involves normative and cultural-cognitive elements (Currie & Suhomlinova, 2006). Caution must also be taken when trying to identify the pillar that actually causes a particular organisational change given that a regulatory change may have been caused by a change in norms or that new regulations could lead to new norms or cognitive frames of reference (Dacin et al., 2002). As well as institutional environments, these organisations operate in competitive

environments, and both sets of forces influence organisational design (Roberts & Greenwood, 1997). Institutional forces may work together with competitive and market forces (Dacin, 1997; see D'Aunno et al., 2000). In some cases institutional forces will be of greater importance than market forces in shaping an organisation's characteristics (Dacin, 1997) but in other cases market forces and institutional forces may both be important (D'Aunno et al., 2000). Potential triggers and disruptive events in the institutional environment are explained and then linked to organisational change through the institutional logics perspective. The institutional pillars may create a tendency to see forces as analytically independent and self-contained although the pillars may overlap (see Hirsch, 1997; Hoffman, 1999). Efforts are made to follow Scott's (2014) suggestion of viewing the pillars as interdependent and mutually reinforcing.

6.2.1 Regulative

Education's provision as a public good and the large place of education in public budgets make the activities of government agencies extremely important in institutional analyses of educational organisations (Rowan, 2006). In many higher education systems the state plays a strong role and there are important relationships between universities and policymakers (Fumasoli & Huisman, 2013). Public higher education may be especially susceptible to homogenising forces from regulators and government agencies (see Grant & Riesman, 1978; Morphew, 2009) and coercive forces exerted by regulators consistently influenced the international programs discussed by interviewees. These influences included both favourable and unfavourable regulatory change which supports the idea that institutional change can be both constraining or

enabling (see Bruton & Ahlstrom, 2003; Bruton et al., 2010; Glynn, 2008; Mair & Marti, 2009; Tang, 2010).

The international programs discussed in the interviews were particularly influenced by regulatory forces from Australian State and Commonwealth governments as well as from host country governments. The respondents particularly discussed regulatory change, especially the transition from state-based regulators to the federal Tertiary Education Quality and Standards Agency (TEQSA) and changes to university funding. Changes in regulatory standards appear to have protracted impacts whereas changes to immigration policy were quickly mandated by the state (see Lawrence et al., 2001). Institutional change related to regulatory oversight and immigration policy have both led to recent organisational change in the form of different modes of internationalisation favoured by the universities in this study. Even so, there are still deeply embedded and slowly changing institutions and rules of the game (see Williamson, 2000) defining what it means to be a university. At the level of governance which dictates how the game is played and how resources are allocated, change has occurred rapidly.

Regulatory changes to resource allocation and governance have occurred in the time period under investigation. Tolbert (1985) separated the two prongs of government influence: resource dependency and coercive regulatory pressure. Resource dependencies are seen to have been institutionalised where public colleges and universities are defined and constrained by their dependence on governmental sources of support and private institutions by their dependence on tuition, endowment, gifts and grants (Tolbert, 1985). It is, however, only those organisations which are highly dependent on outside resources which become vulnerable to changes in

resource flows and to institutional pressures (Verbruggen, Christiaens, & Milis, 2011) and the universities investigated sought new revenue streams from international sources to become less dependent on government funding. The interview findings support an institutional approach which considers resource dependency. Resource dependency involved funding changes and regulatory pressures involved auditing bodies as the central causes of change in orientation and degree of internationalisation.

The attempt from Go8 4 to influence the early regulatory frameworks could be seen as an attempt to influence culture and to mobilise the field for regulatory change (see Bruton et al., 2009) but it was more about how regulations were interpreted and enforced than higher level lobbying for legislative change. This may be less of a case of institutional entrepreneurship and more like what Pinkse and Kolk (2007) see as an 'institutional arbitrageur' who benefits from the unintended consequences of new institutions. Other university managers did not discuss any form of resistance to regulatory rules and instead 'acquiesced' or 'fully conformed' (see Oliver, 1991) to changes in regulatory standards and bodies including changing how they monitor and manage quality in offshore programs. This may be due to the strong institutional pressures not allowing for extreme forms of institutional resistance (Ingram & Simons, 1995). For the other universities, innovation did not equate to institutional entrepreneurship and there was limited evidence for a 'strategic choice' for resistance or conformity being made (see Boon et al., 2009; Goodstein, 1994). The universities accepted that there was no option but to conform completely to mandated regulations such as the TEQSA Regulatory Risk Frameworks. Even so, as Padró (2013) notes,

Australian universities are aware that these risk frameworks are legislatively based although some flexibility remains to adopt divergent approaches. The idea that actors are mindless of the institutions shaping their behaviour (Hatch & Zilber, 2012) does not apply to the regulatory forces in this sector. Instead all senior managers are at least partially mindful of regulatory change and how it impacts their international strategies.

Regulatory change occurred in Australia and in host countries such as Singapore and the United Arab Emirates. These changes have created new incentives to enter a foreign market initially as well as new constraints on existing modes of internationalisation. Incentives for universities to operate in foreign markets included regulatory changes in those markets to pull foreign providers to them. There were also constraining regulatory forces in Australia such as immigration policies which pushed some universities abroad but then heavily audited those universities that did set up branches or partnership arrangements offshore. The interview results align with Kraatz and Zajac's (1996) findings that institutional forces are stronger than competitive forces as drivers of organisational change. In this case, the university managers identified regulatory change as the main impetus for change in internationalisation modes rather than a particular internal change in strategic orientations.

Morphew and Huisman (2002) propose that the impacts of government forces are much more complex than a simple pressure to conform to one homogenous form. Based on their previous empirical studies, they suggest a paradoxical coercive effect of laws and regulations with policies that simultaneously constrain and increase homogeneity but also guide specific organisations in specific directions to create heterogeneity (Morphew & Huisman, 2002). There may also be different outcomes for

organisations that passively comply with coercive forces to those that actively "manage" regulators (see Clemens & Douglas, 2006; Oliver, 1997). Possible sources of heterogeneity may include organisational level change which occurs in response to institutional change and may include changes in formal structure, organisational culture, goals, programs, or mission (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983). Universities may also differ in their systems, structures, programs, procedures, reputation, constituents, and values and climate (Birnbaum & Bensimon, 1983). The regulatory changes did not lead to a change in mission but did lead to new international expansion goals and created opportunities for new offshore programs and structures. The introduction of a new regulator also encouraged an organisational culture and set of procedures centred on auditing and ensuring 'equivalence' of outcomes for students in all programs at home and abroad. In host countries, the overly commercial focus of some providers has also been found to have created more stringent legislation regarding quality assurance (Murray, 2011) and legislative change has led to decreases in student enrolments for some offshore programs such as those in China (Banks et al., 2010).

6.2.2 Normative

Normative isomorphism in education spreads through the processes of professionalisation involving values, codes, standards, professional certifications, accreditation, and gatekeeping (Hanson, 2001). The universities investigated support Meyer and Scott's (1992 [1983]) idea that organisations are focused on external appearances and try to appear as rational and legitimate. This focus included giving attention to how the universities appear in the media and how they align to external standards or rankings. Several universities recently obtained new accreditations,

especially within business schools and, by doing so, the prescriptive, evaluative and obligatory norms (see Scott, 2014) were diffused across multiple universities through the strategic groups and through accreditors. Accreditation can be seen as a process of professionalisation (Grewal & Dharwadkar, 2002) and the universities investigated recently started new accreditation processes which created new sources of normative isomorphism. Accrediting and credentialing bodies create new normative expectations as they become external constituents which the university actors started to depend on for reputational capital (see Amburgey et al., 1996; Dacin et al., 2007).

Unlike regulatory forces that derived mainly from host and home countries – rankings and accreditations mostly operate at a global level. Transnational accreditors are one example of a non-regulatory external agency that legitimises universities and their faculties (see Durand & McGuire, 2005). At this 'macro institutional' level (see DiMaggio & Powell, 1983; Nicholls, 2010), expectations for international programs were set by foreign bodies and applied to all members on a global scale. New norms were not just adopted symbolically through loose coupling (see Meyer & Scott, 1992 [1983]), but instead involved substantive change including ending partnerships with non-accredited providers. The accreditation processes also checked for substantive change and appearances were not sufficient for regulatory organisations like TEQSA and accrediting organisations those of the Association to Advance Collegiate Schools of Business (AACSB). Systems of accreditation create normative forces for uniformity and mimetic forces of imitation among participating universities (Engwall, 2007; 2008). Accreditations like the AACSB help foster the legitimacy of individual universities and their business faculties as they blend in with others (Durand & McGuire, 2005). Casile

and Davis-Blake (2002) studied business schools and the role of AACSB accreditation standards and found that schools vary in their responsiveness to these forms of normative and mimetic pressure. The university managers interviewed demonstrated some strategic choice over which accreditations were sought by faculties but, increasingly, accreditors began to place new constraints on who the universities partnered with offshore and limited the range of acceptable foreign operation modes.

The norms of strategic groups are also playing an increasingly important role in Australian higher education including its international programs. These norms are diffused through benchmarking processes within strategic groups such as the Group of Eight and the Innovative Research Universities. As well as cooperation within strategic groupings, the cognitive frames of reference and expectations on universities differed between the groupings. Generally it was the Group of Eight universities which adopted a home-campus focused internationalisation strategy based on international student recruitment to Australia whereas the other groupings and non-aligned universities were more likely to emphasise branch campuses or partnerships abroad. Thus, within the strategic groups, there is a 'regularity of behaviour' (see Greif, 2006; Scott, 2014) in international operations which is encouraged through membership in a strategic grouping.

The nature of these universities as 'public' did not appear to limit how the universities behaved internationally. Consistent with Ashworth et al. (2009), these public organisations could 'escape the iron cage' and not comply with institutional pressures but the outcome is still a set of visions and missions that resemble almost all similar organisations. Some universities attempted to counter this tendency towards

convergence. Through slight differences in mission and program offerings to international students, the universities in this study sought to differentiate themselves from other Australian universities. Mazzarol and Soutar (2008, 2012) suggest that the global environment has led to a greater need for this sort of positioning and differentiation but many universities still follow undifferentiated marketing strategies in these highly competitive international markets. This may be due to the contradictory pressures to 'stand out' as superior to competitors while simultaneously 'blending in' with normative expectations (Handelman, 2006). Breaking away from other universities was seen by interviewees at the more agile universities as a process of innovation and risk managing.

Innovation in international programs included entry to new foreign countries through branch campuses and the adoption of new modes of international collaboration such as alliances and online education consortia. Haveman (1993) suggests that larger and more profitable organisations are more likely to engage in innovative behaviour and smaller organisations follow, but in this case the organisations that described themselves as small, 'innovative', 'agile' or 'nimble' were more likely to experiment with new modes. Norms for international modes involved an emphasis on international student recruitment to Australia and the 'innovative' universities instead established branch campuses abroad – usually in partnership with a private corporation. These branch campuses replicate teaching but are not research intensive and instead break away from the 'research university' archetype. These branches are isomorphic with Australian universities because of regulatory necessity to comply with Australian laws to create 'equivalence', but also because they must comply with local norms and

expectations.

University rankings provide a possible rationale for imitation and an increase of mimicking of highly ranked universities to create greater homogeneity (van Vught, 2008). Universities may try to meet the demand for specificity and differentiation while also meeting the need for comparability and similarity through ranking, quality assurance and evaluation (Czarniawska & Genell, 2002). Rankings are viewed by Bastedo and Bowman (2011) as a third-party status system imposing significant normative pressure on universities. For the interviewees, rankings defined what it meant to be 'world class' for the global rankings and for ratings from the government-run Excellence in Research for Australia (ERA) Initiative which tries to define what it means to be 'world class'. As Xu and Shenkar (2002) note, the normative pillar played a role in prescribing the desirable goals and in defining the appropriate means of attaining them. The interviewees were all conscious of the impact of their international activities on their rankings but acknowledged that only research activities in Australia had a major impact on these rankings. There was an increase in the normative expectations for research intensity and international operations of the universities studied needed to become either research active or profitable enough to repatriate profits back to research in Australia. This pursuit of research intensity was driven also by a pursuit of 'world class' status.

This suggests a new set of 'homogenising iron cages' (see Ashworth et al., 2009; DiMaggio & Powell, 1983) but also contradictory aims to 'stand out' as superior to competitors while simultaneously 'blending in' to the normative expectations (Handelman, 2006) of accreditors, ranking systems and strategic groups. Those

rankings and accreditations that are international act like the ‘world cognitive models’ described by Delmestri and Wezel (2011) congruent with Meyer et al. (2007) who identified global cultural scripts in higher education. These scripts for how a university should behave also dictate how they should internationalise. Working with non-accredited partners is not allowed by most accreditors’ scripts and in the process of gaining accreditation, offshore programs may need to be closed if they do not meet the set requirements.

6.2.3 Cultural-cognitive

The cultural-cognitive pillar that was most clearly identifiable in the results related to the framing of risk. Risk also influences the tendency to imitate as risk averse organisations are expected to be more likely to follow isomorphic responses consistent with the responses of similar actors (George et al., 2006). These attitudes towards risk are articulated by regulators through risk frameworks and by ranking systems (see Power et al., 2009) but there were also cognitive boundaries for defining the level of risk each university could tolerate. A low tolerance of risk was not limited to the older and high prestige Group of Eight universities and, consistent with Power et al. (2009), all universities framed their international activities with reference to the level of ‘reputational risk’ posed. This is not necessarily linked to a ‘conservative’ approach and may instead be a more recent condition of moves towards accountability and rational management of risk (Huber, 2011; Power et al., 2009). The conservative approach was seen as deeply embedded in the organisation and a part of its ‘organisational culture’. These universities were not prepared to be the first adopter of a new mode or the first entrant in a foreign market and would first observe the new market entry

process and performance of the ‘innovative’ universities. None of the universities changed roles from ‘conservative’ to ‘innovative’ and, across all universities, the appetite for risk did not increase with experience. One possible reason for limited risk appetite is the lack of criteria on transnational education in global and national ranking systems especially ERA.

If the reference frame which sets the appropriate level of risk for universities is identical at each university, we would expect no innovation in international programs. However, some of the investigated universities aimed to ‘try new things’ to become ‘brave’, ‘adventurous’, ‘courageous’, or ‘innovative’ through calculated risks or through ‘taking a gamble’ on offshore programs. Innovation effort to differentiate is seen as high risk (Greve, 1996) especially in terms of risks posed to reputation (Power et al., 2009) which the interviewees saw as one of the most significant risks for international programs. As in George et al. (2006), the tendency for risk aversion among these managers made imitation and mimetic isomorphism more likely and path-breaking international modes have recently been confined to situations where risks are shared with local partners.

Using the case of European business schools, Bennett and Kottasz (2011) suggest that moves to internationalise extensively are diminished by risk aversion. Likewise, a self-professed conservative or risk averse culture was seen by several university managers as the reason for the lower involvement in internationalisation activities. This split between early and late adopters aligns with Tolbert and Zucker’s (1983) two-stage model which was also used by Kraatz and Zajac (1996). Kraatz (1998) later found that private colleges in the United States were more likely to imitate similar partner colleges

in their network than larger and more prestigious colleges in that network. Similarly, the interview results suggest that managers looked to their peers which aligns with Kraatz (1998: 639) who notes that “contrary to the status driven explanation, the size and prestige of early adopting network associates did not make them more likely to be imitated.” In this case, the larger and high prestige Group of Eight universities were less likely to be the first to enter foreign markets and their international strategies were not imitated by smaller and lower prestige peers.

Through differentiation, organisations can reduce rivalry and competitiveness but as a counteracting force to differentiation, we see pressures to conform making organisations similar and intensifying competitive pressures (de la luz Fernández-Alles & Valle-Cabrera, 2006). This includes similarities in international strategies leading to situations where Australian institutions are competing against each other in foreign markets such as Singapore with similar operation modes, similar courses and even, occasionally, the same partner organisations. Differentiation is seen to remain extremely limited by institutional pressures and organisations are seen to be able to differentiate only within a narrow ‘range of acceptability’ around set institutional templates (Deephouse, 1996). Indeed, some university managers saw Australian universities as largely undifferentiated and saw most international programs as being based on the same goals and ideals. An increase in risk bearing cognitive frames may indicate a market logic of risk bearing (see Lounsbury, 2002; Ruef, 1999; Thornton & Ocasio, 1999) but no increase in risk tolerance appeared among the university managers investigated.

6.3 Competing institutional logics

6.3.1 Existence of multiple logics

Though institutional logics may not be directly observable, the experiences of the senior managers in these Australian universities suggest that at least two logics are shaping their internationalisation decisions and intentions. This is shown by two sets of “standard vocabularies and legitimate accounts that actors can draw on” (Meyer & Hammerschmid, 2006a: 1005). The material aspects of institutional logics can also be observed in the structures and practices of organisations (Thornton et al., 2012a). With multiple sets of institutional logics and paradigmatic change in higher education, university managers must balance multiple institutional logics to drive organisational change (Howells, Karataş-Özkan, Yavuz, & Atiq, 2014). For the international structures and practices in these organisations, some activities are motivated and measured based on orientations congruent with ‘performance measurement and management’ principles related to New Public Management (see Modell, 2009; Sharifi & Bovaird, 1995) and corporatisation (see Adcroft & Willis, 2005; Ter Bogt, 2008).

The managers interviewed symbolically and substantively made internationalisation decisions based on benefiting communities in foreign countries or benefiting the academic communities in their home countries. This suggests that despite apparent levels of corporatisation, some university managers continue to emphasise the service function of universities and do not see teaching and research as completely corporatised. These community-oriented aims were not explicitly linked to any performance outcomes. The community logic usually involved benefiting the academic community in the Australian campus. This may be seen as contributing to the

‘normative ethos’ of academic science (see Merton, 1968), peer recognition and international research linkages (see Bjerregaard, 2010). In three instances, the community logic was also linked to communities in foreign countries with the potential for international development through offshore campuses like those found by Wilmoth (2004) for RMIT University’s branch campuses in Vietnam.

In the case of the branch campuses in Dubai, Malaysia and Singapore, the three branch managers interviewed had to follow local expectations while also ensuring equivalence. This creates a possible problem of institutional duality as branches must balance conformity with local institutions and conformity with home campus expectations to ensure both internal and external legitimacy. The expectations for local responsiveness may be less intense than in other industries, though, given that students and regulators expect Australian universities to offer an Australian style of education.

6.3.2 Dominant institutional logics

The offshore revenue-generating activities discussed by these informants appear to adhere to a corporate institutional logic. This logic may have emerged as dominant from each organisation’s past experience and it then led to organisational actions and then commitment of resources (see Washington & Ventresca, 2004). To help explain this emergence to dominance, Parker (2011, 2012) suggests that revenue-focused internationalisation activities of universities may reflect a coercive pressure from governments to seek alternative funding sources. Reay and Hinings (2009) suggest that, even with new institutional logics, the previous logics continue to exist for extended periods. The findings in this study suggest that corporate logics and market

principles are evident across all universities studied but elements of other logics continue to apply even at the highest echelons of management. Both sets of institutional logics appear to exist within each university, albeit to different degrees of intensity. The community logic was expressed across each organisation but in a way that asserted additional motives rather than a clear resistance to corporate logics. This may be similar to Townley's (2002) public sector respondents which were prepared to accept 'businesslike' behaviour but strongly resisted actually becoming a business.

Institutional logics provide underlying justification principles for managers and also provide frameworks to articulate claims (see Leca & Naccache, 2006; Scott, 2014). In the universities investigated, the logic of corporatisation was used by managers as a justification for the establishment of overseas branches and partnerships given that profitability was the main dimension of the business case. Informants explained that past foreign market entry was predominately justified on considerations of profitability. Even so, the poor financial performance of offshore operations suggests that a corporate logic alone may be too weak to justify future market entry and instead there must be reputational outcomes or a hybrid of corporate and community logics. This may involve new belief systems emerging at the institutional level leading to instability, transformation and then hybridisation of organisational forms (Haveman & Rao, 2006) and, potentially, a new set of 'normal' strategies, structures and practices (see Deephouse & Carter, 2005; Glynn & Abzug, 2002; Westphal, Gulati, & Shortell, 1997).

Deem (2004) found that a business approach in universities is evident where there is a preoccupation with revenue generation and cost-containment. This was evident across all organisations studied. However, the focus on maximising revenues and

minimising costs was rarely a goal in itself. Instead, a focus on profitability was actually linked to more important university-wide goals. Recovering costs from international programs and then generating surpluses allowed the universities to improve their research impact and social impact. This supports Marginson and Considine's (2000) claim that revenue is not a goal in itself for Australian universities but rather a tool for sustaining the university's activities. Still, the universities all took a business-like approach to measuring their progress towards meeting these goals and acknowledged that most of their offshore programs were primarily aimed at income generation.

6.3.3 Actors' use of multiple logics

Durand et al. (2013) note that there are situations where multiple institutional logics allow actors to select which logic to embrace or actually to embrace multiple logics and leverage logics as strategic resources. Pache and Santos (2010) suggest that organisations can use competing logics as opportunities for agency and strategic choice but where there is significant polarisation, the conflict between logics can cause organisational paralysis or break up. The managers interviewed drew from both corporate and community rationalities to justify certain international programs. The teaching-only partnerships and branch campuses in foreign markets are mostly devoid of research and were focused primarily on income generation but were reconciled with each university's desire to be (or appear to be) community oriented by pairing income generation with 'capacity building'.

These activities may be viewed under a community logic as improving quality to create social benefit but could potentially also be interpreted as 'business-like' because they serve customer satisfaction (see Reay & Hinings, 2009). The results reinforce Kehm

and Teichler's (2007) finding that there has yet to be a complete substitution of cooperative internationalisation by competitive globalisation. The university managers often spoke in the past tense about the more revenue-centred approaches to internationalisation but revenue and performance management continues remains an important concern. Profit was never discussed by respondents as a goal in itself but rather as a tool to remain viable and fund future teaching and research. Revenue was just one indicator of the performance of international programs. Other factors measured include student diversity, student outcomes, research performance and reputational impact.

Efforts to monitor and improve performance resemble Parker's (2012) description of 'hybrid corporatised higher education' where KPIs are evaluated and a business focused approach is taken in strategic planning. Even so, elements of altruism and community service continue to be discussed in terms of the goals and outcomes of international programs. So the idea that higher education is already fully corporatised can be questioned. Substantive elements of altruism and community service even within the 'key export revenue earner' (see Parker, 2012) programs would suggest that university internationalisation is not completely profit-centric. Corporatisation and community logics do not appear to be mutually exclusive and international activities like 'capacity building' with foreign universities in developing countries may be driven by two sets of rationales.

Rather than two logics paradoxically influencing each manager and each university, a hybrid institutional logic may be emerging. Rather than moving towards truly corporate forms, entrepreneurial orientations of universities may lead to business-like,

competitive, productive, and financially efficient (Marginson, 2013) international operations but may still involve social benefit by the university contributing to the efficiency and economic development of their region and nation (see Pinheiro et al., 2012; see Pinheiro & Stensaker, 2013; Shaw & Allison, 1999; Stensaker & Harvey, 2011). The form of entrepreneurialism evident in the interviews is a different breed of entrepreneurship to the corporate and new venture expansion which, as Yokoyama (2006) found, encourages risk-taking for profit-gain.

So, as Clark (2001) recommends, we need to see universities as more than just a business although entrepreneurial orientations may be essential for university survival given the complexity and rapid change they face. The practice of entering a new market is essentially entrepreneurial (see Coviello & Munro, 1995; Jones & Coviello, 2005; Oviatt & McDougall, 2005; Wu & Knott, 2006) but the reasons for these orientations may be due more to global competitive forces rather than imperatives in the institutional environment. There is limited evidence for a diluted form of institutional entrepreneurship as actors have not sought to bring about institutional change, but there is some evidence for international entrepreneurship which involves "a combination of innovative, proactive and risk-seeking behaviour that crosses national borders and is intended to create value in organisations" (McDougall & Oviatt, 2000: 903). The intended value is in this case not profit for shareholders but reputational impact and revenue repatriation to fund other activities in Australia.

One way for two institutional logics to co-exist is for one to be adopted symbolically and the other substantively (see Fiss & Zajac, 2006; Misangyi et al., 2008; Zajac & Westphal, 1995). Emphasis in the interviews on garnering external appearances of a

‘socially responsible’ university or ‘good political citizen’ suggests superficial conformity to norms. Some corporations introduce corporate social responsibility (CSR) initiatives only at a superficial level while other companies adopt CSR as a substantive and core strategy (see Aguilera, Rupp, Williams, & Ganapathi, 2007; Weaver, Trevino, & Cochran, 1999). Thus, the focus on social responsibility for universities may be superficial and still linked to corporate practices. The universities identified community benefit as a key aspect of some international programs and could demonstrate substantive outcomes for some communities, but community benefit was not their stated *raison d’être.* A corporate institutional identity was not seen as desirable by the university managers interviewed. There may not be conscious ‘window dressing’ or embellishment but rather some ‘identity work’ by the managers distancing themselves from corporate institutions and identities and instead embracing identities (see Snow & Anderson, 1987) related to social benefit and advancing academic communities.

Meyer and Hammerschmid (2006a) note that where new logics enter an organisational field, actors may begin to have a choice over which parts of the new logic they adopt and which parts of the old logic they retain. Most respondents drew from two sets of logics and managers used the vocabularies and objectives of corporations as well as more traditional academic values. Thus, there may have been a conscious choice over which parts of each logic are used to guide or justify international decisions. This suggests that parts of each institutional logic are compatible or ‘overlap’ (see Dunn & Jones, 2010; McPherson & Sauder, 2013; Murray, 2010). Through overlapping, marketisation may create a ‘productive tension’ between market logics and other logics (see Murray, 2010) akin to a paradox where logics are contradictory but interrelated

(see Smith & Lewis, 2011). Intensely profit-focused goals and programs, however, would still be in conflict.

A greater emphasis on competitive change and efficiency suggests that a lesser focus on legitimacy as the basis for decision-making (Etherington & Richardson, 1994) in international programs. The greater focus on branding, reputation, differentiation and strategic planning may be the result of either or both of DiMaggio and Powell's (1983) two broad mechanisms of change, namely institutional change and competitive change. The impetus to improve the quality of offshore programs could for example stem from the new regulatory pressures of host countries or could be just part of competitive branding to reposition universities and create the perception of improved quality.

Despite the university sector being a mature and highly institutionalised field, formal rules have changed with political and regulatory change but the customs, culture, traditions and codes of conduct (see North, 1990) related to community service seem to be either changing very slowly or are totally impervious to change. However, Altbach et al. (2009) argue that the public service mission of higher education has been put in jeopardy with the emphasis on cost recovery, higher tuition and greater links with industry. Thus, we are still seeing a 'mission triad' of teaching, research and public service (see Scott, 2006) but the emphasis on public service may be less prevalent in international operations. The shift in the mission triad may also parallel a shift within Clark's (1998b, 2004a) triangle away from academic oligarchy and state authority towards competitive market forces. As one interviewee noted, "universities do the right thing because they're not in it to make money".

6.4 Internationalisation situations

6.4.1 Change in orientation

Revenue generation is still a dominant motive for many universities' international programs but the other orientations persist. There are multiple orientations within the sector in Australia but also multiple orientations being drawn on within each university. Though the managers interviewed are senior managers who are responsible for ensuring financial performance of international operations, these are not the only goals discussed. Each manager uses multiple logics to explain and justify their universities' international strategies. Revenue generation and community benefit were not seen by these managers as contradictory or mutually exclusive. University managers describe their universities as 'not-for-profit' and as 'research universities' but also emphasise the major role international activities have in income generation. This makes it difficult to fit universities into one of Scott's (2008b) 'meta-logics' or generalised frameworks – 'bureaucracy', 'corporation', 'non-profit organisation', 'education' or 'profession'. From the practices and international activities discussed by the respondents, it appears that universities are a hybrid of these frameworks. Furthermore, offshore activities may follow a completely different framework from the framework adopted at the home campus.

One cause of a turning point to a new internationalisation path could be a new Vice Chancellor rather than institutional change. Even so, the managers interviewed spoke as if there was a much broader change in norms and cognitive frames of reference. There are clear attempts to distance international operations from the revenue-centric approaches of the past towards research-intensive or community-focused approaches. There was also the desire for some university managers to make their university more

‘holistically international’ and to embed internationalisation across all functions of the university. The impetus for this was sometimes a new Vice Chancellor but at other times was a regulatory mandate. Regulatory mandates included new TEQSA requirements and host country government’s growing intolerance of profit-oriented foreign branches.

Historical path dependence is evident where an innovative or fundamentally international orientation is embedded in the history of that university whereas more cautious and conservative approaches carry forward sometimes even with the arrival of new senior executives. However, the profit-centric approaches were not seen as desirable to carry forward. Programs are being transformed to become ‘holistically international’ or at least to appear as such. This includes ending the financially driven partnerships or a change to the extent and focus of a partnership so it becomes a ‘holistic relationship’ with more than mere financial value.

More ‘comprehensive’ or ‘holistic’ relationships were seen to require a greater emphasis on research even though current branches and partnerships are largely devoid of research. New productive and cross-border research partnerships were also emphasised beyond simply recruiting international students through partners or student recruitment agents. This suggests that there may not be an overall decrease in the degree of internationalisation but rather a contraction in transnational education followed by an expansion in international research collaborations. Moves towards comprehensive internationalisation were not just reflected in specific partnerships or programs but in efforts to include international dimensions in whole-of-university strategic plans. This involved placing internationalisation at the centre of strategic

planning, making international offices strategic rather than administrative or making internationalisation a ‘key pillar’ of strategy. This suggests moving away from a situation where home campuses and foreign operations are decoupled.

Alternatively, the degree of internationalisation may increase within a corporate orientation. The situation of corporate internationalisation involves all the international projects and activities becoming realigned under a market-based and revenue-centric orientation. In such a situation, full alignment suggests that home campuses and foreign operations are recoupled and the whole organisation becomes business-like. Universities could then adopt the same logic as transnational corporations and establish more offshore branches to serve the aims of the parent university (Sugden, 2004). High prestige universities especially could leverage their ‘global brands’ and establish a ‘multinational web’ (see Sugden, 2004) of branches under the authority of their parent university (see Sugden, 2004; Van Damme, 2001). However, Farrugia & Lane (2012) suggest that many colleges and universities with well-established legitimacy in their home countries may not have this legitimacy and brand value recognised in new host countries. Branches and other forms of overseas expansion for universities also present severe risks and could cause significance detriment to finances and reputations (see Shanahan & McParlane, 2005; Wilkins & Huisman, 2012). As Welch (2012) highlights, the combination of internationalisation and entrepreneurialism can damage the quality and reputation of universities and whole national systems of higher education.

6.4.2 Change in degree

Knight (2013) recently highlighted the importance of seeing higher education

internationalisation as a process of change even if merely suggested by the suffix ‘isation’. This process continues in the universities studied and there is no clear endpoint although decisions along the path included questions of what modes to use, how to coordinate activities across borders, what partners to work with and which markets to enter or exit. The decisions of the managers in the universities investigated appear to be shaped by changing cognitive framing of risk, regulatory change in host and home countries and attempts to reconcile corporate logics with more traditional logics related to academia and community benefit. The sequences of market entry and exit in internationalisation processes may involve radical change or incremental change (see Liguori, 2012). Both types of change are evident but across the sector in Australia there appears to be a turning point in orientations and a major shift away from branch campus modes of internationalisation.

A turning point of internationalisation can be identified across all the universities operating branch campuses. This can be seen as an example of what Abbott (2001) defines as a turning point in terms of being a direction or regime that disrupts regular patterns and redirecting paths. Turcan (2013) defines de-internationalisation turning points as incremental or sudden decreases in market commitment. The university managers discussed possible future turning points involving divestment and market withdrawal but in most cases they decided to keep their current operations and partnerships. For those universities who do conduct riskier operation modes currently though, a lower involvement mode was preferred for future offshore programs. All the universities investigated now favour only collaborative modes of internationalisation rather than being the sole bearer (and sole benefactor) of risks in untried or high

investment modes. Thus, there is not a general progression towards riskier and higher involvement modes as we would expect under Johanson and Vahlne's (1977, 1990, 2006, 2009) process model of firm internationalisation where market commitment levels increase incrementally. Instead, for NA 1, NA 3 and Go8 4, which once favoured the highest involved mode, the branch campus, there was a reversal towards favouring lower involvement zero-equity partnerships and strategic alliances.

Growth of international student enrolments in onshore and offshore courses was a concern for all universities but managers aimed for stable, consistent and sustainable approaches to growth. The university managers did not see the next stages of internationalisation being new branches or disintermediation of partners as we might expect from a corporation that gradually takes on more risk as their experience in international markets grows. Incremental increases in higher education internationalisation instead appear to involve greater coordination of activities and more 'comprehensive approaches'. In the universities investigated, this involved the gradual embedding of internationalisation in all university strategies and activities.

6.4.3 Compartmentalisation of institutional logics

Each international community project and international corporate project may have a different orientation which reflects the orientation for the university as a whole. Rather than reconciling multiple institutional logics, actors could seek to contain or compartmentalise each institutional logic (see Creed et al., 2010; Gidron & Hasenfeld, 2012; Greenwood, Raynard, Kodeih, Micelotta, & Lounsbury, 2011; Skelcher & Smith, 2014) to its international operations. Skelcher and Smith (2014) for example found that non-profit agencies might compartmentalise a market logic to a for-profit unit within the

organisational structure (labelled a ‘segmented’ approach) or into separate but associated organisations (labelled a ‘segregated’ approach). The idea of segmented compartmentalisation is also explored by Pache and Santos (2013: 13) who see this process at the individual actor level where “an individual may display full compliance with a given logic (and reject a competing one) in a given context, and choose to display adherence to the competing logic in other contexts: she enacts all competing logics, yet keeps them separated.” At the organisational level, compartmentalisation may be more like partitioning separate units (Greenwood et al., 2011) which, within universities, Marginson (2008b) labels ‘commercial suboperations’.

Ball (2012) argues that universities become intertwined with neoliberal approaches when operating with private companies in an offshore campus. This is seen to then deeply permeate the university: “neoliberalism gets into our minds and our souls, into the ways in which we think about what we do, and into our social relations with others” (Ball, 2012: 18). Just as institutionalised elements diffuse between organisations in a contagion of legitimacy (Jonsson et al., 2009; Zucker, 1987) the reintegration of offshore branches with home campuses could lead to the logic of the subunit diffusing to its parent.

Interviewee discussion of holistic internationalisation supports the idea of de-compartmentalisation so that international operations are based on curriculum, mobility and comprehensive relationships with other organisations. The reorientation of university strategic plans around internationalisation also suggests de-compartmentalisation in the form of reconnecting offshore arms of universities with their bodies. Alternatively, as the university managers responsible for branch

campuses suggested, branches could become research active to shift the subunit from the logic of the corporation towards logics similar to those exercised on their home campus. To survive in foreign markets, these universities must strike an internal balance between the logics (see Battilana & Dorado, 2010; Lee & Battilana, 2013; Zilber, 2002) through strategies like compartmentalisation or dialectic synthesis.

6.5 Chapter conclusion

This chapter has discussed the results of the twenty-nine interviews in the context of the literature on higher education, internationalisation and the institutional logics perspective. Sources of institutional change were identified in the regulative, normative and cultural-cognitive institutional environment. The interaction of corporatisation and community-benefit logics in these Australian universities was discussed and the main findings synthesised and related to changes in internationalisation trajectories. It was found that in public higher education in Australia, there is limited evidence for gradual increases in the risk and market commitment that we expect from corporations. In the universities investigated there were actual decreases in market commitment through divestment and a preference for lower risk collaborative modes. There is, however, a growing trend towards more comprehensive and holistic approaches to internationalisation. For these approaches to be sustainable, though, the competing logics must be combined, reconciled or compartmentalised.

7 Conclusions

7.1 Chapter introduction

This chapter identifies practical and theoretical contributions made by this thesis. Conclusions are drawn from the previous chapters with a summary of how institutional logics have contributed to changes in higher education internationalisation in Australia. This chapter also acknowledges the limitations of the thesis' research design and suggests possible implications for higher education scholars and practitioners. The chapter concludes with recommendations for future research including further opportunities to extend or revise the institutional logics perspective and to understand the role institutional forces play in processes of university internationalisation. The clash between institutional forces and the institutional logics underlying Australian universities has led to two types of international goals and programs: those solely focused on profit and those aiming to replace surpluses but also benefit specific communities in Australia or abroad.

This chapter summarises the findings related to the central research question of '*How do external forces cause change to university internationalisation?*' as well as the two subsidiary research questions: 'What causes a change in orientation for internationalisation goals and programs?' and 'What causes a change in the degree of internationalisation?' Conclusions and theoretical contributions are explained at three levels: (1) the *discipline* of international business; (2) the *empirical context* of higher education; and (3) the *theoretical lens* of new institutionalism broadly and the institutional logics perspective specifically. Then there is an acknowledgement of the limitations of this research and suggestions for future related studies.

7.2 Causes of change

7.2.1 Institutional change and internal responses

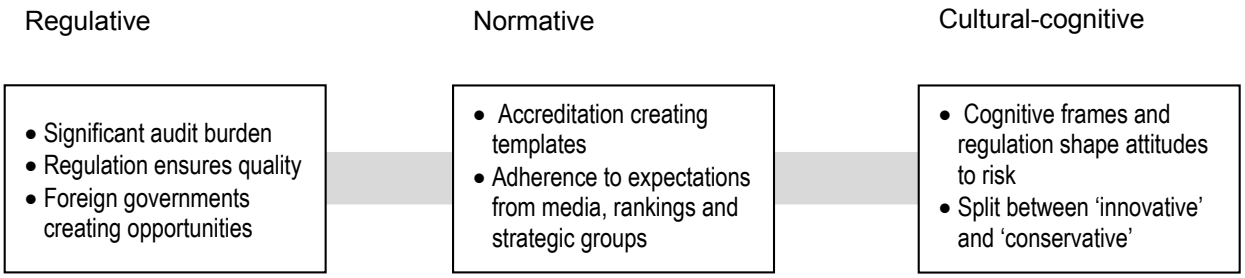
The university managers interviewed were most aware of the regulatory forces shaping international goals and programs. These forces include limitations on inbound student recruitment to Australia through student visa policy and post-study work rights which are seen to attract more international students to Australia. Regulation is seen as necessary by the university managers to ensure system-wide quality checks which improve the reputation of Australian higher education abroad. As well as regulatory forces in Australia, regulatory changes by foreign governments can create opportunities and constraints for the universities operating in those markets.

For normative forces, some norms are explicitly outlined by accreditation processes. The various accreditations usually apply at a faculty level and set minimum expectations for staff and student mobility and minimum standards which may impact teaching operations onshore and at offshore partner institutions and branches. Rankings methodologies also include some elements of internationalisation and create another codified set of norms and standards. This may be a source of isomorphism where universities identify the same ranking systems and seek similar goals and programs to improve their rankings. Less explicit norms include those shaped by the media and the various strategic groupings.

For cultural-cognitive forces, many forces may influence these managers but the most visible cognitive reference frames are those related to risk. The interviewed managers often classified their university's tolerance of risk in terms of whether it was 'innovative' or 'conservative'. Each manager's appetite for risk depended to an extent on what they

saw as the organisation's approach to risk. The diagram in Figure 10 depicts the main institutional forces discussed by respondents for discussion in Chapter Six. Tolerance of risk was one theme that can be identified within the regulatory and cultural-cognitive pillars as well as internally in organisational change. The TEQSA risk frameworks define what the government considers to be acceptable ranges of risks for a university, after which each university must decide where to operate within those ranges. Universities can remain cautious and conservative or can innovate and differentiate.

Figure 10: Identified institutional forces



The key force of change identified in the interviews was regulatory. This involved regulatory bodies and also regulatory change to government funding that impacted financial resource dependency. The regulatory body TEQSA and the Immigration Department each created constraints for the university's international student recruitment activities. Regulatory changes also create opportunities for universities including new opportunities for foreign branch campuses or offshore partnerships. With a low degree of internationalisation, such changes may trigger new international projects primarily based on either capacity building for local communities or repatriation of profits to fund home campus activities. For normative change, national strategic groups and international ranking, certification and accrediting agencies set new norms

and benchmarks. Faculties within universities pursued new accreditations and many of these accreditations restrict program delivery offshore.

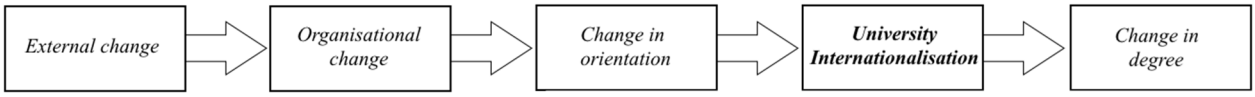
7.3 Changes in orientation and degree of internationalisation

7.3.1 Change in institutional logics

Even with noted trends of corporatisation and marketisation partially driven by changes in resource dependency, previous institutional logics associated with academia and service functions of universities remain. Older logics may face de-institutionalisation with 'sedimentation' of corporatisation layered on top of previous logics rather than distinctive transformation where one logic sweeps away the residue of the other (Seo & Creed, 2002). However, it is more than just the 'residue' of previous logics that persist as the humanist orientations involved in international capacity building projects and holistic forms of internationalisation have emerged as an increasingly important trajectory.

As shown in the Figure 11, there have been several levels of change explored in this thesis. At the external level of change are regulatory, normative and cultural-cognitive changes as well as change in underlying institutional logics. External changes then cause organisational change on two dimensions: change in the overall orientation of the university and change in the degree of internationalisation.

Figure 11: Levels of change



7.3.2 Change in orientation

The turning points in the degree of internationalisation included clear divestments as

well as additions of new modes. The turning points in rationalities show possible shifts between humanist and market-based orientations as well as a shift from a collection of misaligned international activities to a comprehensive and coordinated internationalisation program. Where rationalities are 'comprehensive' and 'holistic', the service mission and contributory community logics are upheld. Holistic internationalisation may also lead a quest for the 'deepest form of internationalisation of a university' – the inclusion of cross-cultural perspectives and learning styles throughout the university (2004b). Revenue and profitability are still a concern in such a case but only with regard to financial stability and replacement of surpluses. This may involve a model similar to the most recent NPM model of a 'public service orientation' which fuses public and private management ideals to achieve a contributory mission through best practice management (see Ferlie et al., 1996; Sporn, 2003).

Where international corporate projects become recoupled and decompartmentalised to align with a largely corporatist university as a whole, we may start to see universities move from being 'business-like' in quasi-markets to being largely indistinguishable from multinational corporations. This change involves both the business approach of profit maximisation and the market approaches of competition, market domination and deregulation (Meek, 2007) driven by the meta-logic of the corporation. Still, the interview participants saw much of the dark side of the Janus face of internationalisation as something that should be left in the past.

7.3.3 Change in degree

Moves towards comprehensive and holistic internationalisation foreshadow Knight's

(2014) comments that, whereas internationalisation was once ad hoc and marginalised, it is now central to university strategic plans, national policy statements and international declarations (Knight, 2014). The university managers did not suggest that they had achieved comprehensive internationalisation. Their aim was like that described by Brandenburg and de Wit (2011) of moving internationalisation from the fringe of institutional interest to the core. Considering the competing institutional logics of corporatisation and community benefit, however, previously revenue-centric international activities now need to be harmonised with the core goals and orientations of universities. If it was acceptable in the past for transnational courses and operations abroad to be solely profit focused, these operations may be difficult to reembed into 'research intensive' and 'world class' archetypes. Moving away from input and output approaches that are focused on the number of international fee paying students (see Brandenburg & Wit de, 2011) may be very difficult, given that the majority of the universities investigated work with for-profit partners resistant to any move away from more profitable modes. Those universities with for-profit arms may also be subject to 'creeping corporatism' where corporate orientations of international projects cannot be contained within those projects. As these arms of universities are realigned and integrated with the rest of the university, they may diffuse through the whole body or may simply remain a suboperation which accelerated through the process of corporatisation at a much faster rate from the rest of the university.

7.3.4 Change between internationalisation situations

Guided by the conceptual framework, four levels of change and the linkages between them have been investigated. These four levels of change are: (1) external institutional

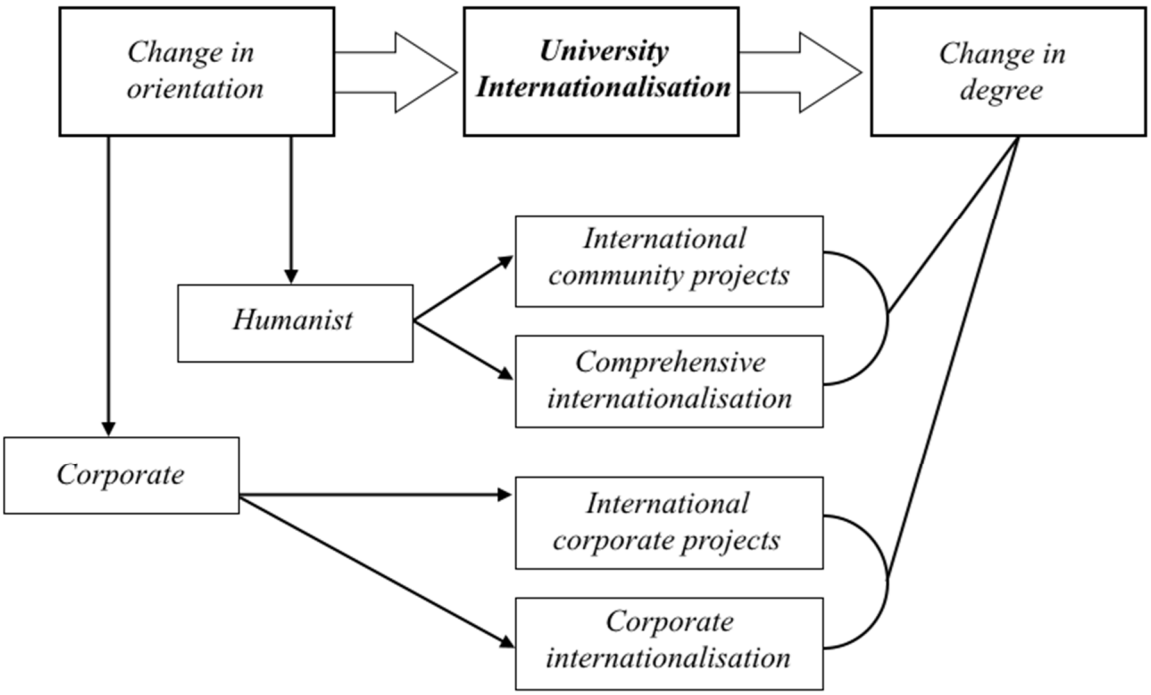
change; (2) organisational change, (3) change in orientation and (4) change in international goals and programs. The linkage between institutional change and change in orientation has been found through a change in the dominant institutional logic. Increases and decreases in the degree of internationalisation have not been found to link directly to regulatory, normative and coercive change or changes in dominant institutional logics. Changes in institutional forces have triggered some new foreign market entries and withdrawals but much of the overall change in the degree of internationalisation can be attributed to organisational change such as the arrival of a new Vice Chancellor which in most cases is unconnected to institutional change. Consistent with the theoretical underpinnings discussed by Frølich et al (2013), there is evidence for institutional pluralism creating multiple strategic choice situations inside each university.

The external forces of change investigated here primarily involve institutional forces and change caused by the interaction of multiple institutional logics. Competing institutional logics are found to be a likely cause for the change from a humanist orientation to a corporate orientation. Even so, this reorientation is more of a prioritisation of profit-centric goals and programs rather than a complete eradication of humanist values. This change in orientation involves moving from a collection of capacity building and community-focused projects to predominately profit-focused offshore operations. Even so, there has been some resistance to this change in orientation. This is particularly the case where universities have moved to increase the coordination and alignment between international projects to form an overall agenda of ‘comprehensive internationalisation’. If individual projects are overly managerial or

profit-centric, aligning them with an overarching community-centric agenda is infeasible.

External change in institutional logics has been found to lead to organisational change in terms of changing orientations and reprioritisation of international goals and programs. University internationalisation has not become 'completely corporatised' but universities that diverge from more holistic forms of internationalisation may start to resemble multinational corporations by aligning all their international goals and programs in an agenda of 'corporate internationalisation'. These internationalisation situations in Figure 12 help to classify current and future approaches for Australian universities.

Figure 12: Change in internationalisation situations



7.4 Concluding remarks

DiMaggio and Powell's (1983) analytical distinctions of regulative, normative and cultural-cognitive institutional forces are sources of change in higher education processes of internationalisation. Institutional theory has been used to help integrate the disparate theoretical frameworks in higher education (Morphew & Huisman, 2002) by seeing institutionalised beliefs as the basis for what higher education *is* and what universities *do* (Delucchi, 2000; Frank, Schofer, & Torres, 1994). What universities do abroad involves three areas of organisational change which are all influenced by institutional change. These areas involve questions of whether to enter a market or not, how to enter (entry mode), and when (Huang & Sternquist, 2007). To integrate these questions with the pillars of institutionalism and the underlying institutional frameworks for action, the institutional logics perspective has been used. Institutional logics in higher education go beyond basic rationalities and objectives to *create* new institutionalised archetypes. These archetypes are not just limited to organisational forms for the universities as a whole but also involve specific archetypes for operations abroad and export-related activities on the home campus. Some of these archetypes are purely revenue-oriented, others are research intensive and contributory. A new hybrid form can blend the two archetypes or compartmentalisation can allow for two separate archetypes to exist within the same organisation.

Just as Thornton and Ocasio (1999) linked new institutional logics to increases in the size of an organisation and its new ownership structures, the competition between corporate and community logics has led to changes in the extent of international operations and changes to the modes of ownership for these operations. There is still

a tension between collegial academic traditions and managerial corporate orientations and incompatibilities between these orientations have not been resolved. The role of internationalisation in universities has started to change and as universities move towards more comprehensive approaches to internationalisation, new institutional logics must combine rather than compete.

As Hudzik (2011) notes for the United States' higher education sector, 'comprehensive internationalisation' has yet to be achieved in the Australian higher education sector. For universities to overcome fragmentation of international strategies, they must coordinate international strategies and structures and diffuse international dimensions across the universities (Middlehurst & Woodfield, 2007). However, in this process of alignment and coordination, those international operations focused on corporate practices and revenue maximisation must now be modified to align with the broader aims and missions of the university. However, if commercialisation and internationalisation at Australian universities are indeed completely interwoven (see Edwards & Edwards, 2001), any effort to disentangle them may now be futile. The approach of segmenting and compartmentalising institutional logics might permanently fail to contain market logics to the international operations of each university. If comprehensive internationalisation is to be achieved, the logics driving international operations must align with the logics driving the university as a whole.

7.5 Theoretical contributions

The contribution of this thesis is in identifying two orientations of university internationalisation. One orientation is driven by the market leading to international practices similar to those followed by multinational corporations. The other orientation

is driven by academia leading to practices that aim to benefit particular communities of students, scholars or broader society. The clash of these orientations is found to be a central problem for senior international managers who must choose an orientation or find a way to reconcile multiple orientations. One way to reconcile multiple logics is to contain the market logics to commercial suboperations although, as universities realign all operations, this compartmentalisation becomes unsustainable. A further contribution of this thesis is in the exploration of institutional logics within a critical realist paradigm as well as theoretical understanding of how actors make decisions based on two or more contradictory orientations.

This thesis has provided theoretical and analytical explanations of pluralistic and fragmented environments by testing the applicability of the institutional logics perspective. It contributes to our understanding of institutional logics on macro, meso and micro levels and connects them through retroduction as per a critical realist ontology. Though the organisations studied are not international businesses, this thesis may be useful to international business scholars by explaining how internationalisation process models could be adapted to organisations that do not follow traditional logics and practices common among multinational corporations. If universities fully corporatise, international business research will have increasing value in explaining their internationalisation processes. Corporatisation may also lead to this institutional sector, with its high need to conform to institutional rules, becoming a technical sector dominated by market logics (see Hinings & Tolbert, 2008; Meyer & Scott, 1992; Scott & Meyer, 1994). In that case, the explanatory value of institutional theory diminishes. At this stage, though, institutionalised settings and organisations

that do not fit neatly within our definition of ‘firms’ challenge international business theorising on internationalisation. Models from international business need to be adapted to explain university internationalisation (e.g. Edwards & Edwards, 2001; Sugden, 2004) or need to be completely rebuilt.

This thesis also responds to Webb et al. (2011) who note that scholarly research has yet to explain adequately how changes in the institutional environment can substantially alter organisational processes and outcomes of activities. Following the path of Deem, Hillyard and Reed (2007), this thesis has examined the complex interplay between institutional change, sector reform and new organisational forms. Though we have often seen education as highly institutionalised (see Delucchi, 2000; Detert & Pollock, 2008; Kamens, 1971; Milem et al., 2000), this thesis suggests that through the competition between institutional logics, there is a gradual de-institutionalisation of some previous institutional archetypes. Then there is institutionalisation of corporate or hybrid archetypes – especially for organisational forms used by universities in foreign markets. We expect universities to be highly institutionalised due to their long traditions, conservative cultures and, as Heugens and Lander (2009) suggest, stronger isomorphic forces because they regularly interact with government agencies. However, with university autonomy and pockets of corporatisation, there is now much greater scope for divergence and differentiation.

Transnational education for Australian universities has been seen to be in a mature phase of development (Banks et al., 2010; Murray, 2011) but the findings of this study suggest possible changes contractions. Transnational education reflects extensions of university organisational forms into new markets in some cases although in many of

them, operations abroad are highly commercial, teaching intensive and lack a clear connection to research or to social benefit approaches. Changes to government funding and new regulatory constraints originally led to these revenue-oriented operations. Now, there are strong incentives to move away from revenue-centric transnational education towards research-intensive operations and regulatory requirements to ensure student outcomes offshore are equivalent to those offshore. This is not peculiar to Australia; a recent Quality Assurance Agency for Higher Education (QAA, 2014) cites regulatory requirements imposed by the United Kingdom and the United Arab Emirates relating to branch campuses to demonstrate quality equivalence to home campuses. This pressure for quality is coupled with the growing quality of local educational providers. In some countries, local partners have already outgrown their reliance on partnerships with foreign universities (Clayton & Ziguras, 2011) and some countries have introduced regulation to require students to take a larger part of twinning programs in their home countries (Murray, 2011).

Within critical realism, institutional logics in the real domain may unfold into the actual domain of institutions down to the empirical domain where the variation in actions of actors depends on contextual factors (Leca & Naccache, 2006). In this case, ‘situational logics’ give directional guidance to actors and predispose them to specific courses of action (see Archer, 2014; Herepath, 2014; Willmott, 2000) while multiple logics suggest multiple courses of action. The universities could move towards even greater corporatisation and international modes which focus more on income generation than community benefit, but this has not become the only dominant motive for international activities. In fact, it is becoming less dominant where universities are

moving towards holisitic and comprehensive approaches.

Welch et al. (2011) argue that, for critical realists, different causal mechanisms are activated depending on the conditions on which they operate (see also Bhaskar, 2011; Sayer, 2010). If and when they are activated, the effects of these causal mechanisms depend on context (Fairclough, Jessop, & Sayer, 2002). Through retroduction, the corporate concepts and motivations observed among the university managers may be evidence of a corporate institutional logic activating events shaped by institutional pressures and being experienced by managers. Under a different set of institutional conditions and contexts, community-oriented goals and programs observed among managers may be evidence of a community institutional logic activating events shaped by institutional pressures and being experienced by managers. In this way we may have what Sharpe (2004) calls “a theoretical hoist out of the micro-level of agents’ conceptualizations to the macro-level structures in which those actors are participating.” In this case, there seems to be two different sets of conceptualisations tied to two different macro-level institutional logics.

The main contribution made by this thesis is to the field of higher education management and the topic of university internationalisation. According to a volume by Meyer and Rowan (2006), a great many new developments have occurred in the education sector but scarce new developments in the way new institutionalists have investigated educational organisations. Burch (2007) also argues that new institutionalists in education have been slow to incorporate theoretical developments compared with other domains of research. Frølich et al. (2013) suggest that within the organisational field of higher education we have yet to open the ‘black box’ of dynamic

institutional templates and the enactment of those templates as part of the various strategic choices that are available inside organisations.

This thesis finds that international activities have been highly profit-centric and corporatised in the past but are not devoid of academic values and the logics of community benefit. Harmonising these international activities with broader goals may garner external legitimacy with regulators in Australia and abroad as well as improving the internal legitimacy of international programs within each university. As Sharrock (2014: 338) notes, university leaders are likely to face continuing resistance to business practices among staff who do not see their university as 'corporate', do not understand the need for a 'business model' and instead aim to be "a community of scholars, not a business". The senior managers interviewed acknowledge the trend towards business-like practices but do not see a corporate or business organisational form as the desired or inevitable outcome. The most corporatised international programs threaten the overall identity of universities and must be either: compartmentalised and contained as commercial subunits; reintegrated and realigned into the other aims of the university; or discontinued through market withdrawal.

7.6 Implications for managers

This study will assist university managers to better understand how forces in the external environment impact international programs. University managers already recognise the importance of regulatory conformance but there may be less of an understanding of how their decisions are constrained and enabled by changing norms and cognitive frames of reference such as those related to risk tolerance. Host country institutional environments were found to present both positive and negative influences

consistent with Schwens et al. (2011). Managers will benefit from a greater awareness of the nature and impact of local regulatory and normative forces on their foreign branches and partnerships. Branches and other forms of overseas expansion for universities pose significant risks to finances and reputations (see Shanahan & McParlane, 2005; Wilkins & Huisman, 2012) so a better understanding of these risks should help managers formulate more accurate cases for foreign expansion.

The managers interviewed clearly understand the limitations and dangers of purely profit-centred international programs and have expressed a desire to move towards comprehensive, coordinated and holistic internationalisation. The steps towards achieving this are still not completely clear but the findings in this thesis show that there is a clear impetus for change, an industry-wide willingness to collaborate, and a tendency for regulators to encourage moves away from profit-centred foreign operations. Moving towards comprehensive internationalisation may involve comprehensive alignment with one institutional logic. Using a single case study of a religious university, DeJordy et al. (2014: 305) note that “when an institution requires such complete, holistic, and comprehensive commitment of its members, the ability for actors to balance multiple logics is diminished”. With recent moves towards fee deregulation, budget reductions and more favourable conditions for private providers in Australia reported by the media (see Kniest, 2014; Pyne, 2014; STANSW, 2014), the logic of corporatisation may indeed become more comprehensive and profit orientations may intensify to challenge more traditional logics and inhibit actors from drawing on multiple logics in tandem. Thus, there may be an even greater need to reconcile these pressures to reduce costs and improve accountability with respect to

the core aims of universities.

7.7 Limitations and further research

Institutional change at some levels occurs over decades or centuries (Williamson, 2000). This research design retroactively investigated major changes in the past and thus cannot adequately explain change in deeply embedded and slow changing institutions. Some universities entered foreign markets two decades ago and the university managers involved in the original decisions were not interviewed so a further longitudinal study may be useful or there may be a need for greater historical and archival work. This may be particularly important to explain long term cycles which could involve iterative upward and downward cycles, as found for some multinational corporations by Santangelo and Meyer (2011). The cross section aimed to better understand recent sector wide changes but a longitudinal or deep set of case studies may help to further explain the context and outcomes of competing institutional logics. Further research could also depart from step-based or stage-based models to a study of the fine grained micro-processes of internationalisation (see Welch & Paavilainen-Mäntymäki, 2014). Further research could also try to determine the weight assigned to each institutional logic by university managers or other relevant respondents.

The impact of proposed fee deregulation and greater privatisation is unlikely to be uniform across the university sector and further research is needed to anticipate and explain potential long term impacts for university managements and their international operations. There may now be opportunities for new private education players who are less inhibited by institutional forces. As Aldrich (2010) observed in higher education in the United States, strongly institutionalised forces rewarded inertia and commitment to

traditions, making established players unimaginative while new private players entered without such constraints as they were originally outside the system. There may also be a growing imperative for universities to work with corporations to fill the budgetary holes left by reductions in funding. Indeed, this was explicitly encouraged by Education Minister Pyne (Pyne, 2014: 22): “I hope to see increasing support and encouragement from business and the wider community, in the form of philanthropy, research partnerships and commercial ventures.” At the policy level, research on ‘assemblage’ may identify ways to reconcile multiple institutional logics by showing how competing values can be brought together or reordered to make them consistent and implementable (see Rizvi & Lingard, 2011).

7.8 Chapter conclusion

This chapter has drawn out key conclusions on the nature of institutional forces impacting higher education internationalisation. These forces are linked to underlying institutional logics and organisational change in the form of changes in the orientation and degree of international goals and programs. The theoretical contributions are suggested in relation to three scholarly fields: new institutionalism in organisational analysis, higher education and international business. This thesis contributes to our understanding of highly institutionalised empirical settings that have pluralistic orientations and goals. The thesis also has implications for higher education managers, especially those who aim to reconcile corporate approaches with traditional logics of academic communities. There are clear limitations due to the methodological constraints but these limitations also present fruitful opportunities for future research to more clearly explain the phenomenon of university internationalisation.

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Appendix A: Explanatory statements

Supervisor's explanatory statement

Dear Colleague,

I am currently supervising a student project at the Department of Marketing and Management, Macquarie University into Australian universities and their internationalisation processes. A doctoral student, Mr Mark Tayar, will be conducting this research. Using the Universities Australia register we have identified a number of universities that may be suitable for the research. Due to your university's international focus and experience with transnational courses, your university was included. I would like to invite you to participate in the study which is funded by our faculty's doctoral grant.

This research into internationalisation processes of Australian universities is being conducted to meet the requirements of Doctorate of Philosophy in Marketing and Management under my supervision. I can be contacted by email to rob.jack@mq.edu.au or phone +61 2 9850 8463.

The research process will require an interview with 3-5 senior managers of the International Office or offshore branch or with staff responsible for functional areas such as international marketing and transnational campus management. It is recognised that some of these responsibilities within your university may be handled by the same person. Each interview, which may last for about an hour, will be conducted by Mr Mark Tayar, at a time and place that is suitable for each interviewee.

For convenience's sake, it is assumed that all interviews will occur at the interviewee's place of employment. Please note that participation is voluntary and any information provided by interviewees is confidential and completely anonymous. No individual organisation or person will be identifiable in the results. However, if requested, each interviewee will be able to view the transcript of their interview.

The research findings will be available to you on request when the project is completed. It is intended that the research outcome will be used to provide a better understanding of the form and pattern of the international activities of Australian universities. Although participating universities will remain anonymous, the research is likely to be of value to you and your university in analysing different internationalisation strategies adopted by other universities.

I would highly appreciate your assistance with this research. If you would like to discuss this

further, please feel free to contact me.

Yours faithfully,

Dr. Robert Jack,

Lecturer - International Business

Department of Marketing and Management, Macquarie University NSW, 2109

Phone +61 2 9850 8463 Fax +61 2 9850 6065

Candidate's explanatory statement

Project Title: Institutional pressures constraining or progressing internationalisation: the case of Australian public universities

My name is Mark Tayar and I am conducting research under the supervision of Dr. Robert Jack (contact details below) in the Department of Marketing and Management to meet the requirements of a higher degree research thesis (Doctorate of Marketing and Management) at Macquarie University.

The aim of the research is to investigate institutional forces such as regulations, competitive pressures and social norms and their role on university internationalisation. The research will make a contribution to internationalisation theory by generating a better understanding of the manner in which Australian universities have internationalised.

The research adopts a case study approach whereby a number of key individuals will be interviewed. Selected universities have been recommended by representative bodies such as the Australian Trade Commission (Austrade) and Universities Australia. As required by this research project, specific information will be required in functional areas such as marketing, strategy and international operations.

Selected universities have been contacted independently to ascertain the identities of personnel/managers responsible for the aforementioned areas. This is how your name has been identified for participation in the research.

The study will require, in your particular case, a meeting with the intention of answering questions about the internationalisation of your university, the motivations behind internationalisation and the factors influencing internationalisation decisions. With your permission, I would like to record the audio of the meetings and take notes. The meeting will last about an hour. You can withdraw from this study at any stage before, during or after these interviews for whatever reason.

The confidentiality of the results will be strictly enforced. Access to written records and audiotapes from the interviews will be available only to both myself and my supervisor. Although the material will not be used for commercial purposes, information about the results of the project will be presented in my thesis and at relevant conferences, and seminars. It is intended that the findings will also be submitted for publication in relevant academic journals. Identification of the university, unless otherwise instructed by you, will remain anonymous.

Results will be saved as electronic files (word file, excel file, power point slides, and

potentially other softwares including NVivo) and will be printed out in hard copies. A copy of the completed transcript of our interview will be forwarded to you for verification within one week of the interview on your request. At your request, the final thesis will be sent to you via postal mail and/or e-mail. The written reports will be stored for at least five years as prescribed by the university regulations.

You may decline to provide me any information simply by informing me. You will not be required to give a reason not to participate fully in the interviews. If you have any queries or would like to be informed of the aggregate research findings, please contact my supervisor, Dr. Robert Jack (02) 9850 8463.

If you do decide to participate in this research, review and complete the attached informed consent form. You will be given a copy of your signed consent form for your records.

Thank you

Mark Tayar

Doctoral Candidate
Department of Marketing and Management,
Faculty of Business and Economics,
Macquarie University, 2109
Tel: 0468 490 310
Email: mark.tayar@mq.edu.au

Contact details of research supervisor

Dr. Robert Jack

Lecturer – International Business
Department of Marketing and Management,
Faculty of Business and Economics,
Macquarie University, 2109
Tel: (02) 98506065
Fax: (02) 98506065
Email: rob.jack@mq.edu.au

Informed consent form

Chief Investigator's / Supervisor's Name: Dr Robert Jack

Chief Investigator's / Supervisor's Title: Lecturer - Department of Marketing and Management

Name of Project: Institutional pressures constraining or progressing internationalisation: the case of Australian public universities

You are invited to participate in a study of internationalisation strategies of Australian universities. The purpose of the study is to investigate how various institutional forces such as government and competitive constraints lead to different internationalisation decisions. The aim of the research is to investigate how regulative, cognitive and normative forces shape decision-making and entry into new markets with transnational programs or international student recruitment. The research will make a contribution to internationalisation theory by generating a better understanding of the manner in which Australian universities have internationalised.

If you decide to participate, you will be asked to take part in a meeting with the intention of answering questions about the internationalisation of your university, the motivations behind internationalisation and the factors influencing decision-making and international strategic planning. With your permission, we would like to record the audio of the meetings and take notes. The meeting will last about an hour and only one interview will be needed. You can withdraw from this study at any stage before, during or after these interviews for whatever reason. No payment or reimbursement will be provided.

Any information or personal details gathered in the course of the study are confidential (except as required by law). No individual will be identified in any publication of the results. The confidentiality of the results will be strictly enforced. Access to written records and audiotapes from the interviews will be available only to both myself and my supervisor. Although the material will not be used for commercial purposes, information about the results of the project will be presented in my thesis and at relevant conferences, and seminars. It is intended that the findings will also be submitted for publication in relevant academic journals. Identification of the university, unless otherwise instructed by you, will remain anonymous. A summary of the results of the data can be made available to you on request.

Results will be saved as electronic files (word file, excel file, power point slides, and

potentially other softwares including NVivo) and will be printed out in hard copies. A copy of the completed transcript of our interview will be forwarded to you for verification within one week of the interview on your request. The written reports will be stored for at least five years as prescribed by the university regulations.

Participation in this study is entirely voluntary: you are not obliged to participate and if you decide to participate, you are free to withdraw at any time without having to give a reason and without consequence.

I, _____ have read *(or, where appropriate, have had read to me)* and understand the information above and any questions I have asked have been answered to my satisfaction. I agree to participate in this research, knowing that I can withdraw from further participation in the research at any time without consequence. I have been given a copy of this form to keep.

Participant's Name:

Participant's Signature: _____ Date:

Investigator's Name ___**Mark Tayar**___

Investigator's Signature: _____ Date:

The ethical aspects of this study have been approved by the Macquarie University Human Research Ethics Committee. If you have any complaints or reservations about any ethical aspect of your participation in this research, you may contact the Committee through the Director, Research Ethics (telephone (02) 9850 7854; email ethics@mq.edu.au). Any complaint you make will be treated in confidence and investigated, and you will be informed of the outcome.

Appendix B: Sample interview questions

Interview Questions

- How important are the following aspects of internationalisation to this university: transnational education, internationalisation of the curriculum, international student recruitment to Australia, student and staff mobility?
- What is the main aim of your internationalisation efforts?
- Would you say there is an end goal of internationalisation?
- Would you call your university entrepreneurial in terms of its internationalisation strategy?
- How do your internationalisation activities support broader institutional goals?

Motives

- What is the main reason for starting a new transnational program?
- What are the main motives for your branch campus?
- Why would you seek to increase the number of international students recruited to study onshore?
- Do your offshore partners have similar motives to you?

Cognitive forces

- How would you describe the university's attitude towards risk?
- Do you share the same attitude towards risk as the university?
- What do you personally think the main aim of a university should be?

Mimetic forces

- Did you model your internationalisation strategy on other universities?
- Why do you think your university is more active offshore than members of your strategic group?
- Do you think your experience with branch campuses have reduced the likelihood of opening new branches?
- What about successful competitors –do they motivate you to enter new markets?
- Do you think other universities have copied your internationalisation strategies?

Normative forces

- How does being a public university impact what you can and can't do internationally?
- Do you think it's OK to have a public image as an entrepreneurial university?
- How do your international strategies compare to those used by multinational corporations?
- Is there a risk that the public could see your international activities as profit-motivated?

Branding and prestige

- What main factors impact reputation of this university?
- Have your branch campuses contributed to the university's reputation?

Coercive forces

- How would you describe the university's level of dependence on governments?
- How have these levels of dependence changed over the last five years?
- How is the formation of TEQSA impacting your transnational programs?
- Do local governments require modification of offshore programs to align with local conditions?
- How do governments help you internationalise?

Mode options

- Are there any current modes of offshore delivery you would like to see discontinued?
- Are there any new modes of offshore delivery you would like to adopt in the future?
- How does online delivery to international students perform as a mode?
- How has the performance of offshore programs impacted plans for new programs?

Internationalisation process

- Are partners necessary for your transnational activities going forward?
- Do you plan to replicate your current offshore models in new markets?
- Why haven't you entered new foreign markets recently?
    - What would lead your university to withdraw from a foreign market?
- Appendix D: Ethics Approval

Appendix C: Financial dependency ranking

Public University Revenues & Government Grant Income 2003-2012

(AU $Million)

University	10 Year Total Revenues	10 Year Total Govt grants	Proportion
Swinburne University of Technology	$3,739	$869	23.2%
Central Queensland University	$2,528	$704	27.8%
Macquarie University	$4,873	$1,399	28.7%
Victoria University	$3,744	$1,116	29.8%
RMIT University	$6,468	$1,930	29.8%
Federation University Australia	$1,948	$606	31.1%
Charles Darwin University	$1,811	$612	33.8%
Curtin University	$5,918	$2,020	34.1%
University of Technology, Sydney	$4,605	$1,619	35.2%
Deakin University	$5,225	$1,895	36.3%
Murdoch University	$2,580	$994	38.5%
Griffith University	$5,778	$2,246	38.9%
Monash University	$11,946	$4,734	39.6%
Queensland University of Technology	$6,126	$2,438	39.8%
La Trobe University	$4,690	$1,876	40.0%
University of Sydney	$12,916	$5,396	41.8%
University of Canberra	$1,501	$628	41.9%
Edith Cowan University	$2,902	$1,216	41.9%
University of Melbourne	$13,669	$5,821	42.6%
University of Wollongong	$3,642	$1,584	43.5%
University of Queensland	$11,410	$4,988	43.7%
Charles Sturt University	$3,126	$1,372	43.9%
Australian Catholic University	$1,842	$814	44.2%
University of Western Australia	$6,443	$2,849	44.2%
University of New South Wales	$10,552	$4,722	44.8%
University of Newcastle	$4,350	$1,990	45.7%
University of South Australia	$4,319	$1,993	46.1%
University of Southern Queensland	$1,881	$876	46.6%
Southern Cross University	$1,437	$681	47.4%
University of Adelaide	$5,597	$2,702	48.3%
University of Western Sydney	$4,364	$2,114	48.4%
James Cook University	$2,879	$1,422	49.4%
Flinders University	$2,885	$1,495	51.8%
University of the Sunshine Coast	$890	$473	53.1%
University of New England	$2,016	$1,073	53.2%
University of Tasmania	$3,780	$2,166	57.3%
Australian National University	$8,096	$4,880	60.3%

2003-2012 Financial data from the Department of Education, Australian Commonwealth Government. Only federal government grants are included.

Appendix D: Ethics Approval

Final Approval -5201200089 29 March 2012

Dear Dr. Robert Jack

Re: **Perceived performance of international service delivery modes: the case of Australian transnational universities** (Ethics Ref: 5201200089(D))

Thank you for your recent correspondence. Your response has addressed the issues raised by the Faculty of Business & Economics Human Research Ethics Sub Committee, and you may now commence your research.

This research meets the requirements of the National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Human Research (2007). The National Statement is available at the following web site:
http://www.nhmrc.gov.au/_files_nhmrc/publications/attachments/e72.pdf.

The following personnel are authorised to conduct this research:
Chief Investigator: Robert Jack
Other Personnel: Mark Tayar

NB. STUDENTS: IT IS YOUR RESPONSIBILITY TO KEEP A COPY OF THIS APPROVAL EMAIL TO SUBMIT WITH YOUR THESIS.

Please note the following standard requirements of approval:

1. The approval of this project is conditional upon your continuing compliance with the National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Human Research (2007).
2. Approval will be for a period of five (5) years subject to the provision of annual reports. Progress Report 1 Due: 29 March 2013
   Progress Report 2 Due: 29 March 2014
   Progress Report 3 Due: 29 March 2015
   Progress Report 4 Due: 29 March 2016
   Final Report Due: 29 March 2017

NB. If you complete the work earlier than you had planned you must submit a Final Report as soon as the work is completed. If the project has been discontinued or not commenced for any reason, you are also required to submit a Final Report for the project.

Progress reports and Final Reports are available at the following website:
http://www.research.mq.edu.au/for/researchers/how_to_obtain_ethics_approval/human_research_ethics/forms

3. If the project has run for more than five (5) years you cannot renew approval for the project. You will need to complete and submit a Final Report and submit a new application for the project. (The five year limit on renewal of approvals allows the Committee to fully re-review research in an environment where legislation, guidelines and requirements are continually changing, for example, new child protection and privacy laws).

4. All amendments to the project must be reviewed and approved by the Committee before implementation. Please complete and submit a Request for Amendment Form available at the following website:

http://www.research.mq.edu.au/for/researchers/how_to_obtain_ethics_approval/human_research_ethics/forms

5. Please notify the Committee immediately in the event of any adverse effects on participants or of any unforeseen events that affect the continued ethical acceptability of the project.At all times you are responsible for the ethical conduct of your research in accordance with the guidelines established by the University. This information is available at the following websites:

http://www.mq.edu.au/policy/

http://www.research.mq.edu.au/for/researchers/how_to_obtain_ethics_approval/human_research_ethics/policy

If you will be applying for or have applied for internal or external funding for the above project it is your responsibility to provide the Macquarie University's Research Grants Management Assistant with a copy of this email as soon as possible. Internal and External funding agencies will not be informed that you have final approval for your project and funds will not be released until the Research Grants Management Assistant has received a copy of this email.

If you need to provide a hard copy letter of Final Approval to an external organisation as evidence that you have Final Approval, please do not hesitate to contact the FBE Ethics Committee Secretariat, Yanru Ouyang, via yanru.ouyang@mq.edu.au or 9850 4826.

Please retain a copy of this email as this is your official notification of final ethics approval.

Yours sincerely
Alan Kilgore
Chair, Faculty of Business and Economics Ethics Sub-Committee

MACQUARIE University
SYDNEY · AUSTRALIA

September 2015

Mark Tayar