

Committee IV
Crises in Education in the 1980's:
A Survey of Educational Values and Systems

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**THE INTERNATIONAL FLOW OF SCHOLARS AND STUDENTS: A VEHICLE
FOR CROSS-CULTURAL UNDERSTANDING, INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION AND
GLOBAL DEVELOPMENT?**

by

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INTRODUCTION

The international flow of scholars and students in higher education has today taken on a world wide dimension. In particular, during the 1970s this flow increased at an unprecedented rate. The main receivers of students are the countries in North America and Europe including the Soviet Union and her Eastern bloc allies. The largest senders are the developing countries. However, there is also a sizeable movement of students between the industrialized countries, particularly from Canada and Britain to the United States.¹ This flow may be said to be significant because it not only "provides an important educational option for individuals and nations"² but also has far reaching economic, political and cultural consequences, both to the host and sending countries. For receiving countries positive foreign policy advantages as well as trade and commercial considerations have been emphasised, while for sending countries the argument has been in terms of meeting much needed trained manpower.

The Impetus To The Flow

Foreign students, particularly students from the colonies of the former colonial powers had, for more than a century, gone to study in their respective metropolitan centres. However, the big impetus to the present and large scale world-wide flow only began after World War II, when a significant feature of aid assistance from industrialized nations to developing nations was to help them to train their urgently

¹ Commonwealth Secretariat, Commonwealth Student Mobility in the Nineteen-Eighties. London: Marlborough House, 1984. p. 1.

² See Elinor Barber, et al "Introduction Perspectives on Foreign Students" in Comparative Education Review, Vol. 28(2), May 1984, p. 163.

needed and essential skilled manpower in industrialized countries. This was a viable strategy, since the developing countries' manpower needs were urgent and many of them had national systems of higher education which were limited in size, choice of disciplines and quality. These countries therefore had no choice but to send their nationals to be trained in the industrialized countries of the North. This generated an outflow of thousands of students from developing to developed countries under various scholarships and grant schemes. These schemes were largely negotiated and effected through cultural and bilateral agreements and through grants from non-governmental agencies. Under these facilities students from developing countries went to seek higher education in various campuses in the developed industrial world, particularly in the traditionally English speaking countries of America, the United Kingdom, Canada, New Zealand and Australia and to a lesser extent in the non-English speaking countries of France, Federal Republic of Germany, Japan, Netherlands and the Scandinavian countries. Not surprisingly, a very high proportion of the present politicians, professionals, academics, administrators and technocrats in many Third World countries were trained and socialized in the various Western universities and related institutions of higher learning.

At the same time, a parallel aid and international co-operation programme was initiated and implemented by the Soviet Union and her Eastern bloc allies, the ideological opponents of the West. When the Soviet Union's initiative particularly to take into its institutions of higher learning students from among the developing countries of Asia,

Africa and Latin America³, began to show some measure of numerical success, the United States and her allies, for obvious ideological reasons, saw this as a dangerous phenomenon. It was felt by the West that if this growing and successful development assistance from the Soviet bloc was not effectively checked, the consequences would be the sowing of the seeds of revolutionary ferment in some of the newly independent developing countries. This fear was regarded particularly seriously during the advent of the Cold War containment policy which period also saw the increasing McCarthyite hysteria⁴ in the United States. This strongly helped to generate a general fear of the Soviet initiative that it would help International Communism to realize its grand strategy of ideologically subverting the entire developing world. In other words, this Soviet involvement in hosting and training foreign students was seen a threat to the West, particularly to its democratic way of life and the rapidly expanding free enterprise system with which the West's political ideology is deeply associated.

Not surprisingly, most Western nations and in particular the United States of America and its several philanthropic bodies such as the Asia, Ford, Rockefeller Foundations and the Carnegie Corporation, initiated and developed various strategies to support strong programmes

³ While western industrialized countries have taken steps to limit foreign student intake, the Soviet Union and her allies are pursuing a reverse policy. In 1980 in the Soviet Union alone it was estimated that there were 80,000 foreign students predominantly from the Third World. See Foreign Students and Institutional Policy: Towards an Agenda for Action. Washington, D.C.: American Council of Education, pp. 23-24, 1982.

⁴ Jack Anderson and Ronald W. May, McCarthy: The Man, The Senator, The "ISM". London: Victor Gallancz Ltd., 1953. See particularly chapter 55. The Age of Accusation pp. 381-388.

in education and in particular, higher education. These Science in the Service of Society programmes were not only given high priority but were also greatly intensified in the 50's and 60's. As Philip Coombs has pointed out education became a "fourth dimension"⁵ of foreign policy as it fitted well into the foreign policy objectives of western industrialized nations. The economic dimension was also recognised. For example, when prohibitive economic fees were imposed on overseas students by the Thatcher Government in the United Kingdom the Chancellor of the University of Sheffield pointed out that foreign students were of great value to the country as trade which once followed the flag "now follows the student"⁶.

Student Flows

Over the years the global flow of students has gained tremendous momentum and diversification. This is demonstrated by figures that indicate that in the last three decades not only has the number of students studying in a country other than their own increased from 107,589 to 842,705 or nearly eight times⁷ but the number of countries they go to has also substantially increased. In particular, over the last decade the number of students studying in countries other than their own has nearly doubled from under 500,000 in 1970 to an estimated

⁵ Philip Coombs, The Fourth Dimension of Foreign Policy: Education and Cultural Affairs. New York: Harper & Row, 1964.

⁶ Sir Frederick Dainton, British Universities: Purposes, Problems and Pressures: The Rede Lecture, 1981 Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982. p.19.

⁷ See Unesco Statistical Yearbook and William Cummings, "Going Overseas for Higher Education: The Asian Experience" in Comparative Education Review, Vol. 28,(2), May 1984, pp. 241-257. The figures are more of an indicative nature, than being precise.

900,000 in 1979. This increase has been particularly substantial between 1975 and 1979 (33 per cent) than between 1970 and 1974 (24 per cent). The number of students from abroad studying in developing countries has increased by 23 per cent between 1970 and 1979 from 103,400 to 127,581 while the number in developed countries increased by 100 per cent from 386,253 to 773,109. In other words, about two-thirds of the students are studying in the developed countries⁸. William Cummings in his recent paper projects that if the trend proceeds along a straight line then by the year 2000 the total number of overseas students will number nearly 2.5 million⁹.

In this international flow of students, the institutions of higher learning in the United States of America host the largest number of overseas students with just over 30 per cent of the world total. Therefore the United States is the most important receiver of foreign students. This is followed by France with 12.6 per cent, Soviet Union with 7.3 per cent and Britain with 6.9 per cent. Though Britain is a major host country to foreign students, its numbers are declining largely because of the British government's decision to levy foreign students full-cost fees by 1983. This fall in number is particularly the case for students from the low income countries¹⁰. With a peak of 60,000 in 1978/79, the number of students in Britain has dropped to about 46,000 by 1982/83. The German Federal Republic in 1980 had a

⁸ Peter Williams and Lucy Bonnerjea: Survey of Commonwealth Students Mobility 1983, London, Commonwealth Secretariat, Marlborough House, 1983 (Restricted).

⁹ Cummings, op.cit., p. 241.

¹⁰ Commonwealth Secretariat, op. cit., p. 45.

marked rise of student population which now totals more than 61,000¹¹. Australia, Canada, New Zealand and India received between 1 per cent to 3 per cent. Of the countries which sent students abroad, 23 of them had more than 10,000 students abroad in 1978. Of these, 15 were developing countries, while 8 were developed countries. The countries which have a sizeable number of students abroad are Iran with 7.7 per cent of the world total, Greece with 3.6 per cent and Nigeria with 2.8 per cent. Some of the developing countries like Hong Kong, Malaysia, Nigeria, India and Indonesia have a substantial number of their students abroad as well¹². From the above indicative data one sees that the flow is more from South to North, then from North to North and South to South¹³. This flow from South to North continues to grow, in spite of the fact that many developing countries have developed their own tertiary institutions with a conviction that they should not only develop adequate structures to meet their country's higher educational needs but aim as well at international standards. The significance and ramifications of this flow has been of marked benefit and concern to both sending and host countries.

The Outcome

(a) For Sending Developing Countries

This flow of scholars and students has not only enabled many of the developing countries to at least partially overcome shortages in their critical mass of manpower but it has also given rise to the

¹¹ Ibid p.6.

¹² Williams and Bonnerjea, op.cit.

¹³ Ibid.

development and growth of a world-wide cross-cultural learning experience. Thus, in many developing countries an intellectual and technocratic community was created, many of whom were trained and intellectually socialised in either Western universities or in universities in their own countries which were modelled on metropolitan universities. This flow has to a considerable extent helped to enrich the quality and quantity of indigenous manpower in almost all developing countries. It has in addition effectively helped to replace practically all the expatriate staff in the universities and specialised institutions. Returned graduates also helped to establish postgraduate centres within their countries in order to train their local compatriots as well as others in the region. This pool of trained manpower and the momentum it has given rise to is of utmost importance to developing countries as valuable inputs in the rapid expansion and indigenisation process in higher education. This was done largely by supporting general university development, and helping a number of government agencies and private non-profit institutions to strengthen their skills in the administrative sciences, national and economic development planning.

Learning in the established universities of developing countries dominated as it was by Western knowledge was further reinforced with the continuous influx of the latest theories, paradigms and concepts in the sciences, humanities and social sciences that were taking place in Western Europe and in particular in the United States. In addition, because of the dominance of the English speaking countries in this knowledge transaction and in the absence of common and scientifically developed indigenous languages, English came to be accepted more and

more as a communication link in business as well as the vehicle for academic and scientific knowledge. This considerably helped to facilitate and develop communication and cooperation between the independent developing countries in the South which were in the past under colonial dominance in the past and relatively isolated from one another. In addition, the extensive use of English in developing countries by the academic community has enabled them not only to gain access to international scientific journals but has also helped them in turn to disseminate their research findings to the international scientific community.

Accompanying this has been both a transfer of a great mass of scientific knowledge in all fields and also the transfer and dissemination of technological "know-how" and information. This significant development then has helped many of the developing countries towards a capacity not only to train and develop professionals in the various fields within their own national and regional boundaries but also to devise, assimilate and adopt technology in order to solve problems of development which in the past were largely a prerogative of the industrialised nations.

In other words, scientists, in both in developed and developing countries through training and exchanges have come to realise the necessity and fruitfulness of the exchange of experience through research and exchange. In addition, in the end it has also been realised that an important offshoot of this relationship has been the role played by informal cooperation between individual scholars, largely because of personal contacts and relations of the individuals involved in the joint research. There has thus occurred, a fruitful development towards the integration of the growing scientific community

in developing countries with the well established international scientific community of the industrialised nations. This gives the possibility of the development of a vast and influential intellectual community that can comprehend and analyse problems in a global context and offer us solutions to the various crisis that face us as well as be a pressure group towards world peace.

(b) For Host Developed Countries

As indicated earlier, the receiving countries are pre-dominantly the industrial countries of the North. One of the major problems faced by the recipient countries is how to cushion the problem of "cultural collision" that individual foreign students face in their alien environment and to create optimum conditions for learning and achievement. Most universities in the industrial countries have Foreign Students Admission and Advisory Services to help foreign students from diverse cultural backgrounds to understand host values and institutions and how they should relate to their immediate host cultural environment. In Britain, apart from the Overseas Student Advisors in the various universities, the British Council has and still continues to play an important role in this cultural adjustment process. Its counterpart in this role in America is the National Association for Foreign Student Affairs (NAFSA).

This influx of foreign students, particularly from the developing countries of the South into the tertiary institutions of the North, has greatly helped host country staff and students to be culturally and academically acquainted with a variety of cultures and problems that developing countries face. It has helped to some extent internationalise higher education in many universities of the industrial

countries. This is demonstrated by the fact that a number of high calibre study and research centres have been developed in a number of the industrialised host countries on individual Third World countries or on area studies. These centres have excellent supporting services. Notable examples are the School of Oriental and African Studies in London, the Centre for Southeast Studies in Cornell in Ithaca, America and the Research School of Pacific Studies at the Australian National University.

Both in Britain and America, agencies like the British Council and NAFSA have initiated and given increasing priority to programmes that will help foreign students to not only to adjust themselves in the foreign environment but enrich their informal educational experience of their host country¹⁴. The most common and effective activity is to encourage host country families to invite foreign students to spend time with them, encourage civic groups to invite foreign students to participate in their activities, initiate foreign students visits to places of historical and cultural interest in host country.

An important but invisible benefit to recipient industrial countries of foreign students has been monetary. This has been enumerated at a joint seminar organised Rockefeller Foundation and the International Institute of Education held in March 1978 and aptly summed up by Burn in the following statement:

Exchanges enhance the balance-of-payments position of the country in which foreign students pursue their higher education both because they spend money in it while there and because they favour the country in commercial and

¹⁴ Barbara B. Burn, Expanding The International Dimension of Higher Education; San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers, 1980, p.63.

other relationship in which they may be involved professionally on returning home¹⁵.

Internationalisation of Business and Education

In recent times with the growth of multinationals and the growing interdependence of the world's economy it has been demonstrated that an international flow and exchange of students between business schools has far reaching implications. For example, in a programme initiated by France's Ecole des Hautes Etudes Commerciales (HEC), each year thirty students from HEC spend one semester in a European school and another in Brazil, Canada or the United States, while HEC is host to 30 foreign students from nine internationally reputed business schools.¹⁶

According to Jean Barthelemy, the President of the Japan chapter of the HEC Association, the benefits from these exchanges have been many both for the students and the business world at large. Significant among them are the following:¹⁷

- (a) Students gain a unique experience in management and acquire unequalled international exposure, while developing lasting relationships.
- (b) Faculty and researchers also benefit from this exchange opportunity by teaching in foreign schools or conducting joint research projects, with pooled resources and access to other

¹⁵ Barbara B. Burn, (Ed.), Higher Education Reform: Implication for Foreign Students, New York; Institute of International Education, 1978, p. 14.

¹⁶ Jean Barthelemy, Hitotsubashi University's Entry to HEC Network Provides Way to Internationalise Management in The Japan Times, March 19, 1984.

¹⁷ Ibid.

scholars.

- (c) The schools themselves enjoy the challenge of students coming from various educational backgrounds who provide them with a new perspective on their own pedagogical techniques.
- (d) Finally, the language, cultural and social rewards of this programme cannot be ignored. Spending a semester with a future business executive of another country is a unique opportunity to have interpersonal skills, by understanding the thinking processes, cultural reference and working environment of one's classmates.

The Dilemmas of Foreign Study

The training which most of the students from developing countries acquired in the West is essentially Western oriented. This socialised them towards Western educational perspectives, intellectual direction, scientific and methodological paradigms, work habits and professional expectations of their respective "host" country. The foreign training particularly if it has been in a well-known metropolitan located centre, conferred on the returnee a status which made them a part of a very distinct upper class. In addition it also made them imitate Western models of institution building. This might have been largely due to the absence of an authentically deep-rooted indigenous reservoir of knowledge accompanied by an academic culture in the region. Thus, a large number of these foreign trained scholars and students on their return to their respective home country have translated into work situations the dominant academic and cultural perspectives prevailing in the "host" countries. There has been understandably a growing concern about the relevance and consequences of such a perspective and

orientation.

Many academics from developing countries who were trained in the West have continued to maintain "enduring" and "useful" academic ties with their western counterparts, so much so, that even now many of our leading scholars in a discipline have much closer academic links and ties with their counterparts in the West than with their counterparts in the developing countries. This happens even though there exists a number of common modalities within developing countries which can be drawn and pooled together to develop research, teaching and programmes for practical training in a number of areas to their common advantage and perhaps at a very low cost. For example, in tropical medicine, many of the issues faced by tropical countries are similar in nature. In spite of this, many scholars from developing countries in the field of tropical medicine independently go to the London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine and the Liverpool School of Tropical Medicine, in some instances at exorbitant cost to their country's taxpayers, and perhaps even ignorant that there are inherent deficiencies in the teaching and practical training programmes of these institutions¹⁸.

Much of the research conducted in many of the developing country institutions of higher learning was and is often conducted for the acquisition of knowledge and advancement of the individual and not the research needs of their respective communities¹⁹. In many instances, to gain respectability both nationally and internationally,

¹⁸ See Brian MacGraith, One World. London: The Athlone Press, 1973, pp. 93-95.

¹⁹ James W Botkin, et al, No Limits to Learning: Bridging the Human Gap. Oxford: Pergamon Press 1979, p. 132.

the research is done in collaboration and under the tutelage of scholars from the West. Once completed, it is published by a Western publisher or journal under joint authorship invariably with the Western author as the senior author, although in most instances the local scholar would have done the major part of the research.

Another area of research development called "collaborative research" which was not only much more persuasive but with considerable policy implications, was developed. This was developed between scholars from well endowed and prestigious universities and their counterparts in developing countries. This gained momentum particularly in the 50s and 60s with the launching of the United States Aid programme accompanied by the increasing participation of international funding-agencies like the Carnegie Corporation and the Asia, Ford and Rockefeller Foundations. In Southeast Asia it gained further momentum with the Vietnam War.

In this "collaborative research" thrust, the major industrial countries led by America were basically interested in two areas. Firstly, the priority was in the collection of vital information which could be used to determine the way in which the Western nation could mould the policies and activities of the countries in order to "help" countries in our region keep in line with Western countries" political ideology and economic interest. For example, American social scientists were used in counter-insurgency activities in Thailand²⁰. A second objective was to make local scholars subservient to their

²⁰ Edward H Berman "Foundations, United States Foreign Policy, and African Education, 1945-1975" in Harvard Educational Review, Vol. 49, No 2, May 1979, pp. 145-179.

thinking and way of life. They provided substantial funds to Western elite academics and their institutions, to perform this function under the cover of "collaborative research". This was particularly dominant in the social science disciplines which played a dominant role in development issues²¹.

Once this collaborative research was agreed upon between Western scholars and their counterparts in Third World countries asymmetrical relationship developed. The theoretical framework, the research design, the priorities in collecting data were decided by the Western collaborator. What seems to be interesting here is that the research design, etc, was designed in the West and therefore had assumptions applicable to Western "mass society", whereas these studies were and are done in the countries of the Third World. The analysis of the data is thus done in such a manner as to often give a totally biased picture to our policy planners, the result being that our societies and planners end up doing what the Western policy makers want us to think is good for us.

One of the dilemmas faced by many of the developing countries is that substantial number of their students who go to study in advanced countries never return to their country of origin after they completed their studies. Many of these students after completing their studies either find employment and permanent residence in their host country or migrate to another industrialised country. In 1979, the Australian Vice-Chancellor's Committee (AVCC) in a review pointed out that in the

²¹ See Prabir Mitra "Theory and Practice of Science Policy in India" in Economic and Political Weekly, Vol. XIII, No. 29, July 22, 1978, pp. 1187-1189.

immediately proceeding years, three-quarters of the overseas students who finished their courses stayed in Australia instead of returning home.²² This has been a perennial problem for many developing countries and has been rightly criticised as a problem of brain drain by many of their governments. However, given the unequal levels of opportunities and income and unstable political systems in many Third World countries this problem will persist. Perhaps more could be done to meet this problem through more collaborative policies both by host and sending developing countries.

Recent Trends to Curtail the Flow

In spite of the overall benefits to both the receiving and sending countries of foreign students, in recent years practically all the major receivers of foreign students have introduced measures and mechanisms to regulate foreign student flows. This is largely due to the rapid increase in foreign student numbers in their respective countries in the past decade and the growing and deepening international economic crisis. In the United Kingdom where the system of higher education is essentially publicly financed²³ from 1976, a public controversy emerged around the issue whether the education of foreign students should be subsidised by the British tax payer. The negative outcome of this controversy is that the British Government in the Autumn of 1980 introduced a special schedule. The aim of this schedule

²² Stewart E. Fraser, Overseas Students in Australia: Governmental Policies and Institutional Programmes in Comparative Education Review, Vol. 28(2), May 1984, p. 291.

²³ Peter Williams, Britain's Full-Cost Policy for Overseas Students in Comparative Education Review, Vol. 28(2), May 1984, p. 260.

was to gradually increase the fees charged to foreign students in order to make them pay "full costs" fees by the 1983-84 academic session and at the same time reduce the tuition fees of home students. As a result of this a British university undergraduate had to pay in the 1983-84 session a tuition fee of £480 per annum, whereas an overseas student had to pay a minimum of £2,900 for an arts or social science course, £3,800 for a science or engineering course and £7,000 for the clinical stage of a medical or veterinary science course.²⁴ This policy at the extreme end made the ratio of home to overseas tuition fees 1:15.²⁵ If the overseas students other basic living cost of £3,000 to £4,000 were added to this full-cost fees, then for a full-year programme for an arts or science overseas student in Britain the cost would average £8,000 in 1983-84 session.²⁶ As indicated earlier the effects of this policy immediately became evident with a fall in foreign student numbers in the United Kingdom.

Other industrialised countries like Australia and Germany introduced legislations to regulate not only foreign student numbers into their respective countries but also establish a mechanism to ensure an equitable spread of foreign students not only in their several educational institutions but also at the level of their respective undergraduate faculties.²⁷ Canada and New Zealand on the

24 Ibid.

25 Ibid.

26 Ibid., p. 26.

27 American Council on Education, Foreign Students and Institutional Policy: Toward an Agenda for Action. Washington D.C., p. 4, 1984. Also see Stewart E. Frazer, op. cit.

other hand in order to curtail the influx of foreign student enrollments have introduced differential fee schedules for foreign students.

These respective policies are a radical departure from the traditionally assumed and operated policy of laissez-faire towards foreign students in most of these developed countries. One obvious reason for this radical departure as indicated earlier is the current overall depression in the world economy which has affected the industrialised nations rather severely. The other important reason has been to ensure that their own students are not unduly deprived of places in their own tertiary institutions with the influx of foreign students. Besides these reasons the rapid influx of foreign students, particularly from developing countries of the South, has unduly alarmed many of the host countries predominantly white population. The report of the Committee on Foreign Students and Institutional Policy of the American Council on Education pointed out as recently as in 1982 that

There is no denying, moreover, particularly where a link has been made between foreign student admissions and immigration policy, that some motives of racial and ethnic discrimination lie behind certain actions.²⁸

This protectionist trend in higher education by industrialised nations is not only a great concern to us but has far reaching implications. It has severely curtailed the ability of many fee paying private students who for one reason or other cannot get access to higher education within his or her country from getting a higher education at all. In other words in the words of one observer

28 Ibid.

financial pressures are increasingly securing foreign student enrollment towards "the rich and the desperate".²⁹ The academic community particularly in Britain has widely criticised this policy as it may severely curtail their role in the growing internationalisation of the academic enterprise and also severely affect the academic resource base. Also, sections of British industry face repercussions for overseas governments have lodged protests and moved to restrict British trade and investment in their countries.³⁰

This form of growing educational protectionism particularly in Britain which is now being followed other Commonwealth countries has brought about great concern among the Commonwealth nations. In a recent report entitled "Towards a Commonwealth Higher Education Programme: Strategies For Action" and published in June 1983, the report emphasised its concern that

Such a retreat would be at variance with the free trade in education and ideas which has been such a distinctive and enduring element of the commonwealth connection as well as such a potent factor in moulding the organic character of the association and the special richness of its professional and institutional links. In a very real sense Commonwealth universities have been at once the seed bed of the modern Commonwealth and the custodian of its future. Barriers which inhibit student flows therefore raise political no less than academic concerns. At a time when a number of Commonwealth governments in major receiving countries are reviewing their policies towards overseas students, it is important all aspects are considered, that benefits and costs are sensitively appraised and that short-term compulsions are not allowed unduly to

²⁹ Burns, Expanding the International Dimension of Higher Education, p. 67.

³⁰ Williams, op. cit., p. 266.

distort long-term perspectives and interests.³¹

Concluding Remarks

The data and discussion thus far in this paper goes to show that the flow of scholars and students is a pervasive and universal phenomenon. This phenomenon is crucial and perhaps necessary in today's growing inter-dependent world market economy accompanied by the growing role and penetration of multinationals in the world market system. This was to some extent demonstrated in the paper when it discussed the cross-national linkages the scholarly and student community developed as a result of study abroad and the related migration of students and scholars. In other words, this phenomenon has given us an important vehicle for the development of cross-cultural ties and in turn the understanding of important values across nations. These are vital and essential developments in a growing interdependent world which move towards a world economic order. It is only through such developments can international cooperation and global development be facilitated.

However, one perceives from the discussion that many industrialised countries are moving towards educational protectionism. This coupled with the economic protectionism already existing and the present global economic crisis, could become a great constraint on student mobility across nations. This in turn will be a impediment to the further development of cross-cultural understanding, international cooperation and global development. Therefore, forums like this should take cognisance of this phenomenon and try to avert it before further contradictions and tensions develop.

31 Commonwealth Secretariat, Towards a Commonwealth Higher Education Programme: Strategies For Action. Commonwealth Standing Committee on Student Mobility Second Report, June 1983, London, p.1.