Organising Scholarly Networks: perspectives from History and Public Policy (summary document)

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Our full literature review will appear as a scholarly article. Please contact the corresponding author for further information

Acknowledgements

We would like to thank the Society for Research into Higher Education (SRHE) for generously funding this study, The Women's College (University of Sydney), the University of Sydney, Nanyang Technological University, and the Australian Research Council for supporting research associated with this project. Our thanks also go to Rosemary Hancock, Gabrielle Kemmis, Ong Zhaowei, Soh Ming Li and those who attended our 2014 Workshop at Brunel University.

Introduction

Our review examines the literature on organised scholarly mobility in history and public policy, as well as other cognate fields, to offer an overview of existing research in English. We aim to bring together the diffuse literature on organised scholarly mobility programmes, working across disciplinary and national boundaries to provide a macro survey of existing work. In doing so we examine the emergence of the idea of international scholarly exchange as a pedagogic concept, the key themes on which research has focussed, and areas where it is silent. We argue that these questions are important in informing policy debates about the value-added nature of academic exchange.

Approach and Methodology

We define 'organised scholarly mobility' as individual travel by students for tertiary education that is funded by systematic programmes with an organised structure, foundational base, objectives and mission. We have thus excluded schemes for groups, privately funded academic travel, research network collaborations, and fel-

lowship and other programmes directed at established scholars – although some work on this will be captured in our analysis.

There are several high-profile mobility programmes that exemplify these criteria, and on which research is relatively well developed. These include (but are not limited to) ERASMUS, the Fulbright, Rhodes, Humboldt, Colombo, Carnegie and Rockefeller Foundations and much work in English tends to cluster around them (see discussion under 'Soft diplomacy' section below). But focusing exclusively on these specific organised mobility programmes can tend to overlook both the diversity of other schemes and the significant cultural, societal, political and market forces that shape the design and re-design of organised programmes, as well as their implementation. We therefore identified a set of thematic keywords that would allow us to determine the constellations of analytic frames around which existing research has developed (cf. literature reviews by Macfarlane et al. 2014; Bryman 2007; Hockey 1991). Our list of keywords is by no means exhaustive, but it did enable us to begin organising the literature in order identify its common research questions.

Brain drain	International grants	Scholarly exchange
Brain circulation	Knowledge transfer	Study abroad
Educational travel	Knowledge exchange	Student mobility
Fellowships	Mobility funding	Talent mobility
International exchange	Researcher mobility	Travelling scholarships
International education	Sabbatical leave	Visiting fellowships

Table 1: Thematic keywords selected for literature search and review

Core themes emerging from the literature review

We identified eight core themes that characterise the current literature on organised scholarly mobility: (1) scholarly travel before 1900, (2) soft diplomacy, (3) diaspora & refugee scholars, (4) brain movement & development, (5) international students, (6) social equity, (7) regional perspectives, and (8) digital mapping projects. This list is not comprehensive, and other approaches – such as the lives and biographies of travelling scholars – also emerge from a broad reading of the literature. But delineating these major currents in the existing scholarship is a beginning point for identifying the emergence of this subject as a site of enquiry, the concerns that to date have dominated this wide scholarship, and the direction of future research avenues.

1. Scholarly travel before 1900

Scholarly mobility is by no means a phenomenon unique to the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, and there is a rich literature examining its history. During the Islamic Golden Age and into the early modern period, students travelled around the Muslim world to study with holy men, and scholars working in fields of mathematics, astronomy, medicine, chemistry, geography and art were drawn to the courts of the caliphs. In the Confucian world too, scholars travelled to China to study for the civil service exam. In Europe, with the growth of *'studium generale'* in the 13th and

14th centuries, the idea of student mobility became central to the very definition of a university. The term itself referred to an intellectual culture that was shared throughout western Christendom. Paradoxically, as universities flowered across Europe in the 14th and 15th centuries, travel between them decreased with increased competition and each turned to their regions for students and support. Towards the end of the 15th century numbers rose again as the wars of religion abated and religious learning and law became central to the emerging political consensus. Travel once again became more restricted during the Thirty Years' war (1618-48) and the end of the 17th century was 'a period in which European university numbers were falling and bans were placed on foreign study by mercantilist monarchs' (Perraton 2014, 203; Ridder-Symoens 1996). But this was a period too in which new learning flourished and across the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, scholars across Europe, the Americas and the Classical World regularly corresponded with each other, creating an epistolary community known as the "Republic of Letters" that transcended national boundaries and stretched across linguistic and cultural divides. This was a world tied together by correspondence and publication, but also one built by educational travel.

2. Soft diplomacy

A dominant focus in the literature is on the foreign policy or diplomacy objectives of educational exchange programmes, over and above their immediate educational purpose. Many of these works take Joseph Nye's (2004) work on 'soft power' as their point of departure, although his specific comments on the university are relatively minor (Nye 2005). This focus on diplomacy is clearly evident in the body of work on specific exchange programmes. For example, the Humboldt fellowships aimed to reintegrate Germany into the international academic and scientific community following World War II (Jöns 2009, 2003); the explicit goal of the ERASMUS program is to foster European identity and integration; Cecil Rhodes imagined his Trust to be a tool to strengthen the British Empire and encourage loyalty in the Colonies; and the Fulbright stemmed from Senator Fulbright's keen interest in foreign policy and the need to facilitate the international sale of military surplus after World War II.

Some of this work further emphasises the way the history of these programmes – which nationalities have been granted scholarships or funding, where the programmes have expanded and where they have been cancelled – reflects the international diplomatic and geopolitical concerns of the twentieth century. For example, Jöns (2009, 2003) notes that immediately following World War II the Humboldt favoured applicants from the US, while after the easing of the Cuban Missile Crisis applications from Eastern European countries to the programme surged; Cromwell (1987) argues that the growth of the Fulbright program in Africa parallels the growth of US interest in Africa, and that those countries most represented in the programme – Nigeria, South Africa, Kenya, Tanzania, and Liberia – are those with the greatest geopolitical significance to the US; and Stapleton (2005) writes of the Rockefeller foundation's grants in the late 1930s to universities in the US, UK, and France

to support the migration of Jewish intellectuals from German universities and research institutes (cf. 'Diaspora & refugee scholars' section below).

3. Diaspora & refugee scholars

Unlike the other themes in the scholarly mobility literature, this set of research concerns the forced migration of scholars from their countries of origin or employment. In comparison to academic migrants discussed in the 'brain movement' section, the *political* motivation for refugee scholars to leave has rarely been challenged. Prominent topic among this set of literature has been the departure of German scholars of Jewish or non-Aryan descent following the implementation of the 1933 Restoration of the Civil Service Act by the Nazis. This Act allowed for the immediate dismissal of tenured civil servants (e.g. teachers and professors), many of whom sought protection in Allied countries (US, UK and France) from racial and/or political persecution. A harbinger is the well-known edited volume *The Intellectual Migration: Europe and America, 1930-1960* by historians Donald Fleming and Bernard Bailyn (1969). This volume estimated the numbers of refugee scholars who left, described their disciplinary training and their contributions to the fields of study in countries of settlement and transit, and noted the motivations for their leaving. The annex of this volume, which contains an overview of some 300 refugee scholars and their contributions to American science, society and culture, pointed to the intellectual vacuum they left in Fascist and Stalinist Europe.

Several decades later, social scientists followed Fleming and Bailyn's approach in documenting and analysing the impact that refugee scholars from Europe have had on American academe. Organising his volume by discipline (psychology and psychoanalysis, sociology, economics and economic history, political science and political theory, and literature), Coser (1984) discussed the refugee scholars who were giants in their field – for instance, Hannah Arendt, Karl Deutsch and Hans Morgenthau in political theory and international relations. The impact of refugee scholars on the intellectual life of their adopted countries continues to fascinate researchers. Zuckerman (1996), for instance, described the contributions of these refugee scholars in *Scientific Elite: Nobel Laureates in the United States*, while Pyke (2000) analysed the breakthroughs of German émigrés to British medical science.

Although our review also uncovered studies on other groups, academic interests on refugee scholars have been dominated by research on Jewish émigrés, making refugee and diaspora scholars a promising area for future research (see 'conclusion' section below).

4. Brain movement & development

Scholarly debates about 'brain movement' (i.e. 'drain', 'gain', 'circulation') are largely situated in the migration literature and have economic development as an explicit pivot of discussion (Vinokur 2006). Emerging in the 1950s with the 'brain drain' of scientists from the UK to the US (Royal Society 1963), the 'brain movement' debates crystallised at the start of the 1990s with the concept of the 'migration-development'

nexus. Coined after the publication of the Ascencio Report (1990, 35), this concept embodies the international consensus that (1) emigration pressures can be reduced through sustained development in sending countries/regions, and (2) migration does affect development, but this 'relationship is quite ambiguous'. Nyberg-Sørensen et al. (2002, 10), who coined the term, state that the Ascencio Report triggered a paradigm shift among donor countries that began to see international migration as an instrument for development. The discussions have subsequently revolved around how to operationalise the 'three Rs' – recruitment, remittances and return (Nyberg-Sørensen et al. 2002, 11) in order to ensure the 'triple win' – for the sending countries, receiving countries, and migrants and their families alike. However, a common global approach for achieving the 'win-win-win' scenario remains elusive.

Organised scholarly mobility is relevant to the debates about 'brain movement' and the 'migration-development nexus' because of the sub-set of highly-skilled migrants in these discussions: PhDs, postdoctoral researchers and future 'Super Talents' such as potential Nobel prize winners. Sending countries are most concerned with the return of these migrants, while most receiving countries are interested in how to recruit and retain them. This is brought into a sharper focus following the publication of the McKinsey report on the 'War for Talent' (Michaels et al. 2001; cf. 'regional perspectives' section). This report argues that companies and countries wanting to be at the forefront of the global economy in the twenty-first century must engage in a 'talent war'. Most of this talent competition has taken place between major receiving countries, but studies have also pointed to the role of regional organisations such as the EU. In recent years, we also see traditional sending countries devising their own strategies in the global competition for talent. China is a good example: long considered the world's manufacturing workshop, the government introduced a category of 'talent visa' in 2013. In comparison to refugee scholars, it is generally argued that economic considerations, rather than political ones, drive brain movement. This is, however, an open debate given the limited career (advancement) options in developing countries and regions.

We discuss the focus on 'push' and 'pull' factors within the literature and the more recent move away from a focus on 'brain drain' and towards more complex patters of networks and circulation. We also highlight new work that takes up the connection between scholarly migration and gender.

5. International students

In recent studies of contemporary international student exchange, researchers in the social sciences have devoted attention to the experience of international exchange and the benefits students feel they have gained. They argue that students take up international education opportunities for the cultural capital they can gain from the experience. The benefits to the institution are characterised in this literature as largely economic, with universities competing for a 'market share' of international students. Some attention is paid to the mechanisms of the international student system. For example, in the case of foreign students studying in New Zealand, most deal with education agents who try to bridge the profit-oriented institutions and the so-

cial realities of the students (Collins 2012). Marketing and student perception receives attention, and connected to this are studies of learning styles. Survey accounts such as that by Perraton and Bevis & Lucas are immensely valuable (2014; 2007) as are those studies that examine the international political dimensions of student movement and those that consider students' perspectives.

Much of the literature on specific organised programmes is also characterised by a focus on the educational or personal benefits of the programmes. Jöns has emphasised the long-lasting informal research links created by the Humboldt and what she calls the 'elective diaspora networks' of which they were part (Jöns et al. 2015). Literature on the Rhodes scholarship often provides biographies of the scholars themselves emphasizing their academic and professional achievements (eg Schaeper & Schaeper 1998), while a number of Fulbright alumni have written articles reflecting upon their experiences, and a few articles offer recommendations to both future fellows and the Fulbright programme. A small number of survey studies find that the Fulbright fellowships have largely positive effects upon the fellows' personal and professional careers. Literature on the ERASMUS programme largely ignores the personal benefits to those students who undertake an academic exchange, focusing instead upon the institutional links and improvements the programme encourages and the benefits of student mobility for the European Union.

We examine work on the return of international students to their country of origin, and consider some of the literature that challenges the prevailing assumption that international exchange will benefit students.

6. Social equity

Access to academic exchange and its benefits is, like access to education itself, shaped by social and economic inequalities. This is an emerging focus in the literature from sociology and geography particularly, and one with significant scope for development.

Gender is one focus of analysis. Women were excluded from universities until the late 19th and attained only a marginal position in them for most of the 20th century. Historians interested in women's education have traced the early opportunities afforded to. Yet the gendered nature of scholarly mobility persists. Leemann, for example, (2010) argues that the greater demands placed upon women by their gender, partnerships, and children – as well as social class and the pre-existing problem of the integration of women in the academy – make women less able to be geographically mobile (cf. 'Brain movement' section above). Interestingly, analysis of ERASMUS undergraduates suggests that 56% of participants are female (European Commission 2014). The extent to which this does or does not translate into mobility at higher levels is a subject we identify as needing attention.

Race, similarly, has been a focus of study, although much more might be done in this regard. Historians have noted that although the universities of Oxford and Cambridge officially relaxed their entrance requirements from 1850 to allow non-

Christian students to attend, well into the second part of the 20th century, students from Africa, India and the Middle East continued to face a host of formidable informal barriers to entry. In the US black students participate in contemporary international exchange and study abroad programmes far less than other students, which Penn and Tanner (2009) attribute to their choices in major, higher attrition rates, lower levels of social and economic affluence, and a lack of encouragement. As outlined elsewhere in this piece, there is a rich literature on the so-called 'brain drain' of students from developing countries, and emerging work of the return of Western-trained/based Chinese to China, but where a gender break-down of programme awardees has to some extent been tracked, analysis of race is less evident. We note that recent research based on ethnographic studies seeks to address this gap (Sang et al. 2013).

Issues of class intersect with and underpin both these phenomena. We examine the literature on socio-economic factors shaping student mobility, and identify that, while there are large bodies of work within national contexts on education and social equity, there remains huge scope for extending this in the contexts of international mobility.

7. Regional perspectives

The last two decades have witnessed increasing regionalism in organised scholarly mobility. This development coincides with the publication of the 1996 OECD report on 'The knowledge-based economy' (OECD 1996). This report promoted the policy belief that it was essential to shift towards a 'knowledge' production model to remain economically competitive in the twenty-first century (OECD 1996). Higher education and research policy became central to this transition because they were seen as the sites of and engine behind 'knowledge' production. As the millennium approached, many governments around the world embraced this message and prepared for transition; one strategy they adopted was to 'upload' their objectives to the regional and international levels. Political scientists such as Borrás and Radaelli (2011) theorised this 'uploading' and coined the term 'governance architecture' to describe the long-term institutional arrangements of international and regional organisations adopted for this purpose.

Some of the earliest adopters were European countries. Meeting on the occasion of the 800th anniversary of the Sorbonne University, higher education ministers from Germany, France, Italy and the UK called on other European countries to join them in establishing an attractive European Higher Education Area (EHEA) (Sorbonne Joint Declaration 1998). This quickly led to the signing of the Bologna Declaration in June 1999 by 29 European countries (Bologna Declaration 1999), which committed their governments to coordinating higher education policies based on a set of 'action lines' ranging from adopting systems of comparable degrees to promoting cooperation on quality assurance, mobility and a system of academic credits (European Credit Transfer System, ECTS). Politically, Bologna Process was unprecedented: evolving from an initial cooperation between very different higher education systems. For organised scholarly mobility, the Bologna Process is extremely relevant as it is an institutional-

ised regional process for enabling mobility through the removal of institutional, legal and cultural barriers.

Despite the fascination with Europe's Bologna Process, there is a growing body of work looking at other regional developments in the higher education sector. We consider some of this literature, highlighting that on Arab world, Asia, Africa and the Americas, and suggest that comparative higher education regionalism outside Europe remains an under-examined research agenda that warrants more scholarly attention.

8. Geographic and mapping projects

Scholarly mobility has proved an attractive subject for scholars from various disciplines associated with geography and the digital humanities. Many of these are hugely ambitious in scope, and seek to track, via various methods, the geographical movement of scholars and their connections. Individual institutions have been keen to understand their own histories. The *Wissenschaftatlas der Universität Heidelberg* (Meusburger & Schuch 2012) is a remarkable example of a project based at Germany's oldest university, which had the aim of showing – through the mapping of various historical dynamics in the form of an atlas – the spatial, social and political contexts of learning. Such projects have a dual component: both to collect and assemble data on scholarly mobility and connections, and then to analyse it. Increasingly this is done using digital methods. The *Cultures of Knowledge* project, based at the University of Oxford, is a good example. It has produced a 'union catalogue' (Early Modern Letters Online) of correspondence from the Early Modern Republic of Letters (17^{th}-18^{th} centuries) held in universities across the world. It is undertaking pilot projects that seek to understand the 'epistolary' worlds of various key individuals. There are several other teams that similarly seek to collect and digitise the letters of prominent individuals and make the available online (Newton project, Darwin project). Stanford University is going a step further with its major visualisation project, *Mapping the Republic of Letters*. The maps and images being produced show the spatial and temporal distribution of learning, often revealing patterns not easily extracted from the raw data. We highlight several projects that are using similar to understand the dynamics of present-day research collaboration.

Conclusions

On the basis of this literature review, we conclude that comparative and interdisciplinary work on scholarly mobility offers enormous opportunities to those seeking to understand the shifting global higher education and research landscapes.

In this piece we have briefly some of the present interest in this subject across a wide variety of disciplines and highlighted the possibilities for future directions. What is clear from this review is that international scholarly mobility is a phenomenon that is both deeply political and deeply historical: it is intertwined with social, economic and political forces that shape the history of nations. Organised pro-

grammes must be analysed in this light and researched in the context of a) the political imperatives that animated the era of their foundation, b) the changing objectives of those who manage them, c) the agency of recipients who use them in a variety of ways, and d) their engagement with both national and international market and political forces.

In our article we outline four future avenues of necessary enquiry, namely: 1) widened geographical focus; 2) longitudinal analysis; 3) attention to causation; and 4) governance. Notwithstanding their stated aims, programmes of organised scholarly mobility will always need to be understood in context. Any policy seeking to exploit the inherent value of organised mobility must embrace a longitudinal view and accept the prospect of both past and future mutability.

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