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Grounding Globalism through Self-Reflexive Area Studies: A Case Study of Internationalization at the National University of Singapore (NUS)

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Abstract english

Calls for universities to internationalize in order to survive and develop successfully in the international higher education market of the 21st century have been sounded in all the world regions. The trend within Asia is for universities to internationalize in a manner that would reflect and take into account the Asian region. On that account, this thesis seeks to investigate how self-reflexive areas studies may be catered as a strategy for universities to internationalize comprehensively and in a fashion that would remain grounded in the locale that they are embedded in. To explore the role of self-reflexive area studies in grounding the internationalization process at universities, the model of internationalization taking place at the National University of Singapore (NUS) together with the nature of their area studies research centres will be examined using James L. Peacock's concept of 'grounded globalism.' Bearing in mind that universities are factually located within the political realm of the nation state, a retrospective approach will be taken to examine a number of initiatives ministered by the Singapore government that suggest the government's model of compromise between the country's international standing and its regional and local roots. The recurring patterns of spatial negotiations construed from these initiatives will be taken into consideration in the assessment of the internationalization agenda at NUS and proceed to conclude how the specific nature of the University's internationalization agenda can be perceived as an enlargement of the Singapore government's national agenda for the country to become a 'Global-Asia hub.'

Abstract german

Aufrufe an Universitäten sich zu internationalisieren um zu überleben und sich erfolgreich am Ausbildungsmarkt des 21. Jahrhundert zu entwickeln, werden in allen Weltregionen laut. Der Trend innerhalb Asiens für Universitäten sich zu internationalisieren geht dahin, auf die Region Asien zu reflektieren und diese zu berücksichtigen. Darum untersucht diese Arbeit wie selbstreflexive Area Studies ausgerichtet werden können, um als Strategie von Universitäten für eine umfassende Internationalisierung verwendet werden zu können, wobei sie in ihrem lokalem Umfeld eingebettet bleiben. Sowohl die Modellrolle der selbstreflexiven Area Studies als Fundament des Prozesses der Internationalisierung der Universität von Singapur (NUS), als auch die Natur ihrer Area Studies Forschungszentren, werden unter Verwendung des Konzepts „grounded globalism“ von James L. Peacock untersucht. Unter Berücksichtigung der Tatsache, dass Universitäten im politischen Feld der Nationalstaaten angesiedelt sind, wird ein retrospektiver Zugang genommen, um eine Reihe von Regierungsinitiativen zu untersuchen, die einen Kompromiss zwischen dem internationalem Ruf des Landes und seiner regionalen und lokalen Wurzeln darstellen. Die sich wiederholenden Muster der räumlichen Verhandlungen, die durch diese Initiativen konstruiert werden, finden Eingang in die Analyse der Internationalisierungsagenda der NUS, und geht über in eine Conclusio, welche die spezifische Natur der Internationalisierungsagenda der Universität als eine Erweiterung der Nationalenagenda der Regierung Singapurs angesehen werden kann, um ihr Land in ein „Global-Asia hub“ zu verwandeln.

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CHAPTER I

Introduction

Much has been thought and said about globalization. Research on contemporary globalization covers a wide range of themes from global governance and the world economy to cultural imperialism and environmentalism. However, there is one linkage that connects them all and that is the issue of spatial parameters. Conceptual units and phrases, such as “space of flows,” “space of places,” “space-time compression,” “deteritorialization,” “supraterritoriality,” “glocalization,” “grounded globalism,” and “diasporas,” have been proposed all departing from the notion that spatiality and geographical scales are no longer as static and self-enclosed as they previously were conceived to be, but they are decidedly fluid, “historically produced, reconfigured, and transformed” (Brenner, 1999, p. 40)

The mid-twentieth century witnessed a new wave of thinking known as the “spatial turn” that brought change to the spatial hierarchy of interactions previously predominated by the nation-state (Middell and Naumann, 2010, p. 150) This was a period characterized by the rise of technological innovations that entitled new non-state actors, such as multinational companies and international organizations, to make use of the groundswell of global interrelations ergo reshaping the spatial hierarchy of global interaction. However, despite the arguments propounded by hyperglobalists, such as Kenichi Ohmae (1995) the Japanese business and corporate strategist and his notorious publication of “The End of the Nation State: The Rise of Regional Economies,” state-territorial space continue to possess legitimate sovereign rule.

On that account, new modes of analysis are needed. Modes that do not perceive state territoriality as natural and locked but rather “challenge the iron grip of the nation-state on the social imagination” (Agnew, 1994, p. 54). Within the academe, leading-edge research clusters have been established as new of modes of analysis of the production, reconfiguration, transformation of spatiality brought by contemporary globalization. Among them is the research category “portals of globalization” proposed by the Centre for Area Studies (CAS), which is an interdisciplinary and interdepartmental research institute at the University of Leipzig in Germany. Portals of globalization are particular sites where global flows are particularly dense and constant spatial production, reconfiguration, and transformation take place (Middell and Naumann, 2010, p. 165).

Within this framework, universities can also be perceived as portals of globaliza-

tion, as at present day they are sites where transnational flows of people, programs, projects, ideas, and knowledge interface. Kerr (1994, p. 6) states, "Universities are, by nature of their commitment to advancing universal knowledge, essentially international institutions, but they have been living, increasingly, in a world of nation-states that have designs on them." Nonetheless, governments today have been introducing new forms of managerialism that allow different levels and types of actors to play a role in directing and regulating the course and direction of state universities (Knight, 2012). On that account, novel ways of managing transnational flows within universities have been formulated; each of them having their own set of rationales that articulate a particular university's expected outcomes.

Attempts to make sense of the international dimension of higher education and the predicaments they continue to entail have led to the emergence of a new field of interest that is international higher education. It is interesting to note how at the beginning due to the lack of research tradition and the transient paucity of theoretical frameworks and concepts, methods of analysis, and R & D clusters (Teichler, 1996) international higher education and higher education in general did not receive much recognition as an academic field. However, since the mid-1990s there have been an increasing number of academic journals on international higher education, e.g. *The Journal of Studies in International Education*, *Frontiers*, and *Educacion Global*, that continue to investigate and at the same time document international higher education trends and issues both from thematic and regional perspectives (de Wit, 2007).

The same intellectual enthusiasm is also reflected, albeit being a more recent development, in the establishment of research centres focused on the effects of globalization to higher education and vice versa. Among them include the International Center for Higher Education Research at the University of Kassel, Germany and the Center for International Higher Education at Boston College, the United States. Since then stronger theoretical bases and more strategic and comprehensive approaches have been developed for devising institutional strategies that may help universities to not only meet the demands of globalization, but also to make use of the global forces for their benefits.

Within international higher education, the term 'internationalization' has emerged, and its prevalence has strengthened in the last two or three decades. Although at times used interchangeably, the terms 'globalization' and 'internationalization,' are in fact two terms with two different meanings. Altbach and Knight (2007, p. 290) differentiate them by defining the prior to be "the context of economic and academic trends that are part

of the reality of the 21st century” and the latter as “the policies and practices undertaken by academic systems and institutions—and even individuals—to cope with the global academic environment.”

Part of the current debate regarding internationalization revolves around the shift from an activity-based strategy to a more strategic and comprehensive model (Knight & de Wit, 1997; Nolan and Hunter, 2012; Hudzik and Stohl, 2012). Indeed, the earlier models of internationalization have had a rather narrow fragmented approach and scope regarding what higher education internationalization encompasses, as Rumbley, Altbach, and Reisberg (2012, p. 3) argue, “...at the beginning of the 21st century, international orientations, characteristics, and programmatic offerings of a college or university may have been perceived as merely an interesting and appealing component of an institution’s profile.”

In the following analogy, Hudzik and Stohl (2009) describe the earlier models of internationalization as a list of “products” that universities and higher education institutions in general could select and attach to their profile: “Many see internationalization as one of the shops in the university mall from which some elect to purchase the product, rather than as something to which all shops in the mall contribute in unique ways.” As a result, although from the 1980s up to the early 20th century there was an escalation in “new concepts, programs, providers, and methods of delivery” (Deardorff, de Wit, and Heyl, 2012, p. ix) internationalization remained in practice disjointed from the institutional vision and mission of a university (Hudzik and Stohl, 2009).

In a period of heightened globalization, the timing for propositions of new models of internationalization that are more strategic and comprehensive could not be more propitious. Knight (2004, p. 11) proposes the following definition for a more comprehensive model of internationalization that encompasses the three integral aspects of higher education, i.e. purpose, functions, and delivery: “The process of integrating an international, intercultural, or global dimension into the purpose, functions or delivery of post-secondary education.” This definition was also adopted in the report composed by the Taskforce on Institutional Management of Study Abroad (NAFSA: Association of International Educators, 2008).

Hudzik (2011, p. 19) along the same lines of Knight develops a more detailed working definition of a comprehensive internationalization (CI) model, which runs as follows,

“Comprehensive internationalization is commitment and action to infuse International, global and comparative content and perspective throughout the teaching,₇

research and service missions of higher education. It shapes institutional ethos and values, and touches the entire higher education enterprise... Comprehensive internationalization not only impacts all of campus life, but the institution's external frames of reference, partnerships and relationships."

It is interesting to note the shift in perspective, as the CI model no longer perceives international activities, partnerships, or programs as models of internationalization but rather as components or strategies within the larger CI model. Nevertheless, Taylor (2012, p. 106) notes that despite the comprehensiveness of the models of internationalization developing at present day, "universities have also become more selective in their approach, often concentrating their efforts on a limited number of high-profile initiatives."

I.1 Problem Formulation

With internationalization becoming more comprehensive infusing global, international, and intercultural dimensions into institutional visions and missions, there have been concerns from governments regarding potential "disembedment" of universities from their national contexts (Taylor, 2012). Thus, there is a need for comprehensive internationalization models that not only incline towards the increasing possibilities for global connections, but also consider and incorporate the space and geographical location that the universities are embedded in.

The urge to "go global" but at the same time remain rooted in the locale is relatively strong in the Asian higher education setting, as encouraged by Professor Anthony B. L. Cheung President of the Hong Kong Institute of Education (HKIEd, 2011) in a press release on the 4th World Universities Forum (WUF) held in 2011 in Hong Kong,

"There is this need for Asian universities to reconnect to Asia's scholarly traditions and to integrate the regional and local experiences with the global trends so that Asia will be able to contribute to the new wave of internationalization of higher education with a distinctive 'Asian Experience.'"

The imperative for Asian universities to internationalize in a fashion that would reflect a certain Asian-ness has been perceived as a strategic model of internationalization that would draw a distinction with the older North American and European universities, thus providing them the flagship to compete within the global higher education landscape (Rumbley, Altbach, and Reisberg, 2012). Baumann (2014, p. 2) also propounds the idea of strategic profiling by concentrating on specific regions, and sees it as "a niche in a competitive higher education market."

Although a number of theoretical concepts regarding the dynamics of the global and the locale have been proposed and resulted in terms, such as ‘global regionalism’ or ‘global localism,’ there remains a lacuna within international higher education literature regarding a comprehensive model of internationalization that aptly addresses the interplay between the global and the locale not only as flagship to the University’s profile, but also embodying the purpose and function of higher education as a site of knowledge production. Thus, this study recognizes the need for more in-depth studies exploring the institutional models of internationalization adopted in a number of leading Asian universities today using existing theoretical concepts that synergize dimensions of the global and the locale.

I.2 Case Study and Research Questions

Among the many theoretical concepts that have been proposed to address issues regarding the relation of space and society, the concept ‘grounded globalism’ introduced by the American anthropologist James L. Peacock in his book entitled “Grounded Globalism: How the U.S. South Embraces the World” (2007) emerges as a concept that does not seek to defy the importance of globalization but instead offers a model of identity that accommodates the co-existence of global and regional identities. The element of co-existing global and regional identities is an important feature of the concept, as Peacock argues that no matter how strong and pervasive the forces of globalization are regional identities remain and will not be replaced by any form of rootless systems (Peacock, 2007). Although grounded globalism as a model of identity was initially formulated with the U.S. South in mind, Peacock acknowledges that “there are many Souths” and they are all characterized by “a distinctively southern sense of place mixes reverence for ancestry and defensiveness against outsiders” (Peacock, 2007, p. 273).

Grounded globalism presents itself as a concept pertinent to Asia as a region that is eager to embrace globalization but bears a latent burden from centuries of a colonial past. This predicament is also reflected within the Asian higher education scene with Asian universities eager to embrace globalization but at the same time insisting on the importance of remaining rooted in a sense of place, tradition, and also history. On that account, this thesis seeks to use the concept grounded globalism to explore the model of internationalization adopted at the National University of Singapore (NUS) and Seoul National University (SNU) regarding the universities’ institutional efforts to synergize global and locale dimensions within their purposes and functions as a higher education

institutions.

One of the challenges in formulating the research questions that would guide the analysis of the case study is the lack of implementation of this concept within institutional accounts (Olson and Peacock, 2012). Nevertheless, Olson and Peacock (2012, p. 315) have identified a number of perspectives and bodies of research that have been infused or established within universities to counterweight the global inclination of their internationalization efforts; they include “area studies, ethnic studies, regional studies, and folklore.” Seeing as a number of scholars have identified how “universities need area studies to produce contextual knowledge in the world of globalization” (Ludden, 2003, p. 135; Khalidi, 2003) and there has been an intellectual demand for the “Asianization of Asian Studies” in Asia (Dirlik, 2010), this thesis seeks to also explore to what extent area studies may be catered as a strategy to ground the internationalization process at NUS.

The following research questions have been formulated to guide data collection and analysis from NUS and SNU in order to accomplish the purpose of this study:

1. What local, national and international dynamics drive the Singapore government’s strategic response to globalization?
2. How does this understanding help comprehend NUS’s conceptualization of its internationalization model?
3. What strategies do NUS adopt and develop as part of its internationalization model and how do area studies research conducted at the University fit within this agenda?

This study realizes that there no single model for internationalization, as each and every university is located in different realities of resources, e.g. wealth, human resources, managerialism, and they all affect the extent to which the university is motivated and enabled to internationalize (Altbach, Reisberg, & Rumbley, 2009). External factors outside the universities, such as national and regional dynamics also cannot be dismissed when examining the course and direction taken by a university (Green, Marmolejo, & Egron-Polak, 2012). Nevertheless, in the context of globalization today, more case studies as needed (Deem, 2001), as these institutional accounts will serve as alternatives for adoption or modification by other universities seeking to internationalize relating to their own contexts.

I.3 Methodological Account

The design of this study largely follows the qualitative research design. Strauss and Corbin (1988, p. 10) describe the nature of qualitative research to be,

“Any type of research that produces findings not arrived at by statistical procedures or other means of quantification. It can refer to research about persons’ lives, lived experiences, behaviours, emotions, and feelings as well as about organizational functioning, social movements, and cultural phenomena.”

The typical sources of qualitative data include observations and documents; all of which are analyzed with objectives of uncovering emerging themes, concepts, insights, and understandings instead of assessing progress and accomplishments (Patton, 2002).

There are two main reasons why the qualitative research design is believed to be suitable for this thesis. First of all, it is related to the lack of institutional accounts of the implementation of the ‘grounded globalism’ concept as a model of internationalization (Olson and Peacock, 2012), particularly on the specific role area studies research may play within this model. On that account, the qualitative research design provided the flexibility to go back and forth revising the research questions and the conceptual framework so that a logical chain of reasoning is created, and each part of the analysis became interconnected and explicable.

The second reason is related to the particularity of this study. Research on the institutional strategies for internationalization should depart on acknowledgement of the different contexts in which universities are embedded (Altbach et al., 2009). Case studies are one of the methods used within qualitative research design, and the results of it are in-depth understandings that do not attempt to be generalized on a large scale (Lincoln and Guba, 1985). Nevertheless, building case studies in the current context of globalization have been highly recommended (Deem, 2001), as it illuminates how and why a particular university chose to internationalize in a certain specific manner

Regarding the selection of the case study, Suter (2012, p. 204) argues that the case studies and the number of cases are also methodically decided and not chosen randomly:

“A single case may be selected because it defies a certain trend or prediction, and many cases may be selected due to their distinction to one another, similar shared characteristics, or how one case serves as grounds for developing a theory, while the second and the third respectively refine and evaluate that theory.”

NUS was selected as a single case study due to the specific purpose of this study that is to test the applicability of ‘grounded globalism’ as a model of internationalization that

synergizes global and locales dimensions within the purposes and functions of higher education institutions.

NUS presented itself as a fitting case study due to two main reasons. First, there are indicators of a global orientation not only at the University, but also on the government-level. From NUS' side it can be seen by the University's commitment to internationalize, as acknowledged by Times Higher Education (THE) World University Rankings issuing 94.3% (0-100) for accomplishment in international outlook (TES Global, 2014). From the government's side, it was the choice of English as the official working language despite its Asian location and Chinese being the major ethnic group within the country.

Second of all, beyond the efforts to embrace globalization, there are indicators of a territorial attachment to the region. This is reflected from the University's flagship that is extensively promoted as "A leading global university centred in Asia" (TES Global, 2014). Likewise, since the 1997 Asian Economic Crisis, the Singapore state is known for its strong advocacy for pan-Asianism and together with Malaysia has been known as proponents of "the Asian Way."

Regarding the data collection, data that are used within this thesis are not classified information, but materials that the University and the Singapore government have interest in making publicly available. The data include annual reports, press releases and information on the official websites. Naturally, this presents its own disadvantages, as the data only reflect certain aspects of the University that have been approved by the NUS International Corporate Office. However, as internationalization is in itself can also be perceived as a high-profile initiative or a marketing strategy, these data are believed to be legitimate for assessment.

I.4 Outline of Thesis

Regarding organization, including this chapter, this thesis will be divided into 5 chapters. Chapter 2 will contain the first part of the analysis that seeks to address the first research question regarding the local, national and international dynamics that the Singapore government is embedded in, and the nature of the spatial negotiations reflected through the government's regulatory mechanisms. Chapter 3 will be the second part of the analysis and will look at the model of internationalization conceptualized at NUS and whether similar spatial negotiations to that of the government are reflected within the model. This part of the analysis will apply the grounded globalism concept as a

structure to approach the University's internationalization model. The third and last part of the analysis will examine the nature of area studies research developing at NUS and how their self-reflexive themes when viewed from the grounded globalism concept serve as the roots to the University's internationalization model. The final chapter of this thesis will then contain conclusions, limitations and recommendations and discussions of where the study may be extended.

Chapter II

The Politics of Space in Singapore

Lefebvre once stated, “(social) space is a (social) product” (Elden, 2000, p. 101) Thus, within the increasingly borderless and integrated nature of the modern world today, the national space and the local space are not the only products in existence within territorial boundaries. There are arguable claims that contemporary globalization has introduced more products into the territorial realm of the nation-state, among them include sub-regional, regional and international space. As a result, governments today are required to develop innovative regulatory mechanisms that no longer fixate on a rigid dichotomy between spaces but accommodate the spatial negotiations that take place ubiquitously within and surrounding the nation-state.

This chapter seeks to look into the different spatial dynamics taking place within the Singapore state and how the government seeks to respond and manage them. Regarding organization, the first section of this chapter will look into the Asianization process that the Singapore government has launched and promoted within the country since the 1980s by assigning Asian identities to the various items and commodities in different sectors. Inclination towards the region will be examined side by side with the international and global orientations that the country has sought to pursue since its independence from British colonial rule.

The second section of this chapter then shifts its focus to the Singapore higher education system and look at two government initiatives, i.e. the Bilingual Education Policy (1966) and Higher Education Corporatization (2002). The initiatives will be examined based on two accounts. First of all, regarding how both initiatives are watersheds of the current overall success of Singapore and the country’s higher education system. Second of all is how both initiatives can be viewed as concessions of the spatial complexities within the state.

II.1 Regional Identity as a Government Project

Since the past two decades, the Singapore government has persistently highlighted its Asian location as an advantage within the different sectors that the government oversees (Yat-sen, 1994). Although Singapore is a small city-state with an area size of 255 square miles that is inhabited by less than 4.5 million people (National Geographic Society, 2014), big plans have been set up by the government as the country

undertakes the path to be “the global-Asian hub.” Singapore’s embarkation on this Asian regionalist paradigm can be traced to the former Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew who on behalf of the country actively spoke about “the Asian Way” and “the Asian Values” during the 1990s. Since then, the government have taken more comprehensive and strategic measures in all sectors to instill Asianness and revive the Pan-Asian movement.

Some scholars have observed how these measures are part of the government’s agenda to substantiate or justify Singapore’s claim as “the global hub of Asian expertise, while others see it as a niche for Singapore’s knowledge economy that would set it apart from other countries (Yew, 2013, p. 147). However, there have also been dissenting voices regarding the Singapore government’s actions strongly emphasizing in the country’s Asianness. These criticisms in general refer to the Western-oriented trajectory that the government took since its independence in 1965 that led to the country’s strong economic and political power today being one of Asia’s four tigers.

Singapore initially was a British trading center, before it then became a separate British colony. After gaining independence in 1963, Singapore became a part of the Malaysian Federation. However, due to ethnic conflicts between the Chinese and Malay, Singapore sought national sovereignty in 1965. After becoming a sovereign state, the Singapore government immediately went on many diplomatic missions in order to establish an international presence and gain external recognition (Elgin, 2010). In the year after its separation from the Malaysian federation, Singapore became a part of the United Nations (UN), joined the Commonwealth, and sought to establish diplomatic relations with other countries, particularly oriented towards the developed regions of the world.

The nature of Singapore government’s diplomatic agenda during the 1960 and 1970s was also reflected within its development and economic agendas. Singapore was lacking in proper infrastructure as well as in natural resources. Thus, in order to stimulate development, international assistance was sought from the developed regions of the world. The same pattern was reflected in the economic partnerships that the government worked to establish, particularly in the sector of foreign investment. Yew (2014, p. 54) argues for the pragmatism in the Singapore government’s early set-up plans: “Singapore was to be pragmatic, looking to the First World for foreign investment, developmental assistance and security, and consequently these measures created a deracinated, progressivist, and ultimately (economically) successful nation.”

In the late 1980s, after achieving political stability within the state, acknowledged

international presence, and high economic performers, the Singapore government began its Asianism agenda by promoting the “Asian Way” model of political development through “declarations of common Asian cultural values, increasing economic integration, heightened efforts of regional institutionalism, or reimagining Asia as a place with a more enduring civilizational heritage” (Yat-sen, 1994, p. 25). It is, however, important to note that Asianism, which stems from the pan-Asianism ideology, is not a concept exclusive to Singapore. It is a regional consciousness that has developed in different waves in the Asian countries at contrastive intensities and with different agendas.

Retrospectively, the pan-Asian movement itself can be traced back to the end of the 19th century when it was used by Japan to engender regional solidarity against Western imperial expansion after defeating Russia in 1905 (Milner and Johnson, 2002, p. 67). To achieve this goal, Japan designed a number of strategies that relied on the country’s higher education strength, such as establishing *Toyoshi* (Eastern History) as a formal discipline within a number of Japanese universities (Yat-sen, 1994, p. 141). Accordingly, these universities then sought to facilitate and host students from various parts of the region to study Eastern History so as to create the intended regional solidarity that led to the creation of pan-Asiatic societies and networks.

Returning to the regional identity that the Singapore government worked towards coupling with the Singapore state, there have been critics commenting over the contradiction that the government seems to be pushing for with the global-Asian hub rhetoric (Ang and Straton, 1995, p. 68):

“Singapore is a contradiction in terms: on the one hand, its very existence as a modern administrative unit is a thoroughly Western occasion, originating in British colonialism; on the other hand the Republic of Singapore now tries to present itself as resolutely non-Western by emphasizing its Asianness.”

In light of this seemingly sudden turn towards Asianism despite of the Western origins and Western orientation that Singapore had developed until the 1980s, Yew (2014, p. 54) continuing his argument for the pragmatism of the Singapore government asserts that the Singapore government’s strong regional project relied on the right timing, “In Asianizing later on in the 1980s and 1990s, Singapore did what it could not have done earlier, ... adopt a more strident position against the West...”

Arguing along with Yew, despite critics of the contradicting facets of identities that the Singapore put forward, the present climate has made it too arduous to perceive mixed spatial identities as contradictions, conflicts, or tensions, per se. Instead, they

could be better recognized as entanglements, or even concessions. It is important to note the economic context in which the Singapore government sets out to base its global-Asian hub on and that is the knowledge economy. Thus, in this framework, one could see the regional identity that the Singapore government actively works on as a counterweight against global capitalism or also as what Yew (2014, p. 148) calls “a mediation between the global and regional (Asian), with these two scales constantly reconfiguring each other.”

Regarding the current Asianism that the Singapore government advocates and is alluded to by a number of other Asian countries, it has are clear differences compared to the one initially employed by Japan that was entrenched with a subtext of conquering the region. As observed by the Foreign Affairs in the excerpt provided below (Funabashi, 1998; emphasis added),

“The emerging Asian worldview is not one of imperialist pretensions, ideological fervor, totalitarian panarolia or superpower hubris—those ideas are viewed as retrogressive approaches that fractured the region for most of this century. The Asian consciousness is animated by workaday pragmatism, the social awakening of a flourishing middle class and the moxie of technocrats, *although still tinged perhaps by anticolonialist resentment, racism and indifference to civil liberties.*”

In spite of the fact that the reinforced economic power as well as political gravity of the region has been identified to be one of the motors behind the revival of Asian consciousness, the subject has never been and perhaps can never be separated from issues of colonialism and post-colonialism.

Saal and Szpilman (2011, p. 34) identify this passing down of “the common opposition against the West” as one of the features of the Asian consciousness in addition to “...a common geography and culture, historical connections, racial affiliations, civilizational unity through comon ‘values and spiritual character’.” The new Asian consciousness that is been said to be propelled by the region’s growing economic and political strength than the legacy of anti-colonial dissent, nevertheless in its discussion continues to be juxtaposed to the West. As Chanda (2011) writes,

“For over three decades, supporters and critics of globalization considered it a synonym for Americanization... Today the new champions of globalization are yesterday’s poor developing countries especially Asia—led by Cina and India... It has not yet gained fashionable currency or become a vogue but soon globalizati-on may be known as Asianization”

This use of the politics of location to gain a certain global equality and even superiority in the long run nevertheless has its own critics. Lo (2013, p. 31) writes about this “ob-

session” of Asian juxtaposition with the West and argues through the postwar Japanese thinker Yoshimi Takeuchi’s concept of “Asia as method” in which he argues against the formation of “a distinctive Asian paradigm” but more for a “rollback’ of western values.”

Nevertheless, the role of Asianism in Asia at present day, as (Chen, 2010, p. vii) argues continue to function as a remedial space for the past that nationalism alone cannot cater to,

“...nationalism is a common element of three even more fundamental problems: colonialism, the structure of the world during the cold war, and the imperialist imaginary. Corresponding to this entangled problematic are the often combined movements for decolonization, deimperialization, and what I call “de-cold war.” The mediating site for these forces and movements is the imaginary Asia.”

Thus, as Chen would argue Asia can indeed be the method in a way that it does not juxtapose itself against the West, which is an imperial legacy of a faulty binary in itself. Chen illuminates that Asianism does not necessarily be entrapped within an East and West competition and contestation. Quite the opposite, it sees Asia as a reference point in itself although not dismissing the manifested and latent problems that the countries need to address. Within this framework, Singapore’s model vision of the global-Asian hub that embraces globalization and takes an international orientation while rooted in Asia can also be seen as concession that is no longer entrapped within East and West contestation.

II.2 Spatial Negotiations in Singapore’s Higher Education System

The discourse regarding the family as a model for the organization and governance of the state rests upon the argument of the congruity between the household and the state in which both serve as “(...) the main setting in which children are socialized, civilized, and educated, in which habits are developed that influence their subsequent fates as people and as market actors” (Muller, 2013). From this discourse, the Singapore nation-state can be perceived as one large family unit. Within the unit, the Singapore government takes the role of the head of the family issuing regulations and policies that seek to create a constructive and globally competitive environment for all members of the family.

Studies regarding Singapore’s higher education system are commonly located in the larger topic of the knowledge economy and the repositioning of Singapore’s higher education to reinforce the national economy and strategic efforts to gain a bigger share of world trade in higher education. One recurrent case study is the Global School

House concept (Romsek, 2000). Not dismissing the economic motives behind the higher education initiatives issued by the states, this section of the chapter seeks to look into two initiatives issued by the Singapore government and highlights the spatial negotiations reflected in these initiatives. The first initiative although does not present itself as a higher education initiative will be argued to be a cornerstone in the development of Singapore's universities today.

The Bilingual Education Policy

In an island city-state that is non-homogeneous, the task of appointing one official working language can become a vexing issue and social cohesion is important in order to assure state survivability. The ethnic composition of the Singapore population is around 77% Chinese, 14% Malay, 7.4% Indian, and other ethnicities that are categorized as "others" by the government (Singapore Resource Centre, 2008). Thus, after gaining independence from British colonial rule in 1963 and seceding with the Federation of Malaysia in 1965, Singapore had initially settled on becoming a multilingual state with four official working languages, i.e. English, Mandarin, Malay and Tamil (Encyclopedia Britannica, 2013). Chinese, Malay, and Tamil were chosen as they were the first languages of the three ethnic groups that were officially recognized by the government, while English was initially chosen due to colonial heritage.

However, in 1966 the Singapore government under the administration of the former Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew issued the Bilingual Education Policy. The Bilingual Education Policy appoints English as the official working language of Singapore and also requires English to become the language of instruction within education institutions from the primary to tertiary level (Dixon, 2005). Seeing that Chinese was and remains until today the country's largest ethnic group, there were of course practical reasons for making Mandarin the national or the official working language. This was the situation in Malaysia where the government opted for the Malay language, which belonged to the major ethnic group in the country, as the national and the official working language.

In one of his recent speeches, former Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew shares his thoughts regarding the Singapore government's decision of opting English over Chinese at that time (Singapore. Division of Higher Education, Ministry of Education, 2013). He argued that there were two main reasons behind the decision to choose English as the official working language. First of all, it was to avoid encouraging ethnic hierarchy. Second of all, it reflected on the "geographical reality" of Singapore, being a small city-

state with limited human resources and natural resources. If the government at that time decided to opt for Mandarin, the country would be isolated from the global economy today and China would not have been able to contribute much to Singapore's economic development.

From what can be observed today, China and Singapore have indeed developed into two distinct economies. China, with its abundance of natural and human resources, is competing with the United States as the world's largest manufacturing nation (Sims, 2013). Singapore, on the other hand, being a microstate with almost no natural resources and finite human resources, had to come up with a different strategy and ultimately chose the path of deindustrialization. The result of this is that although today Singapore experiences a decline in its manufacturing sector, the country has undergone great growth in the service sector, accounting for "two-thirds of the economy and seven-tenths of employment" (Singapore. Monetary Authority of Singapore, 2013). Regarding this incompatible economic cooperation with China, if Singapore had chosen Chinese as the official working language instead of English, Singapore's economic development would have indeed taken a different path.

Rumbley, Altbach, and Reisberg (2012, p. 15-16) note that there has not actually been any definitive date regarding "the extent to which English dominates the academy worldwide," however they have observed "a consensus that the movement is far-reaching." However, the decision to apply the Bilingual Education Policy from the primary level proved to be a strategic decision with long-term positive prospects. Experts on language acquisition have also substantiated the importance of early learning of second or foreign languages in order to be able to eventually achieve native-speaker levels of competence (Johnstone, 2013).

In addition, the Bilingual Education Policy has clearly affected the development of Singapore's universities. In an article entitled "The National University of Singapore and the University of Malaya: Common Roots and Different Paths," Mukherjee and Wong (2012, p. 132) argue how "the National University of Singapore kept pace with the demands of a growing economy that sought to become competitive internationally, with English continuing as the language of instruction and research, the University of Malaya began to focus inward as proficiency in English declined in favor of the national language, Bahasa Malaysia."

The Persian poet Rumi once said, "Words are a pretext. It is the inner bond that draws one person to another, not words" (Goodreads Rumi, 2014). Words may often be

used as pretext, but language is in itself a form of inner bond that brings into play a collective identity, or also known as a sociolinguistic identity. This interconnection between language and identity explains the aforementioned vexing issue of language policy in multilingual nations. Singapore's Bilingual Education Policy presents itself as form of linguistic polycentricism, instead of linguistic hierarchy (Omoniyi and White, 2009). Not only does the policy legitimize English as the official working language for education, it also requires Singapore students to reach a proficiency in their mother tongues, be it Chinese, Malay or Tamil (Dixon, 2005).

The policy prepares Singapore citizens to be able to create global footprints and also reshape the global landscape, but at the same time it also addresses the local needs of its citizens to remain attached to their local ethnic roots. The government has properly attended to the local issue in the country regarding the interconnection between language and cultural identity and how a stable balance serves as a crucial factor for social cohesion. On this account, the Bilingual Education Policy can be perceived as the government's attempt to synergize global and local linguistic resources.

The Higher Education Corporatization Act

Raza (2010, p. 67) defines higher education governance as "all those structures, processes and activities that are involved in the planning and direction of the institutions and people working in tertiary education." There have been a number of state-institution models of governance proposed by higher education scholars, but two of the predominant ones are the "state-control model" in which the government closely regulates and controls the university and the "state-supervised model" where the government regulates in a framework that provides autonomy to the universities (Salmi,). The World Bank (2012), observes, however, that the trend today has been more towards the latter,

"Higher education systems are... getting more complex due to the growth in the number of public and private institutions, so that the task of managing and monitoring the sector is becoming more specialized and demanding. As a result, the old model of total control from a central ministry of education is providing unsustainable in the long term and is being replaced throughout the world by other models. These alter the mode of central involvement from one of detail to that of strategy and rely on more sophisticated forms of monitoring and performance review."

The Singapore government has also adopted the state-supervised model of governance although a latecomer compared to a number of Asian countries (The World Bank, 2012). In Asia, the shift from state-controlled to state-supervised model of governance

was initiated by the Republic of Korea in the late 1990s and followed by Indonesia and Thailand. Singapore together with Japan constituted the second wave of the shift that happened in the mid 2000s.

Salmi (2007) provides the following diagram to show the dynamics of the state-supervised model of governance in higher education:

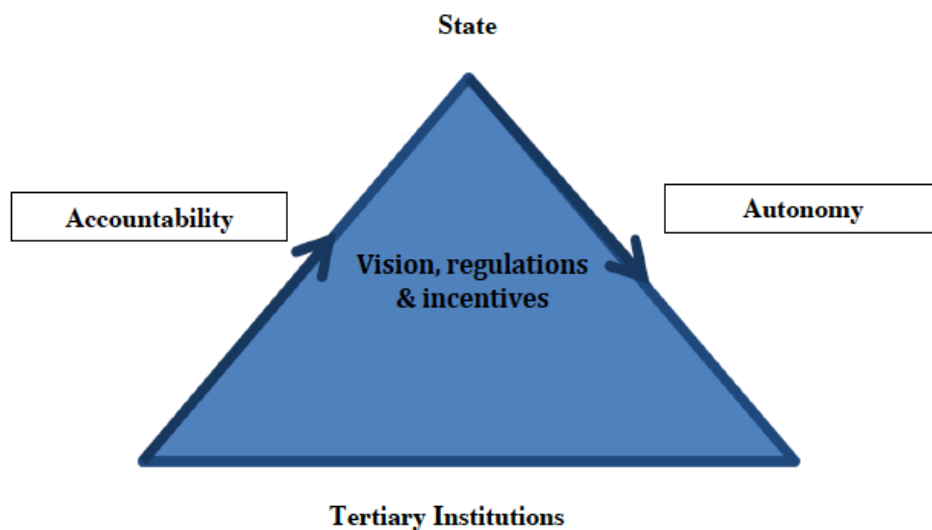


Figure II. 1 Tertiary Education Governance Framework

As illustrated in the figure, the main task of the government is to issue regulations and incentives that would create a framework allowing both autonomy and accountability within universities. Fielden and Salmi also describe an autonomous university to be “...characterized by the presence of an independent university board with external representation... the ability to set... academic autonomy and financial autonomy.”

In 2005, the Singapore Ministry for Education issued the Higher Education Corporatization Act announcing the corporatization of Singapore’s three existing public universities at that time, namely the National University of Singapore (NUS), Nanyang Technological University (NTU) and Singapore Management University (SMU) (Singapore. Higher Education, Ministry for Education, 2005). Upon hearing the word “corporatization,” one would most likely associate the Act with the process of “privatization” that can be understood as a shift from what was initially publicly funded to being privately funded. However, the concept of corporatization that was formulated and implemented within Higher Education in Singapore took upon a different nature.

First of all, corporatization did not result in the private status of the public univer-

sities, but gave them autonomous status (Singapore. Division of Higher Education, Ministry for Education, 2005). Discussion of the autonomy that Singapore's public universities were given will be limited to financial autonomy due to the absence of data on academic autonomy. The Higher Education Corporatization Act granted autonomy towards the universities to manage their budget and allocate funds in areas that the universities believed create most value. The Act requires funding from the Ministry for Education to be given to the universities in the form of a "fungible block budget" which means that although the universities budget distribution has been predetermined, budget that was initially allocated for one purpose can be allocated for another. This means that the surplus of endowment that the University manages to gather from external sources means that the government's funds in that sector can be allocated to another sector.

The following financial data will be taken as an example to represent the autonomous financial workings of Singapore's public universities. From the annual financial report published by the National University of Singapore (NUS), as part of requirement of the Act, 20% of the amount of endowments that the University received in 2011 was for the Faculty of Science, while less than 1% was designated to the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences (International Corporate Relations NUS, 2012). Although no documents were found to verify, logically based on the articles mentioned within the Act, the state budget that was allocated through the fungible block budget for the Faculty of Science could then be distributed to the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences.

In addition, although the Act gave consent to public universities to raise endowment for their operations, it also insisted that the government not only proceed to fund the universities as before, but also continue to match the amount of endowment the universities managed to raise (Singapore, Higher Education, Ministry for Education, 2005). In the case of the National University of Singapore, endowment given by the benefactors in 2010 alone amounted up to SGD 14.15 million (Singapore. Office of Corporate Relations, NUS, 2011). Thus, assuring relatively equal and substantial funding within all faculties, as well as other entities under the universities.

The Act also introduced a new managerialism into Singapore's public higher education system which is termed "Corporate Governance" and included the establishment of a Board of Trustees at the institutional level of every public university. The Board of Trustees is not the same as the Management. Members of the Board are appointed by the Singapore government to serve as a supervisor and patron for the public universities and work together with the Management in setting the course at a particular

university.

Knight (2012, p. 31) argues that there “...different levels and types of actors involved in promoting, providing, and regulating the international dimension of higher education.” The following table provided by Knight (2012) categorizes the typical actors within the international dimension of higher education, their roles as well as their spatial levels,

Levels of Actors	Types of Actors	Roles of Actors
National	Government departments or agencies	Policymaking Regulating
Bilateral	Non or (semi-) governmental organizations	Advocacy
Regional	Professional associations or special interest groups	Funding
Interregional	Foundations	Programming
International	Public/private educational institutions and providers	Networking Research Information Exchange

Table II.1 Actors and Their Roles in the Internationalization of Higher Education

Once again taking an example from the NUS’s case, looking at the profiles of members of the Board of Trustees that contained present and former professional experience, one notices a highly diverse range of actors. The following paragraphs will present the profiles of three purposively selected board members to show the balance of actors that the Singapore government has sought to create within the Board of Trustees.

- Professor Olaf Kuebler who is currently President Emeritus of ETH Zurich. Professor Kuebler is also a member of the German Council of Science and Humanities (Wissenschaftsrat), the President’s International Advisory Council of King Abdullah University of Science and Technology (KAUST) and on the Board of the Institute of Science and Technology Austria (IST). He is also a partner of Robert Bosch Industrietreuhand KG and serves on the Supervisory.
- Neo Kian Hong who serves as the Permanent Secretary (Education Development) at the Singapore Ministry of Education. Hong was former Chief of De-

fence Force in the Singapore Armed Forces and also served on the boards of Jurang Town Corporation, Singapore Technologies Engineering Ltd and DSTA.

- Goh Yew Lin who is Managing Director of G. K. Goh Holdings Ltd and also serves on the boards of various companies including Temasek Holdings (Private) Limited, Trailblazer Foundation Ltd and CIMB Southeast Asia Research Sdn Bhd. He is also Chairman of Seatown Holdings Pte Ltd, Yong Siew Toh Conservatory of Music and Singapore Symphonia Company Limited.

On that account, the Singapore government's decision to issue the Higher Education Corporatization which has introduced a model of Corporate Governance is indeed a strategic choice that sets the foundation for a comprehensive model of internationalization to take place within its public universities. In addition, this new model of managerialism presents itself as yet again another spatial negotiation that the government has made. This time, however, accommodating the different spatial levels of interests and strengths represented by the different level of actors within the Board of Trustees.

Chapter III

Internationalization at NUS: Between the Global and the Regional

This chapter seeks to examine the models of internationalization conceptualized at the National University of Singapore (NUS) using the ‘grounded globalism’ concept. On that account, the first section of this chapter will present James L. Peacock’s concept of ‘grounded globalism’ concept. The second section will then seek to examine the internationalization agenda at NUS and seeks to identify the comprehensive nature of the model adopted at the University.

III.1 “Grounded Globalism”: A Working Concept

A considerable amount of literature has been published on the relationship between the global and the locale, and the different scales the latter may refer to it; be it the local, the national, or the regional. In view of the observed trend emerging among Asian universities to internationalize through a model that reflects Asia, it is important to address the concept of grounded globalism proposed by Peacock (2007) as a model of identity that offers a halfway point between particularism and globalism. Peacock (2007, p. x-xi) defines the concept as the following,

“It is a *Konsepsi* [concept], a simple, workable perspective and also a guide to organizing a range of activities that has already helped link academic and broader work, bringing global and theoretical trends and scholarship into contact with local and grounded thought and action... With respect to the South, to ground globalism is to fuse a transformative global identity to a sustaining regional identity—a fusion that potentially enhances the strength of both identities and their potential for energizing action.”

Peacock (2007) acknowledges that to pursue the global alone or to turn solely to the locale would not be an unfavorable option. He argues that ungrounded globalism would cause problems, such as a lack of identity in every dimension of life and disengagement from the state and the region. To decide for particularism alone would also be troublesome, as history has proven that conflicts in the past, e.g. the Cold War and terrorism attacks, can be traced back to a form of closed particularism. Peacock (2007, p. 9) further contends that the pursuit of a global identity alone through connections and infusion of global dimensions within the institution will be “insufficient, unbalanced, and insubstantial.”

Peacock (2007, p. 2) proposes some stages in grounding globalism which runs

as follows, "...first to the broadening of identity, subsuming and absorbing earlier steps and blockages into a global identity, and then finally reintegration must be done of the new identity into older ones; global identities with the region and its history and realities." The broadening of identity which Peacock identifies as the first stage to ground globalism can be directed towards "the development of an identity with a locale within a nation or with a region spanning national boundaries" (p. 4). Of course, it must be noted that the grounded globalism concept was developed with the U.S. South or also known as the American South region as the empirical model; a region which has been continuously compared to the American North particularly regarding its "distinct culture area" (Hill, p. 12).

Nevertheless, the concept of a model that accommodates the global and the regional identities should of course be able to be implemented into different fields within the magnetic field of globalization including the field of international higher education. Peacock co-authoring with Olson (2012, p. 305) has also considered the systematic study of the grounded globalism concept within the internationalization processes taking place at universities today and argue that "Key to addressing the global university is the understanding that global is grounded in locale." The call to implement such a concept within CI models of today could not be at a better timing especially with the pervasive ideal of the 'global university' that has been sought by universities worldwide (Olson and Peacock, 2012).

Olson and Peacock (2012, p. 314; emphasis added) points out a number of perspectives and bodies of research within the higher education system that suggest the importance of particularism or groundedness: "(a) cultural and multicultural perspectives; (b) international/global perspectives; (c) *area studies*, ethnic studies, and folklore." Unfortunately, Olson and Peacock do not offer any empirical models or sets of transition on how these bodies of research may be integrated within the grounded globalism concept and then institutionalized as a CI model.

III.2 Identifying Comprehensive Internationalization at NUS

The oldest public university in Singapore, NUS was established in 1980 from a merger between the University of Singapore and Nanyang University (Office of Corporate Relations NUS, 2014). Regarding the situation of public higher education in Singapore, there are currently four public universities in this city-state, namely NUS, Nanyang Technological University (NTU), Singapore Management University (SMU), and Singa-

pore University of Technology and Design (SUTD). Unlike NTU, SMU, and SUTD that are special focus universities, NUS is a comprehensive research university that provides enhanced access to a wider range of undergraduate and graduate programs as well as research institutes. At present day, NUS hosts 16 Faculties and Schools, 24 University-level Research Institutes and Centres, and 3 National-level Research Centres of Excellence (Office of Corporate Relations NUS, 2014).

NUS's commitment to achieve world-class excellence and enhanced visibility on a global and regional level has been fairly successful, as the University is ranked 21st on the 2013/14 Times Higher Education (THE) World University Rankings and 2nd on the THE Regional Rankings with 94.3% for accomplishment in international outlook (TES Global, 2014). Hazelkorn (2011) points out how as rankings largely use quantification in the assessment of the performance of universities, the older universities, which are naturally more resourced, are demonstrably more privileged. Thus, NUS' performance in the world rankings is indeed an accomplishment bearing in mind that the University can still be considered a fledgling in the higher education landscape.

There have been criticisms on the "obsession" with world rankings that has enveloped universities worldwide and the reliability of using world rankings as a standard for a particular university's quality education, research, and service at a University. Knight (2012, p. 32) also argues how the pressure brought about by world rankings for relatively new universities or universities that are in the initial stage of internationalization potentially make these universities focus more on creating a successful marketing campaign than on establishing a comprehensive model that may truly incorporate global, international, or intercultural dimensions into the University's purposes, functions, and delivery. Nevertheless, as will be argued, this does not appear to be the case for NUS, as there are strong indicators of how the University has taken a comprehensive model of internationalization aligning what has been conceptualized at the institutional level with the strategies that have been implemented at the University's functional level.

As aforementioned in Chapter 1, this study will allude to the working definition of comprehensive internationalization (CI) proposed by Hudzik (2011, p. 10), which runs as follows, "...commitment and action to infuse international, global and comparative content and perspective throughout the teaching, research and service missions of higher education." Since it is also important to have a common understanding on the differences between the terms 'global,' 'international,' and 'intercultural' prior to examining their infusion into the University's vision and missions, the two following practical

definitions will be referred to, “*International* is used in the sense of relationships between and among nations, cultures, or countries... *intercultural* is used to address aspects of cultural diversity... *global* is included to provide the sense of worldwide scope” Knight (2012, p. 31). Nevertheless, it is important to note that within the international higher education setting, other scales may also be referred to and incorporated, e.g. the national and the local.

Internationalization at the Institutional Level

There is indeed no single format or blueprint for internationalization. However, for comprehensive internationalization to fully take place so that the internationalization strategies do not appear as disparate programs and activities, it will begin with the formulation of a set of vision and mission that reflects or incorporates certain strategic global, international or intercultural dimensions. On this account, the imperative to perceive internationalization as “an organizing paradigm to think and act systematically and holistically about higher education internationalization” (Hudzik and Stohl, 2012, p. 66) appears to have been carried out to a substantial degree at NUS, as the University’s vision and mission do indeed reflect certain global and regional dimensions.

The interplay between global and international dimensions is reflected from NUS’ vision that is to become “a leading global university centred in Asia, influencing the future” (Office of Corporate Relations NUS, 2014). The vision to become a global university is an ideal spreading widely and pursued throughout all the world regions. Olson and Peacock (2012, p. 305), however, note that, “Key to addressing the global university is the understanding that the global is grounded in the local. Institutionally, universities depend on states, provinces, cities, regions, and international bureaucracies, which themselves are localized in headquarters and outposts or other locales.” This ‘glocale’ approach towards the global university is essential, as Peacock (2007, p. 9) through his concept of ‘grounded globalism’ elaborates that to strive for a global identity alone would be “insufficient, unbalanced, and insubstantial,” as it would cause future problems of disengagement and a lack of identity. Within the case of international higher education, these problems would not only affect the universities, but also to some extent the graduates and in due time the society at large.

Seen from the ‘grounded globalism’ concept, NUS’s strategic incorporation of the regional dimension into the University’s vision can be interpreted as an institutional effort to ground or provide territorial attachment to the University’s agenda to become a

global university. The aspiration to meet global standards and visibility along with the need to build a distinctive university profile by reflecting on the Asian region has indeed been identified as one of the emerging trends within Asian higher education systems (Rumbley, Altbach, and Reisberg, 2012). For NUS, the global and regional synergy embodied in the vision also functions as the University's niche or flagship which it strongly promotes not only on its official website, but also on the websites of World University Rankings. For instance, on the website of Times Higher Education University Rankings NUS presents its flagship as offering "a global approach to education and research with a focus on Asian perspectives and expertise" (TES Global, 2014).

On NUS' official website, the University provides explanations relating to actualization of the vision. One of the explanations provides insights to how the University seeks to actualize the grounding of the internationalization process in the Asian region, which runs as follows, "A key node in global knowledge, NUS will have distinctive expertise and insights relating to Asia" (Office of Corporate Relations NUS, 2014). Thus, NUS does not simply play on its location being located in Asia merely as an act of international profiling, but it substantiates this Global-Asian profiling by emphasizing on knowledge production and knowledge dissemination of Asia.

NUS' comprehensive and yet selective approach to internationalization is part of a manifesting trend in new managerialism within universities today, as observed by Taylor (, p. 99) in the following excerpt,

"While a strategy for internationalization may be comprehensive, universities have also become more selective in their approach, often concentrating their efforts on a limited number of high-profile initiatives. In this respect, the strategy documents show characteristics of planning, target setting and central direction, all features of new managerialism. They have also been associated with new forms of organization and leadership."

Bearing in mind that NUS is a public university, managerialism at the University does indeed reflect a certain new professionalism and a corporate structure. The organizational structure of NUS can be viewed as a tripartite system consisting of the Board of Trustees, the Management and the University Administration (Office of Corporate Relations NUS, 2014). The NUS Board of Trustees comprise of 24 members that are annually elected by the Singapore Ministry of Education. The role of the Board in influencing the orchestration of the University's direction and profile is significant, as reported in mentioned in the NUS Annual Report 2013 under the section regarding 'Corporate Governance': "the Board of Trustees works closely with the management and stake-

holders of the University to shape the vision, chart the major directions, and develop programmes and initiatives” (Office of Corporate Relations NUS, 2014, p. 58).

Examining the profiles of the members of the Board of Trustees, a mixed variance can be observed. Members of the board are not only academicians, but also representatives of governmental departments and agencies, non-governmental and semi-governmental organizations, and private and public foundations with a number of them being foreign entities ((NUS Office of Corporate Relations, 2014, p. 6-12). Some examples include the Venture Corporation Limited, which is a global provider of technology services, products, and solutions, the Singaporean-German Chamber of Industry and Commerce, the Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific (ESCAP), the United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM), the National Environment Agency, Ministry of Education, Shangri-La Hotel Limited and the Centre for Strategic Futures.

As given below, Knight (2008) identifies two levels of rationales that drive a University to want to invest in internationalization:

Institutional	National
International branding and profile	Human resources and development
Income generation	Strategic alliances
Student and staff development	Commercial trade
Strategic alliances	Nation building
Knowledge production	Socio cultural development

Table III.1 Rationales in Driving Internationalization

From the plethora of actors within NUS’ Board of Trustees it is clear that the rationales driving internationalization at the University are not only academic, but also economic, political, and social. The decision to ground the internationalization process at NUS is this a strategic decision that is not only bound to academic rationales related to international branding and profile and knowledge production, but also related to the economic, political, and social issues of the nation, for instance Singapore’s strategy for nation building as well as its strategic alliances. For this reason, the final section of this chapter will look into the national and regional dynamics in which Singapore is embedded in to comprehend to what extent the decision of the University to become an Asian knowledge hub is influenced by its external surroundings.

Knight (2012, p. 3) defines a university's vision or purpose as "the overall role that higher education has for a country or region or, more specifically, to the mission of an institution" and a university's mission or function as "the primary elements or tasks that characterize a national higher education system and an individual institution. Usually these include teaching learning, research, and service to the community and society at large." On this account, NUS' vision serves as a "guideline" for integration of the global and regional dimensions in achieving what is stated in the University's mission which is "to transform the way people think and do things through education, research, and service" (Office of Corporate Relations NUS, 2014).

Similar to the University's vision, explanation is also given on the website regarding its mission which provides insights into what the University considers as transformative education, research, and service. First of all, regarding transformative education, NUS identifies the need of incorporating diversity or interculturalism within the education, as stated in the website as follows, "transformative education that nurtures thinking individuals who are alive to opportunities to make a difference, are valued members and leaders of society, and citizens effective in diverse settings" (Office of Corporate Relations NUS, 2014). Preparing students to perform effectively in diverse settings has become a new imperative for universities today, as globalization has accelerated the movement of not only people, but also ideas and cultures across territorial boundaries.

Secondly, in terms of transformative research, the University sets out to conduct and produce "high impact research that advances the boundaries of knowledge and contributes to the betterment of society" (Office of Corporate Relations NUS, 2014). Providing research that has high impact to the society has been of vital importance and highly advocated within the Asian region. As observed by Richmond (2007), "Asian higher education leaders stress that professionals need the creativity to design responses to local problems that are sensitive to local needs and use approaches that vary from imported ones." Richmond argues not only does implementing imported scientific and technological knowledge provide challenges in adaptation; it inhibits the nurturing of critical thinking skills.

Finally, regarding service, as Jones, McCarney, and Skolknik (2005, p. 7) note, "However international the scope of their activities, or the origins of their faculty and students, universities were, and are, national institutions." As a public university, NUS seeks to offer, "Dedicated service, as a national university, that adds to social, economic and national development" (Office of Corporate Relations NUS, 2014). With NUS in-

creasing in terms of global visibility and becoming well known as the key node to Asian knowledge and expertise, the number of international students seeking to enrol in the University will naturally increase. International students of course offer direct benefits not only to the institution, but also to the national economy. However, international students offer more than that, as argued by Taylor (, p. 86), “international students, and the links they maintain with the countries where they obtain their higher education, offer governments a route by which to extend their international influence.”

In order to ensure that the vision and mission of the University is articulated and supported by effective programs and activities, a set of mechanisms need to be set up to assure that these programs and activities align with the institutional vision and mission as well as to sustain the process of their implementation (Nolan and Hunter, 2012). There have been some debates regarding the most effective organization and structure within universities between the decision to centralize or decentralize (Hudzik and Stohl, 2012). The following excerpt proposed by Hudzik and Stohl (2012, p. 71) presents the alternative of a “middle way” between the previous two options,

“The former is touted as delivering coordination, efficiencies, and focus on strategic objectives while the latter sees centralization as synonymous with red tape and stifling creativity and diversity. A “middle” way may reside in matrix organizational structures with elements of hierarchy, decentralization, and crosswalks for collaboration among those engaged in various aspects of internationalization.”

However, it would appear that NUS is inclined towards centralization in its mode of governance. There is clear top-down “guidelines” from the institutional level where the vision, mission, an strategic development of the University is conceptualized by the Board of Trustees and heads of Management, while the heads of University Administration focus on supporting the mission of the University. Also, regarding the decision to establish research centres or institutes, there is no decentralization given towards the schools or faculties, thus the absence of research centres or institutes on a school or faculty level.

Internationalization at the Functional Level

Taylor (2007, p.99) notes that several decades ago international programs and activities at a university were “free from institutional direction and oversight,” as internationalization was not yet recognized as task that required leadership and management. Today, however, he observes new forms of organization that have been developed and “many universities now have a vice-president, deputy rector, deputy or pro vice-chancellor

with responsibility for institutional leadership and management in this area” (p. 100). At NUS, internationalization at the functional level are developed and initiated by two offices. They are the Office of the Vice President University & Global Relations (UGR) and the International Relations Office (IRO); both of them are part of the University Administration and are in line with 40 other University Administration offices, including the Office of the Deputy President (Research & Technology).

As can be observed from its name, the main task of UGR is to “formulate and implement the University’s internationalization strategies as well as oversees the strategic communication within the University and beyond” (Office of Corporate Relations NUS, 2014). In this sense, UGR plays a crucial role in assuring that what has been conceptualized relating to internationalization on the institutional level is implemented at the University’s functional level. The internationalization strategies that UGR formulated for the University has been bracketed into one framework which it calls the NUS Global Strategy and constitutes of eight strategies encompassing eight key areas of the internationalization of higher education: Global Education, Global Research, Global Enterprise, Global Students, Global Faculty, Global Alumni, Global Engagement, and Benchmarking (Office of the Vice President (University & Global Relations) NUS, 2014).

The IRO, on the other hand, has the main task of “initiating and facilitating interactions with overseas institutions” (Office of Corporate Relations NUS, 2014). The IRO also has its own set of vision and mission that remain in line with the vision and mission of the NUS’. The mission of IRO is to “foster closer international partnerships for transformative global engagement,” and the vision is to pave the way for NUS to become “the leading university for quality student engagement and partnerships globally” (International Relations Office NUS, 2014). Thus, it deals more with establishing cross-border activities and programs that support the strategies designed by the UGR.

Regarding the development of internationalization as a holistic process, Middlehurst *et al.*, (2007) proposes the three stages of how an internationalization activity may be developed into a strategy and eventually contributing to the University’s internationalization process:

Phase 1	Internal Activity	Disparate and unconnected activities
Phase 2	International Strategy	Coordination and some alignment
Phase 3	Internationalization Process	Efforts to integrate, achieve leverage and added value

Table III. 2 Phases of Institutional Internationalization

Based on these three phases and the University's mode of governance, it would appear that the way towards comprehensive internationalization has indeed been paved at NUS. The presence of UGR assures coordination and alignment of the international programs and activities run at the University with the internationalization strategies that have been formulated and implemented in the areas of education, research, enterprise, students, faculty, alumni, engagement, and benchmarking

CHAPTER IV

Counterweighting Global Orientations with Self-Reflexive Area Studies

This chapter argues for the significant role of NUS' area studies research centres as an internationalization strategy that counterbalances the NUS's institutional internationalization strategies to create international linkages and pursue global integration. In order to understand the specific nature of area studies research established by the University, which is crucial for the utilization of area studies as a counterweight to the global orientation of any university's internationalization agenda, the first section of this chapter will present the development of area studies from the study of "the other" to the "study of the self"; the latter being the one observed to be developed at NUS' research centres.

The second section of this chapter will then present the global orientation of the University's internationalization strategies within the area of education, particularly in cross-border education juxtaposed with the University's research area in the third section and how in their juxtaposition the area studies research centres serve as the counterweight. Seen holistically, the University's global orientation in education and regional placement in research can be interpreted as an internationalization model that remodels that of Peacock's concept of 'grounded globalism.'

IV.1 Towards Self-Reflexive Area Studies

A considerable amount of literature has been published on the relevancy for area studies within higher education at present day. Proponents of area studies would commonly allude to the necessity for particularism and context within a heightened age of globalization. Ludden (2003, p. 135), for instance, claims that area studies is "... the primary and most productive venue for the systematic study of human context, and universities need area studies to produce contextual knowledge in the world of globalization." Goss and Wesley-Smith (2010, p. x) also build on this arguing that "This is still an era when understanding the world requires understanding the specificity of the local, broadly defined as the dynamic interaction of culture and place, within the context of global change."

But what exactly is area studies? Szanton (2004, p. 1) defines area studies as "primarily an effort to make the assumptions, meanings, structures, and dynamics of another society and culture comprehensible to an outsider." Szanton's definition is reinforced by Tansman (2004, p. 184) who brings area studies into line with translation: "If

area studies can be understood as an enterprise seeking to know, analyze, and interpret foreign cultures through a multi-disciplinary lens, translation may be the act par excellence of area studies.” Bauman (2014, p. 13) proposes a more working definition that is “The study of a region or a country... as a separate discipline usually bearing the geographical region under scrutiny in its name, such as African Studies or South Asian Studies.”

Regarding the formal existence of area studies within the university system, Szanton (2004) observes how they usually take form either as departments or research centres or institutes. He also argues, at least in the case of the U.S., the research centres or institutes which do not usually grant degrees but focus on organizing multi-disciplinary lecture series, workshops, conferences, research, publication and a wide variety of public outreach activities are institutionally more successful than the departments. The problem for the departments, he asserts, is the multidisciplinary nature of area studies that makes it incompatible with the disciplinary nature of the higher education system (Szanton, 2004, p. 7):

“...nearly all Area Studies faculty have at least double identities, e.g. as an historian and as a China scholar, as a sociologist but also as a Latin Americanist. Institutionally, this has meant that Area Studies department have often shrunk and become increasingly marginalized and embattled.”

Regarding their formal existence with the university, Baumann (2014) also observes that rarely the departments and research centres or institutes established under the name “area studies” and are usually named after the geographical area under scrutiny.

Area studies is not a new concept, and its origins can be traced as far back to the European Enlightenment days (Ludden, 2003). However, with the increasingly fluid concept of borders and the emergence of new economic, political, and cultural regions, new approaches can be observed in area studies today, particularly with the development of studies, such as Buddhism Studies, Diaspora Studies and the Pacific Rim Studies (Baumann, 2014, p. 3).

The following sub-sections will chronologically present three significant events within global history as background needed to understand the how and why area studies have taken what shall be called a “self-reflexive”. The first is European Imperialism during the 18th and 19th century that had its groundwork laid out by the intellectual movement of the European Enlightenment. The second event is the rise of American hegemonic power in the 20th century that some scholars have argued is said prevalent

until today. The last event is the period of decolonization that took place after World War II and the development of self-reflexive area studies particularly in Asia.

Area Studies and European Imperialism

Area studies had its genesis in the European Enlightenment and the need for non-European validation to support the truth or value of early European universal theories on humanity (Ludden, 2003). This 'symbiosis' between the contextual and the universal is inherently an old discourse within the social sciences, the humanities, or any realm of science on the human subject. Touching upon this fundamental problem, Popper (1992, p. 4) in his book *The Logic of Science* inquires into 'particular statements' and 'universal statements' and argues the latter can only be true when based on experience. In other words, the validity of universal statements can only be established after being applied in different human contexts. Ludden (2003, p. 131) argues that this dualism within knowledge production is by all means indivisible as "Even the most universal of the social sciences and the most particularistic of the humanities disciplines depend on both twins."

However, what is important to underline is the purpose of non-European contextualization of European knowledge at that time. As a result of cases of comparison-contrast, or what some scholars might identify as the process of 'othering,' non-European areas were often assigned a range of negative stereotypes. These stereotypes were not a byproduct, because they were necessary for the validation and construction of Europe's self-image, particularly for identities relating to European concepts of "cultural, racial and moral superiority" (Clarke, 1997, p. 3-4). During the Enlightenment days, Europe was the single site of knowledge production and thus it served to be the standard or point of reference against which things were compared or assessed.

It was under this intellectual climate that area studies evolved within European universities, mainly as Ludden (2003, p. 131) argues "... to support theories of human progress by comparing Europe to other regions of the world." The birth of area studies was thus established on this ideological need of the new nations in Europe, as Ludden continues to elaborate, "Area studies began to evolve with an accumulation of universal and contextual knowledge from various disciplines as part of a broad effort to make university education commensurate with the expansion of European power." This was a time when Eurocentric conceptions of humanity began to be conceived and disseminated.

It is important to recognize the themes that were of interest within area studies at that time. It would appear that there was an almost exclusive focus on philology, linguistics, archaeology, ancient history and religion. Jouki (2006, p. 1) argues that the decision for an exclusive focus on these themes reflects Europe's perception of areas outside Europe as "rich cultures, superior civilizations" but "stagnant." Immanuel Wallerstein in his essay *Open the Social Sciences* also provides insights into the narrow focus of area studies until the late nineteenth century,

"... during this formative period for the core disciplines of the social sciences, only the "advanced" countries of the West were seen as having politics, societies, and economies worthy of study... Thus, the social sciences established to study these realms of human endeavor—notably economics, political science, and sociology—hardly extended their scope beyond Europe and its most important colonies, notably the United States."

Smith (2010, p. 27) along the same lines as Wallerstein also shares his thoughts about the exclusive focus on culture and religion with Asia becoming the first area of focus: "Asian societies, in contrast, were viewed as civilized perhaps, but almost completely stagnant, whereas Africans, Pacific islanders, and others were viewed as belonging more to nature than to human history."

Area Studies and American Hegemonic Power

From a single central Eurocentric production of global knowledge, the early 20th century witnessed the establishment of a Euro-American knowledgescape. After the 1950s, within the shadows of World War I and World War II, and the Cold War, the U.S. hegemony took over the Euro-American share of the world. This intellectual takeover was not, however, a natural process. The bipolar confrontation between the United States and the Soviet Union that brought out allies from both side made knowledge regarding the enemy and their allies have strategic significance (Szanton, 2004). Both the United States and the Soviet Union competed in formulating scientific innovations and generating theories on modern forms of knowledge in order to create a world that was structured on their narrative of modernity. Thus, underlying the need for area studies once again.

A number of prominent social scientists, among them the anthropologists Milton Singer and Jamie Redfield at the University of Chicago, were among the pioneers and most important propagators of area studies within the United States (Khalidi, 2003, p. 180). The period between the 1950s and the 1980s was also often referred to as the

glory days of area studies, due to the amount of funding received by universities to establish area studies study programmes and research centres and the strong triangular alliance among the universities, foundations as well as intelligence arms of the American state during this period (Goss and Wesley-Smith, 2010, p. x).

Goss and Wesley-Smith (2010) argue how since its genesis up to the Cold War area studies had always been politically saturated serving the needs of the “masters.” However, after the 1980s with the dissolution of the Soviet Union that consequently meant “the unchallenged global dominance of the United States,’ the relevance of area studies began to be questioned, as major foundations withdrew their support for area studies programmes and research centres.

Self-reflexive Area Studies

One essential feature that can be observed as area studies in the Euro-American context is that it has always been about the study of the ‘other.’ Nevertheless, in Asia an interesting development took place regarding the organizational structure of area studies during the 1990s, which was a time when area studies experienced a crisis in funding in the West. A number of Asian scholars have also emphasized on the increasingly important need for area studies on non-Western societies so as to develop studies and research that do not merely refashion Eurocentric assumptions of these societies (Appadurai, 1996; Chakrabarty, 2001). Nevertheless, in her book *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference*, Chakrabarty (2000, xiii) proposes a slight twist in area studies by recommending the same important need to develop area studies on European societies in which her proposition runs as follows,

“To “provincialize” Europe was precisely to find out how and in what sense European ideas that were universal were also, at one and the same time, drawn from very particular intellectual and historical traditions that could not claim any universal validity. It was to ask a question about how thought was related to place.”

The theme of self-reflexivity within area studies was first developed in the 1990s and pioneered by a number of Asian scholars who sought the need for the incorporation of native Asian knowledge into Asian knowledge that had previously been mainly accumulated from studies in Asia conducted in Western Europe and the United States (Dirlik, 2010). Dirlik (2010, p. 15) also observes an even more robust discourse, although on cultural studies than area studies, propounded from the National Tsing Hua University in Taiwan which through its journal *Inter-Asia Cultural Studies* propounded “...a con-

viction that cultural studies of Asia should not only have voices emanating from Asia but be based there as well.”

The source of this prerequisite for native knowledge production on an area and the problematization of non-native knowledge representation is traced by van Schendel (2012, p. 499) to the following,

“It is rooted in a perspective of outsiders looking in and this has become increasingly problematic. The image of the external scholar burrowing into an exotic culture and explaining it to a home audience was free of neither late colonial nor geopolitical overtones, and considerable soul-searching has resulted.”

Vicente Rafael, an American scholar who wrote about this dilemma, presents the proposition of “importing” indigenous scholars who can serve as mediators between the knowledge of the outsider and the insider (Rafael, 1994). Nevertheless, the self-reflexive form of scholarship for area studies seems to be the most appealing alternative within Asia. The Asian remake version of area studies no longer aimed towards knowledge production of an area from a non-native’s perspective, but towards knowledge production of an area from a native’s perspective.

Although self-reflexive area studies have indeed shown indicators of a higher demand in Asia, Heryanto (2013) argues that there is a lack of enthusiasm regarding academic research in Asian studies and he takes the specific case of Southeast Asian studies. He points out how despite the existence of scholars specializing in Southeast Asian studies, “these scholars are scattered in many disciplinary departments instead of being formally brought together under a single college, faculty or school specifically devoted to Southeast Asian studies, and named as such” (p. 309). For this problem, Heryanto indicates the fault in the recent crisis the formal existence of area studies as a separate discipline or center in the West, which many Asian universities still model themselves around: “...located principally in western academia, argues that area studies has no strong disciplinary rigor or theoretical innovation, and thus has no legitimacy to stand on par with existing disciplines.”

Despite the lack of institutional support for self-reflexive area studies in Asia, Heryanto (2013) points out the emerging efforts from local scholars to change this situation, e.g. the Southeast Asian Studies Regional Exchange Program founded in 1995, Asian Studies in Asia Fellowship Program founded in 1999, and the Asian Public Intellectuals fellowships founded in 2000. All these efforts indeed have a number of important implications for the future of self-reflexive area studies within the Asian higher

education system.

This remake of area studies from the study of the 'other' into the study of the 'self' could be seen as an expected response from Asian scholars to straighten any misconceptions about the region derived from Euro-American centric perspectives. Furthermore, in the longer run, self-reflexive area studies seeks to address any misconceptions that may have been gathered throughout history about a specific region or country, preferably through "the idea of dialogue and exchange between differentiated world-views." (Appadurai, 2007, p. 7-8).

IV.2 Global Orientation in Education

For NUS, the internationalization process of becoming a 'global university' is indeed a process about being interconnected in the global network of knowledge that is constituted by universities worldwide. This is within reason, because international knowledge is best constructed through international dialogue. Thus, it is undeniable that international affiliations and linkages are "both key strategy and core philosophy for internationalization" (Sutton, Egginton, Favela, 2012, p. 151). For NUS, international partnerships are no longer perceived as freestanding activities or efforts to internationalize but have become closer to the center and have been embedded within the core vision and mission of universities.

This section of the chapter will examine the institutional efforts that have been implemented at the University to infuse global dimensions at the functional level, particularly in the area of education that has been identified as an essential area within the University's mission. To guide the process, Knight's (2010) theory of two pillars of internationalization will serve as indicators in identifying the efforts:

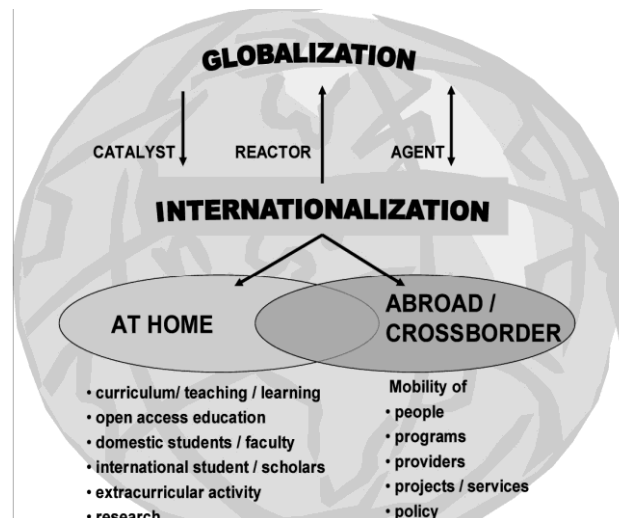


Figure V.1 Two Pillars of Internationalization: At Home and Cross-Border

As Knight (2012) explains, internationalization “at-home” and “cross-border” are essentially two types of internationalization strategies that seek to infuse global, international, or intercultural dimensions into the functions and delivery methods with the prior focusing on campus-based strategies and the latter focusing on cross-border education.

The greater part of the strategies enlisted on the NUS webpage for Global Education takes international academic mobility as its core activity (Office of the Vice President (University & Global Relations) NUS, 2014). Mobility is facilitated through short-term and medium-term cross-border programs and special degree programmes. The list of short-term and medium-term programs include the International Internship Programme (i-Intern), International Research Attachment Programme (i-RAP), International Summer Programme (i-SP), Student Exchange Programme (SEP), and Study Trips for Engagement and Enrichment Programme (STEER). It is important to note the global widespread of the locations of the partner universities and institutions which are evenly spread out among four world regions, i.e. Asia, Africa, Americas and Europe (International Relations Office NUS, 2014).

Regarding the special degree programs, NUS has an intensive list of joint degree program (JDP), double degree program (DDP) and concurrent degree program (CDP) for undergraduate and graduate students. As an internationalization strategy, these special degree programs have been identified to address one of the core roles of the university that is “the teaching and learning process and the production of new knowledge between and among countries” (Knight and Lee, 2012, p. 343).

However, unlike the short-term and medium-term programs that have partner in-

stitutions evenly spread out in the four world regions, the universities and institutions that are partners of the NUS' special degree programmes are primarily located in Western Europe and North America. For instance, for the undergraduate special degree programmes, the partner universities and institutions are French Grandes Ecoles, New York University, Waterloo University, Brown University, Cambridge University, Carnegie Mellon University, King's College London, Georgia Institute of Technology, University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill, the John Hopkins University, with Australian National University from Australia and Waseda University from Asia (International Relations Office NUS, 2014).

A similar pattern can be observed for the university and institution partners of the graduate special degree programmes but with slightly more Asian universities than the undergraduate special degree programmes. The partners as enlisted in the NUS official website are Columbia University, Delft University of Technology, HEC Paris, Georgia Institute of Technology, Institute d'Etudes Politiques de Paris, London School of Economics and Political Science, University of California Los Angeles, Yale University, Duke University, Australian National University, and three Asian universities being located in East Asia, i.e. Fudan University, Korea University and Peking University (International Relations Office NUS, 2014).

As for the PhD special degree programmes, the focus is American and European universities, i.e. Duke University, Supélec, University of Edinburgh, Eindhoven University of Technology, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, Imperial College London, King's College London, Technical University of Denmark, Technical University of Munich, University of Basel, with three Asian universities located in India, i.e. Indian Institute of Technology Bombay, Indian Institute of Technology Kanpur and Indian Institute of Technology Madras (International Relations Office NUS, 2014).

Sutton, Egginton, and Favela (2012) have identified the most common interpretation of partnership as increasing student mobility. This is the case for NUS' Global Education strategy that focuses on international academic mobility through short-term exchanges as well as long-term programs in the form of the special degree program. International academic mobility established through partnerships can be perceived as one way to expose and prepare students to intercultural situations as well as diversifying the student body at home; both of which are an implementation of the University's mission regarding education that is infused with an intercultural dimension.

The University has also managed to establish joint projects in the form of joint

degree (JDP), double degree (DDP) and concurrent degree (CDP) with a list of 'premium' universities. However, interestingly unlike the exchange programs that have a global geographic outreach, the geographic outreach of the partner institutions for these special degree programs is predisposed towards Europe and the United States. One explanation to this could be drawn to one of the objectives within NUS' Global Strategy for Education, i.e. "increase familiarity with and enhance understanding of the world, especially Asia" (Office of Vice President (University & Global Relations) NUS, 2014). Thus, as hub of Asian knowledge and expertise, which it seeks to become, it is important to establish these special degree programs with universities outside Asia, as it becomes a way to increase their familiarity and understanding of Asia.

Another explanation is related to NUS' vision to become a key node the creation of global knowledge that offers distinctive expertise and insights relating to Asia (International Corporate Office NUS, 2014). Mestenhauser (2012, p. vii) states that the primary foundation of international higher education is knowledge, and most importantly "its production, dissemination, transfer, and utilization." Being the site of Asian knowledge production, there needs to be a strategy of being able to disseminate and transfer this knowledge, particularly in Europe and North America where Asian knowledge is not natively represented. Thus, the need for strategic partnerships in the form of cross-border special degree programs with universities and institutions in these two regions.

Despite the emphasis on cross-border education, there are also a number of new programs that a number of NUS' faculties are introducing with contain global, international, or comparative dimensions within the courses, for instance the Undergraduate program Global Studies at the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences that was launched in 2012 as a multidisciplinary approach to addressing global issues (Global Studies NUS, 2014). The module list of the program is categorized into thematic approaches and regional approaches with the prior encompassing a wide range of themes, such as global health and environment, global economics and development policy making, war and security, colonialism and post-colonialism, religion and ethnicity, and population and migration.

Knight (2012, p. 37) also identifies two trends in cross-border education during the past decade and that is cross-border mobility of programs, which usually take the form of double or joint degrees, and cross-border mobility of providers, which is "the physical or virtual movement of an education provider (institution, organization, company) across a national border to establish a presence in order to offer education/training

programs or services to students and other clients” (p. 37). At NUS, it would appear that at the time being the complete focus on cross-border internationalization is on the prior, as there has not been any branch campuses or franchises under the University’s name and no indicators of such in the near future from the data gathered from the website.

IV. 3 Regional Focus in Research

At NUS, the value of research is strongly emphasized with the University’s assertion to become a “research-intensive university in Asia” and “the commitment to grow and maintain a strong research culture” (International Corporate Office NUS, 2014). This would explain NUS’ involvement in a number of research university networks. First, the APRU which is a consortium of 45 leading research universities in the Pacific Rim with a main objective “to promote dialogue and collaboration between academic institutions in Pacific Rim economies so that they can become effective players in the global knowledge economy” (APRU, 2014). Second, the IAU that was established in 2005 is collaboration between ten of the world’s leading research-intensive universities. The 10 members are from Australia, China, Denmark, Japan, Singapore, Switzerland, UK and the USA (IAU, 2014). Finally, Universitas 21, which was established in Melbourne and similar to IAU, is an international network of 27 leading research-intensive universities with a longer list of countries (Universitas 21, 2014).

Research is indeed one of the key focuses of NUS as also stated in the University’s mission that is “to transform the way people think and do things through education, research and service” (International Corporate Office NUS, 2014). The Office of the Deputy President (Research & Technology) is the Administration Office assigned to set policies for research, oversee the allocation of research funding and builds research excellence at NUS (Office of the Deputy President (Research & Technology) NUS, 2014). It would appear that NUS’ strategic decision to remain rooted in Asia as conceptualized in the University’s vision has been coordinated with the University’s decision to focus on research within the Asian realm, as indicated from the official NUS Office of Vice President (University & Global Relations) website that states the University’s focus on “developing areas of strength in Asia research” (Office of Vice President (Research & Technology) NUS, 2014).

Conducting research on an area does not necessarily need to be in the form of area studies research, in which they take “a separate discipline using bearing the geographical region under scrutiny in its name” (Baumann, 2014, p. 13). Research on an

area can be conducted in thematic categories and institutionalized through the establishment of thematic centres. NUS has also established a number of thematic university-level research institutes, for instance the Centre for Maritime Studies, NUS Environmental Research Institute (NERI), and the Institute of Real Estate Studies (IRES), in which an Asian focus has been included into the institutes' research clusters.

The utilization of area studies within a university's institutional effort to internationalize is actually not a new proposition. As Knight (2012) points out, in the 1960s, there was even a need for area studies programs and research centres, in order to infuse international, cultural, global or comparative dimensions into the university's curriculum and research activity. At that time, international academic mobility was not as uncomplicated and economical as it is today, thus campus-based internationalization became the top priority. Therefore, area studies programs and centers were established in universities worldwide and the 1980s is nostalgically looked back as the period of area studies' greatest success in funding and establishments (Khalidi, 2003). Unfortunately, the role of area studies at present day in the internationalization processes of universities has somewhat been dimmed down and overlooked, mainly due to the heightened emphasis on cross-border initiatives (Knight, 2012).

Regarding the use of area studies as a way to internationalize, Koehn and Obamba (2012, p. 365) argue that it has become too traditional and seek for better alternatives, as stated in the following excerpt,

“The traditional ways that universities conceived of “internationalizing” their curriculums—by developing academic area studies and language training—may no longer be the best ways of producing broad-gauged professionals. Intrad, universities need to devise ways to give students a grounding in thinking and acting across cultures.”

Nevertheless, this study sees a different nature of area studies being established at NUS' research centres and seeks to explore whether this form of area studies at NUS seeks to add an international dimension into the University's internationalization process, or it seeks to counterweight and ground it.

Self-Reflexive Area Studies Research Centres at NUS

The amount of scholarship and resources devoted to area studies at the National University of Singapore is unparalleled within the Asian region. There are five university-level area studies research. Based on their year of establishment, they are the East Asian Institute (EAI), the Asia Research Institute (ARI), the Middle East Institute

(MEI), the Institute of South Asian Studies (ISAS), and the Global Asia Institute (GAI). The five research institutes are supervised and regulated under the Humanities and Social Sciences (HSS) division of the Office of the Deputy President (Research & Technology).

Based on the geographic areas that are scrutinized and named as the research institutes, with the exception of the Middle East Institute, also suggest an almost exclusive research on Asia. Unlike the alternative to establish an integrated Centre of Area Studies covering these five areas, which would evidently be more cost effective, the decision to have separate research institutions specializing on different sub-regions of Asia suggests how, despite their commonalities, the sub-regions of Asia cannot be simplified into one category. The establishment of a more all-encompassing Asian research through the Asia Research Institute (ARI) and the NUS Global Asia Institute (GAI) while not terminating the existing sub-regional Asian institutes further implies the importance of extensive research within each of these sub-regions in order to produce knowledge on Asia as a whole as well as address the challenges of Asia as a region. The following paragraphs will provide a brief elaboration of these institutes.

- *The East Asian Institute (EAI)*

Established in April 1997, the East Asian Institute (EAI) was initially set up to further the progress of academic and policy-oriented on the political, economic and social development of China that includes Hong Kong, Macau and Taiwan. Nevertheless, the long-term vision of EAI expanded to become a research institution on East Asian development, thus research was expanded to China's relations with other countries, for instance Japan, Korea and ASEAN. In addition, the EAI has also built up its resources by conducting research on Japan and Korea separately to China.

There are four existing research clusters at the EAI, or what the EAI calls as 'Discussion Groups.' They are political discussion, economic discussion, social discussion and East Asia discussion. The political discussion group seeks to study the political development of China that includes Hong Kong, Macau, Taiwan, as well as China's foreign relations. The areas of research so far includes the Chinese Communist Party, China's Elite Politics, Central-Provincial Relations, The People's Liberation Army, Regional Development, Climate Change and Environmental Protection, Energy Issues, Media Issues, Cross-Strait Relations, Political Development in Hong Kong and Macau, and China's Peaceful Rise.

The economic discussion group, on the other hand, focuses on conduct academic and policy-oriented research on the economics of contemporary China and East Asia. More specifically, we carry studies on the economic changes in China arising from its economic reform and open-door policy, the regional and global implications of the economic development of China. In addition, we monitor the developments in Hong Kong, Macau, and Taiwan, as well as China's economic relations with Japan and Korea. Regarding the area of research, it includes macro-economic outlook, trade policies and development, inward and outward foreign investment, regional economic relations and study of industries. The webpage also enlists a number of recent research outputs that include China's water industry, software industry and China's strategic petroleum reserves. In addition, regarding regional economic relations, the research outputs include China's trade and East Asian production network, Hong Kong's CEPA with China, and China and the development of the Greater Mekong Sub-region.

The areas of research conducted within the social discussion group are on social policy, social development and change, and tainted milk scandal. In addition, recent research activities include China's religious revival, old-age care, and community building, and tainted milk scandal.

The East Asia discussion group presents itself to be one area-framed discussion group among the others. The focus is to study the political, economic, and social development of Japan, South Korea and Taiwan and their relations to China and Southeast Asia. The selected research areas include Sino-Japan relations, Cross-Strait relations, nationalism and social movements in East Asia, domestic politics in East Asia, East Asia and Southeast Asia regionalism and integration, energy and environmental issue and cooperation in East Asia and other research areas related to development in East Asia.

- *The Asia Research Institute (ARI)*

The Asia Research Institute (ARI) was established in July 2011 as the second university-level institute on Asia. The vision and mission of the institute as given in the ARI's official website are "to be a world-leading hub for research on Asia" by "inspiring new knowledge and transforming insights into Asia." As also informed in the Message from the Director of ARI on the website, ARI "is not directly committed to policy goals and imperatives; rather we seek to live up to the motto of our parent institution, the National University of Singapore: "A Global University centered in Asia." Nevertheless, it

appears that regarding the study of Asia, the nature of the research is not conducted by conceiving Asia as a container, but rather “connecting Asia” and the “geographies and pathways across the region that have shaped this small part (Asia).”

Looking into a number of official speeches that were read out by a number of prominent social scientists during the official opening of ARI, the significance of the institution to the region was indeed great. Anthony Reid (, 2011) emphasized the important of research centres within Asia, as follows,

“In the half a life I have spent trying to understand this region, I have always hoped for the day when stronger academic institutions would arise within it, to play their part in the generation and testing of ideas that makes up our increasingly global discourse; and to restore balance to those exchanges.”

In another opening speech by Craig Calhoun (2012) of the Social Science Research Council, the importance of ARI was related to the need to come up with methods and approaches that were not merely an extension of Euro-American concepts. As stated in the following excerpt,

“In addition, it is vital to the future strength and usefulness of the humanities and social sciences that they be organized more internationally, and that the “international” not mean simply an extension of the ideas and methods of European or American researchers but the development of comparably high-quality research programs reflecting different settings, perspectives, and engagements. It is important thus for there to be major research centers in many places.”

Regarding the existing research clusters promoted at ARI they are Asian migration, Asian urbanisms, changing family in Asia, cultural studies in Asia, metacluster: Asian connections, religion and globalisation in Asian contexts and science technology and society. Thus, from the research clusters promoted, one can see the strong strength within humanities and social science themes.

- *The Institute of South Asian Studies (ISAS)*

The Institute of South Asian Studies (ISAS) was established in July 2004 with a mission to “promote understanding of this vital region of the world, and to communicate knowledge and insights about it to policy makers, the business community, academic and civil society, in Singapore and beyond.” From the Director’s Welcome, one can assume that the establishment of ISAS is due to Singapore’s interest in the sub-region bearing in mind that it is one of the world’s biggest economy and democracy, as stated in the following, “There is a commitment in Singapore to better understand South Asia”

and the need “...for the conduct of long-term and in-depth studies on social, political and economic trends and developments in South Asia, and their impact beyond the immediate region.” Thus, the establishment shows the importance of the South Asian sub-region particularly in terms of economic and political aspects.

The research themes that the institute promotes are security and international relations, multilateral and international linkages, politics and governance, trade and economics, Singapore, Southeast Asia and Diaspora. Although ISAS opens research clusters to any of the seven nation-states of South Asia, like EAI there is a particular focus on one country, and in this case it is India. For example, one of the upcoming seminars that will be held by ISAS in 2013 falls under the theme “India and ASEAN: Diversity, Democracy, and Diplomacy.” Such focus is reasonable bearing in mind the economic and political role that contemporary India is taking at the moment.

- *The Global Asia Institute (GAI)*

Established in 2013, the NUS Global Asia Institute (GAI) can be seen as the ‘nouveau arrive’ within the area-based research field at the University. Unlike the other area-based research institutes, GAI brings together not only the typical subjects that fall under the Faculty of Arts and the Faculty of Social Sciences. It brings multidisciplinary to a new level, which can be seen from its slogan “Transcending boundaries of geography and knowledge” as well as its research concern that includes critical issues for Asian cities in a globalizing world.

The social, economic, political and cultural knowledge of the region obtained from the other area-based research institutes is used as background knowledge to address problems such as education, public health, community building, water, waste management, energy and food, security and housing. GAI aims toward transformative research that brings about solution and public actions. Although GAI addresses questions that relate to the region, there is a particular focus on China and India, being the two giants of the region. GAI also aims to implement the use of advanced forms of information technology, such as data mining and map-based techniques, to support the data analyses of its research.

Ramakant and Saori (1997, p. 72; emphasis added) point out how for India “Very often research centers were established because some individuals were interested in certain areas or they were inspired by the area studies programs in the Western World. *Obviously, there was no serious thinking about the organizational, financial and aca-*

demic perspectives.” Vito (2014, p. 32) also emphasizes that this is the case in Canada as well,

“Some area studies were chosen as they constituted a niche for the University, such as with Scottish Studies. Its development also highlights how individual interest in ancestry can prove a driving factor for the development of a program.... One must never underestimate the role of the individual in shaping the development of area studies...”

This study does not deny the importance of the individuals in the selection and establishment of an area studies center. However, the exclusive focus on Asia within NUS’ area studies research centres suggest that clearly a substantial amount of consideration and strategy was invested in the establishments of four area studies research institutes on Asia.

In addition, if Knight (2012) had as aforementioned identified area studies research centers as an internationalization strategy to add international dimension into the University’s research areas, it would appear that in the case of NUS their role can also be seen as a strategy to counterbalance the international linkages and global orientations of the cross-border education initiatives as well as the University’s aspiration to become a global university.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

The idea of the 'global university' has become a pervasive ideal that is sought by universities throughout the world. Over the past decades, there has been an intellectual shift in the nature of internationalization models from activities and programs interdependent from the vision and mission of the universities to a more integrated and comprehensive model. Recently, there has been renewed interest on CI models and how instead of pursuing for an all-inclusive look, a strategic and more selective approach should be taken in establishing an institutional profile. Concentrating on certain disciplines or regions, as Baumann (2014) suggests could in fact create a niche for the respective university that she identifies to be an important asset for competing with other universities across the world.

If in the past universities from Asia were examined regarding their role as recipients or consumers of the internationalization of higher education that took off in the Western world, for instance "as senders of students, recipients of capacity-building funds, and more recently as locations of franchise operations, branch campuses, or other forms of cross-border delivery" (Rumbley, Altbach & Reisberg, 2012, p. 13), this thesis sought to examine the National University of Singapore (NUS) as a leading Asian University with regard to the University's internationalization model and strategies. James L. Peacock's concept 'grounded globalism' was used as a structure to understand the synergy and interrelation between the University's internationalization strategies as well as understand the potential role area studies research may play within the internationalization model.

From the findings, a number of conclusions have been gathered. First of all is regarding the influence of the Singapore state in shaping NUS's institutional strategic responses towards globalization. From examination of Singapore's early development with an inclination to seeking partnerships and linkages with countries in the First World or the West to the Asianization of the country that the government has actively worked on since the 1990s by assigning Asian identities with the various sectors that are government sponsored, NUS presents itself as one of the government's Asianized "commodity" in the sector of higher education. The University's vision to become a key node in the global knowledge by providing knowledge and expertise on Asia clearly reflects and supports the Singapore government's plan to become a global-Asia hub in

the knowledge economy.

Second of all, the concessions that the Singapore government has made through the Bilingual Education Policy and the Higher Education Corporatization Act reflect certain spatial negotiations that are mirrored in the comprehensive model of internationalization that has been identified at NUS. Peacock's concept of 'grounded globalism' served as a fitting concept to structure and understand how, as examined from the University's vision, mission, and strategic development, the University's aspiration for global integration and international recognition, but on the other hand promotes attachment to the Asian region is not a contradiction or a paradox per se but rather a concession of institutional identity; a new identity that seeks to embrace globalization and at the same time sustains regional identity.

Finally, looking at the internationalization strategies that NUS has developed and implemented to achieve its vision and mission, the role of the University's area studies research centres and their specific self-reflexive themes on the Asian region serves to substantiate the Asian regional identity that the University incorporates in its vision. Through examination of the area studies research institutes that NUS hosts at the University, it is evident how the University has institutionally negotiated the concept of area studies from its original concept of the study of the 'other' to the study of the 'self.' Thus, seen from a holistic perspective, area studies research at the University has also proven to be strategically coordinated to ground the global orientations of the University.

This study is aware that there is no single model of internationalization that may be used as a universal model in different kinds of contexts. There will always be similarities and differences emerging when examining the internationalization models of different universities, even those located within the same country. On that account, the case of the National University of Singapore does not seek to be representative of internationalization in Asia but rather to highlight the range of responses that the University has made in light of the University's resources as well as the external situations in which the University is embedded. While organizational theories and expanding literature on internationalization of higher education can provide to provide guidance for universities, it is as important to have more institutional stories to learn from.

In reaching the conclusion, as in the case with any research, the results must be considered within the context of limitation. First of all, regarding the definition of area studies taken up in this study that only includes research centres with the name of the geographic area that is researched. This study does not claim that this definition and

form of area studies is the ideal model and crosses out other forms of area studies at universities. There were two reasons for the decision to focus exclusively on area studies research centres that were named after the geographical area in scrutiny.

First of all, inclusion of area studies programs and departments would inevitably open a new can of worms. This is because there is still a debate regarding the formal existence of area studies within the university system, as the university system is discipline-oriented, while area studies, on the other hand, is essentially interdisciplinary in nature. Thus, concerns whether area studies may be able to thrive to its maximum potential within the university system constitute a different debate that is outside the scope of this research.

Second of all, is related to practicality, as the time frame of this research is quite limited. It would thus be unfeasible to conduct a comprehensive examination into the nature of research at all the other “potential” centres at the universities to identify whether their research also falls within the category of area studies. Nevertheless, these limitations do not minimize the validity of this study but rather generate more questions regarding the utilization of area studies as an internationalization strategy particularly in the Asian higher education scape that need to be explored through further research.

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	Economy	PT. Beiersdorf Indonesia Distributor Gathering on 26 February, 2010 organized by PT. Beiersdorf Indonesia

The Series of Workshop on “Efficient and Sustainable Food Security: The Future for Indonesia in 2010-2012 organized by the Bogor Institute of Agriculture (IPB) in association with World Bank Indonesia

Press Conferences on Bauma Exhibitions in 2010-2012 organized by the Indonesian – German Chamber of Commerce (EKONID)

The 25th Pan Pacific Congress of Real Estate Appraisers, Valuers and Counselors on 27-30 September, 2010 organized by the Indonesian Society of Appraisers (MAPPI)

Workshops and Trainings by the Indonesian Supreme Audit Board (BPK RI)

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Training on Earthquake Countermeasure on 25-17 January, 2011 organized by the Indonesian Ministry of Energy and Mineral Resources (Kementerian ESDM)

Publications

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