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Rationales for the internationalization of higher education: the case of Russia

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ABSTRACT

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The aim of the research is to provide an analysis of rationales for the internationalization of Russian higher education from the perspective of the main stakeholders and a shift of rationales since the 1990s. The conceptual framework guiding this investigation is based on concepts of the internationalization of higher education developed by de Wit (2002) and Knight (2004). The study relies on qualitative methodology. Data consists of policy documents, secondary interviews and semi-structured interviews with two experts. A content analysis of policy documents guided by de Wit's (2002) and Knight's (2004) typologies of rationales was conducted.

This study has found that the government sector has all four rationales for the internationalization of higher education whereas universities mainly academic and economic ones. As the examination of the government sector policy documents showed, political and economic rationales are regarded as having high priority while both academic and social/cultural rationales are considered as having moderate priority. On the institutional level, the most preferred rationales are academic ones: international profile and status, international academic standards and research and knowledge production. In comparison with the Soviet period, income generation through export of educational services is becoming a motive for international cooperation although it is not among main rationales.

Analysis of current rationales for internationalization from the perspective of the government sector and universities and comparison with rationales before the 1990s allows to identify certain change in motives. Firstly, it should be noted the shift from the political rationale to the economic, as well as a shift within the political rationale from peace and mutual understanding and technical assistance to foreign policy. The overarching rationale of the internationalization policy on the national level is an economic one.

As for academic rationales, they often remain implicit reflecting the general consensus that internationalization improves academic quality. Analysis of documents and literature review allow to conclude that the before the 1990s international academic standards were main motive for the internationalization for institutions of higher education whereas currently international profile and status is dominant. Finally, cultural motives for the internationalization of higher education are not so strong as they were before the 1990s.

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ABBREVIATIONS

BRICS – Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa

CBU – Cross-Border University

CEE – Central and Eastern Europe

CIS – the Commonwealth of Independent States

DAAD – Deutscher Akademischer Austausch Dienst, German Academic Exchange Service

e.g. - *Exempli gratia*, for example

etc. - *Et cetera*, so fourth

FZ – Federalny Zakon, Federal Decree

GATS - General Agreement on Trade in Services

GIFO - State Individual Financial Obligation

HE – Higher Education

HEI – Higher Education Institution

HEIGLO - Higher Education Institutions' Responses to Europeanization, Internationalization and Globalization

IAU – International Association of Universities

ICT - Information and Communication Technologies

IREX – International Research and Exchanges Board

OECD – Organization of Economic Development and Cooperation

RCAM - The Russian Council of Academic Mobility

RF – Russian Federation

RIAC - Russian International Affairs Council

SCO – Shanghai Cooperation Organization

SRC - Strategic Research Center

TACIS/TEMPUS – Technical Assistance for the Commonwealth of Independent States/Trans-European Mobility Scheme for University Studies

US – United States

SAT – Scholastic Assessment Test

UNESCO – the United National Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

USE - the Unified State Examination

USSR – the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

WTO – World Trade Organization

WWW – World Wide Web

1. Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to provide an overview of key points of the study. It will introduce a background of the research, purpose, research questions and the structure of the master thesis.

1 *Background of the research*

Although universities have developed international activity since the Middle Ages, the 1980 - 90s witnessed a new wave of interest to issues of internationalization in higher education. Over the past three decades, the number of students enrolled outside their country of citizenship has risen dramatically, from 0.8 million worldwide in 1975 to 4.1 million in 2010, more than a fivefold increase (OECD, 2011; OECD, 2012).

Growing interest in internationalization of higher education can be explained by different reasons. Firstly, the process of globalization of the economy and labour markets pushed demand in internationally-competent workers with knowing of foreign languages, social and intercultural skills. As world economies become increasingly inter-connected, multilingualism and intercultural skills have grown in importance on a global scale. Secondly, an export of educational services has become one of the sources of revenue for higher education institutions (HEIs) and national economies in many countries.

Advantages of internationalization of higher education are apparent: improvement quality of training, joint research projects, implementation of international quality standards and enlargement of international cooperation. Alongside these positive accounts, however, there has been skepticism towards the quality, effectiveness and relevance of education and research through international cooperation as well as increasing concern over inequity and marginalization.

Currently international dimension of higher education is being increasingly promoted on the national and institutional levels in many countries. It should be noted that both levels are very crucial. The national level has a significant influence on the international dimension of higher education through policy, funding, programs and regulatory frameworks. Yet it is usually at the institutional level that the real process of internationalization is taking place (Knight, 2004, p.6 -7). To some extent, institutional level is a mirror which reflects national policy. More and more higher

education institutions became independent and strategic actors in the process of internationalization. According to the 3rd Global Survey Report of International Association of Universities' (Knight, 2003a), based on the analysis of survey responses from 745 institutions in 115 countries, 78% of institutions consider internationalization as having increased in importance within their institution over the past three years.

Today, with increasing internal and external pressures Russian universities as well as many universities in the world are expected to develop strategies in all areas, including the international dimension to make their competitiveness appealing to both domestic and global markets. Russia's education potential has traditionally been seen as an essential resource for the country's development. Since the Soviet era, Russia has boasted a wealth of experience in attracting foreign students. It should be noted that the Soviet Union used higher education mainly as a geopolitical tool and as an "ideological weapon" especially during the Cold War. With 126,500 foreign students enrolled in 1990, Russia was ranked among the first 10 countries in the world providing academic services for foreign students (Sheregi F., Konstantinovsky D. & Arephiev A., 2006). However, after the break-up of the Soviet Union, Russia's share of the world's educational services market has been on a steady decline.

The post-Soviet period of the internationalization of higher education can be divided into two stages. The first stage (1990-s – mid 2000-s) is characterized by activities mainly at the institutional level and lack of a policy on the national level. Many HEIs participated in exchange programs, established cooperation with abroad universities, also this period is marked by active work of international organizations. Since the mid - 2000s, internationalization has been high on the agenda in Russian higher education policy. With increasing internal and external pressures, Russian government had to develop strategy in the area of the international cooperation in higher education to make universities more competitive and appealing to both domestic and global markets.

It should be noted that joining the Bologna process in 2003 was an important movement and it promoted the internationalization of higher education in Russia and the integration of Russian HEIs into the European Higher Education Area. Whereas exchange programmes such as ERASMUS were aimed at the individual student, teacher or institution; with the Bologna process the internationalization of higher education has been taken to the national level through reforming the structures of degrees to make them more comparable between the different countries. Nevertheless,

there is a low level of integration into the world market of educational services where the competition is growing. According to OECD statistics (OECD, 2012, p.364), in 2010 Russia was the 7th most popular destination for international students. It attracted a relatively modest 4% of all students, compared to 17% in the United States, 13% in the United Kingdom and 6.4% in Germany.

The internationalization of higher education has become a pressing issue over the past years and the Russian government has paid attention and made a lot of efforts to internationalize universities. Recent initiatives of the government in the area of higher education include innovative educational projects, development and support for national research universities and most recently, the international competitiveness program. Why are the government and HEIs interested in international activities? A clear understanding of rationales or motives is significant because, they dictate the kind of benefits or expected outcomes one would expect from internationalization efforts... rationales are reflected in the policies and programs that are developed and eventually implemented (Knight, 2004). Exploring rationales for the internationalization of higher education is also an issue of personal interest since my professional experience is related with international education as a lecturer, an assistant at an international organization and an officer of international unit at a university.

2 Research aim and questions

Growing interest in international dimension of higher education induced research on issues of the internationalization. As Teichler and Kehm pointed out, ‘the general state of research is characterized by an increase of theoretically and methodologically ambitious studies without a dominant disciplinary, conceptual, or methodological “home” (Teichler & Kehm, 2007, p.260). According to Teichler and Kehm (2007), complexity of issues of internationalization and interplay with other problems explains mainly an inter-disciplinary area of studies of internationalization. The main topics of research on the internationalization of higher education include various issues, among them are interplay between globalization and internationalization of higher education, different types of mobility and exchange, mutual influence of higher education systems, internationalization of the content of teaching and learning, financial aspects, supranational, national and institutional policies of internationalization.

One of the significant areas of research on the internationalization of higher education is from the perspective of national policy, i.e. studies about the internationalization of national systems of higher education. In relation with analysis of national policy it is crucial to consider issue of rationales for internationalization of higher education in literature.

Authors have identified rationales for internationalization differently over time. Aigner et al (1992) described three reasons for internationalization: safeguarding international security, maintaining economic competitiveness and fostering intercultural understanding. Scott (1993) identified seven grounds for governments to internationalize their higher education system. They include the increasing competitive nature of economics, countries' wish for environmental interdependence, the multicultural and multi-religious diversity within nations, the growing number of foreign owned firms within national borders and the pressure they exert on local businesses, the multi-raciality of academic supervisors and the striving for peaceful relations between nations.

Other authors stressed the importance of economic factors in internationalization processes in higher education. For example, Davies has added to Scott's work that internationalization is "closely linked with financial reduction, the rise of academic entrepreneurialism and genuine philosophical commitment to cross-cultural perspectives in the advancement and dissemination of knowledge" (Davies, 1992, p. 56). He stresses the changing context of the fiscal situation of HEI's which makes the internationalization of higher education more a matter of revenue production than an educational development (Qiang, 2003). Knight (1997, 2004) and de Wit (1999, 2002) developed political, economic, educational and cultural rationales explaining the internationalization policy. They provide a useful conceptual framework of four different rationales for internationalization in higher education: the political, the academic, the cultural/social and the economic rationales.

In comparison with European countries, research on the internationalization of higher education in Russia is in infancy, especially issues of an internationalization policy on the national level. Currently the main topics of discussion are the following: general trends of the internationalization and globalization of higher education and the role of Russia in these processes; internationalization activities (academic mobility, joint academic programs and research collaboration); the Bologna Process as an instrument of the internationalization of higher education; GATS and opportunities and risks for higher education; comparative studies; and case studies of internationalization

strategies on the institutional level. Some aspects of internationalization policy on the national level are considered by Vilippov (2013), Drantusova and Knyazev (2013), but there is a need in a comprehensive analysis of rationales for internationalization of higher education taking into account interests of main stakeholders. This study is aimed to fill this gap and provide an analysis of rationales for internationalization of higher education in Russian context.

Therefore the main research questions are:

What are rationales for the internationalization of higher education in Russia from the perspective of main stakeholders (the government and higher education institutions)?

How have rationales for the internationalization of Russian higher education changed since the 1990s?

3 Structure of the research

The master thesis includes six chapters.

Chapter 1 (*Introduction*) presents a background of the research, purpose, research questions and the structure of the master thesis.

Chapter 2 (*Literature review*) provides an overview of the literature related with the internationalization and globalization of higher education, rationales for internationalization of higher education at the national level and issues of the internationalization of higher education in Russia.

Chapter 3 (*Methodology*) presents data collection and analysis as well as validity and reliability issues.

In chapter 4 (*Conceptual framework*) an analytical framework for analyzing rationales for the internationalization of higher education will be developed based on the conceptual framework proposed by Knight (2004) and de Wit (2002).

Chapter 5 (*Internationalization of higher education in Russia*) consists of two sections. The first section outlines a national system of higher education, main stages, goals, priorities and key stakeholders of the internationalization of higher education in Russia.

The second section of the chapter 5 (*Internationalization of higher education in Russia*) discusses rationales for the internationalization of higher education from the perspective of the government sector and universities. National policy documents and ten universities' strategies and programs on internationalization are analyzed to determine rationales for the the internationalization of higher education, differences and similarities between main stakeholders and shift in rationales since the 1990s.

In chapter 6 (*Conclusions*) the findings, limitations and issues for further research are presented.

2. Literature review

This chapter reviews literature produced on the policy issues of internationalization of higher education on the whole and particularly in Russia. Literature review includes different kind of sources as official statistics, reports, scholarly journals, reviewed articles, reference books, research institutions reports on internationalization of higher education, national and international universities libraries, computerized databases, the WWW. Material was identified mainly by reference searching and electronic literature searching using as search terms higher education, rationales for internationalization of higher education, internationalization of higher education, etc.

The chapter consists of three parts. Part one provides an overview of the literature related with the definition of the internationalization of higher education and relationship of the term with globalization of higher education. Part two focuses on on rationales for internationalization of higher education on the national level. Finally, part three provides an overview of the internationalization of higher education in Russia as reflected in the literature.

1 Internationalization of Higher Education: Definition

Growing interest in international dimension of higher education induced research on issues of the internationalisation. As Teichler and Kehm pointed out, 'the general state of research is characterised by an increase of theoretically and methodologically ambitious studies without a dominant disciplinary, conceptual, or methodological "home" (Teichler and Kehm, 2007, p.260). According to Teichler and Kehm (2007), complexity of issues of internationalization and interplay with other problems explains mainly an inter-disciplinary area of studies of internationalization.

First, to create a clear picture of the contents of this research, we need to give the definition of internationalization and discuss the literature regarding the interplay between internationalization and globalization of higher education. The discussion of the definition is considered as necessary background information.

The term internationalization can be characterized as vague, overused and sometimes misused. In the context of education, the term internationalisation became popular at the end of the 1980s. It should be noted that in the late of 1980s internationalization was mainly defined at the institutional level as a set of activities. For example, Arum and van de Water were the first researchers who attempted to define internationalization. They proposed that internationalization refers to "the multiple activities, programs and services that fall within international studies, international educational exchange and technical cooperation" (Arum & van de Water, 1992, cited in Knight, 2004, p. 9).

In the mid of 1990s, Knight introduced an organizational approach to show that internationalization was a process that needed to be integrated at the institutional level. Internationalization was defined as the "process of integrating an international and intercultural dimension into the teaching, research and service functions of the institution" (Knight, 1994, p. 7). This definition gained popularity and became widely recognized.

Kälveborn and van der Wende suggested adopting a wider definition of internationalization "as any systematic, sustained effort aimed at making higher education (more) responsive to the requirements and challenges related to the globalization of societies, economy and labour markets" (Kälveborn & van der Wende, 1997, p.19). One of the strengths of the definition is focusing on internationalization as a response of higher education to globalization as a set of political, economic, cultural and technological changes. Secondly, the authors stressed out that their

definition was in the context of the study on national policies for internationalization, i.e. efforts undertaken by national governments. According to Knight, “although this definition includes important elements, it only positions the international dimension in terms of the external environment, specifically globalization, and, therefore, does not contextualize internationalization in terms of the education sector itself” (Knight, 2004, p.10).

Another scholar who also looked at internationalization as a process was Söderqvist. She defines the internationalization as “a change process from a national higher education institution to an international higher education institution leading to the inclusion of an international dimension in all aspects of its holistic management in order to enhance the quality of teaching and learning and to achieve the desired competencies” (Söderqvist, 2002, p.29). Söderqvist's definition demonstrates an evolution of the definition at the institutional level but, unfortunately, has limitations as a comprehensive definition focusing only on teaching, learning and the development of competencies.

In 2003, Knight updated her definition taking into account new developments and limitations of previous definition. As Knight pointed out, the term needed revising because of “changes in rationales, providers, stakeholders, and activities of internationalization” (Knight, 2004, p.10). It is crucial to point out that the updated definition is applicable to national and institutional levels. Internationalization at the national/institutional levels was defined as “the process of integrating of international, intercultural or global dimension into purpose, functions or delivery of post-secondary education” (Knight, 2003, p. 2).

According to Knight (2003), the key words used in the new definition were process, integration, purpose, function and delivery of higher education. In both definitions the term process is a key word because it underlines the fact that internationalization is an ongoing course of action and the efforts to internationalize are continuous. Integration underscores the fact that internationalization takes central part in the mission of higher education. The addition of the terms purpose, function, and delivery of higher education that go beyond teaching, research and service, as the three main components of any college or university, make the new definition more general and applicable both at the institutional and national levels (Knight, 2004).

The concepts of globalisation and internationalisation are closely related and as many authors underline confused. What is the relation between two phenomena? Globalization is often defined by such words as 'interconnectedness' or 'borderlessness'. Globalization is a multidimensional phenomenon which include economic, cultural, political, technological, ideological, educational and environmental aspects. From a positive perspective, globalisation is expected to facilitate the exchange and cooperation between universities as well as the development of academic communities. It is also considered to increase competition between universities, which is in turn leads to enhancement of academic quality and standards. At the same time, there are negative consequences such as increasing inequity and marginalisation due to socio-economic disparity, the 'digital divide' and uneven access to higher education, as well as the problems of brain drain, etc. Whatever its consequences, both positive and negative, globalisation is widely considered to be a dynamic process which affects higher education.

Philip Altbach, Jane Knight, Barbara Kehm, Simon Marginson, Ulrich Teichler and others consider the complex relationship between globalization and internationalization of higher education.

According to Knight and de Wit, globalization is defined as “the flow of technology, economy, knowledge, people, values, [and] ideas . . . across borders. Globalization affects each country in a different way due to a nation’s individual history, traditions, culture and priorities” (Knight and de Wit, 1997, p. 6). Knight (2004) considers globalization as part of the environment in which the international dimension of higher education is becoming more important and changing significantly.

Altbach defines globalization “as the economic, political, and societal forces pushing 21st century higher education toward greater international involvement” and “internationalization includes the policies and practices undertaken by academic systems and institutions—and even individuals—to cope with the global academic environment” (Altbach, 2007, p. 290). Both Altbach and Knight consider internationalization of higher education as one of the ways a country responds to the impact of globalization.

Teichler argues that “internationalization’ is generally used to refer to a multitude of similar conditions and of border crossing activities based on the assumption that borders and countries still play a substantial role in shaping higher education. “Globalization’ more strongly underscores worldwide interrelationships in higher education thereby emphasizing a gradual blurring of the roles

of borders and nations as well as the role of market forces in the steering of higher education” (Teichler, 2007, p.227).

To some extent, Marginson share a common vision of these processes with Teichler. According to Marginson, “the term internationalization refers to any relationship across borders between nations, or between single institutions situated within different national systems. This contrasts with globalization, the processes of world-wide engagement and convergence associated with the growing role of global systems that criss-cross many national borders, Internationalization can involve as few as two units, whereas globalization takes in many nations and is a dynamic process drawing the local, national and global dimensions more closely together” (Marginson, 2006, p.9).

On the whole, globalization is broader than internationalization since the latter means relations between two nations while the former refers to blurring of borders. Globalization is related mainly with economy and unalterable, it represents some context which forces internationalization processes. In turn, internationalization means alternatives and related with strategies and policies primarily on national and institutional levels.

For the purpose of this research it is crucial to consider internationalization on both national and institutional levels as “the process of integrating of international, intercultural or global dimension into purpose, functions or delivery of post-secondary education” (Knight, 2003, p. 2).

2 Internationalization of Higher Education: Rationales on National Level

As it was above mentioned, the main topics of research on internationalisation in higher education include various issues, among them are different types of mobility and exchange, mutual influence of higher education systems, internationalisation of the content of teaching and learning, financial aspects, supranational, national and institutional policies and strategies of internationalization, etc.

A lot of publications on policies on internationalization in higher education have appeared over the last decade. According to Luijten-Lub (2007), they can be divided into three groups: studies on internationalization policies on a European level, including studies on the follow up of the Bologna

Declaration; studies on internationalization policies on a national level and studies on internationalization policies on an institutional level.

One of the significant areas of research on the internationalization of higher education is from perspective of national policy, i.e. studies about the internationalization of national systems of higher education. The multiple analysis of case studies of internationalization of higher education in different countries have been done by Knight (Canada, 1997), Rouhani (South Africa, 2007), Maasen, Nokkala and Uppström (Nordic countries, 2004), Yonezawa (Japan, 2011) and many others. They represent 'single-nation presentations' (Gornitzka, Gulbrandsen and Trondal, 2003) examining what countries have been doing with respect to internationalizing their higher education systems. These presentations share common features: most of them empirical and descriptive due to nature they do not offer more general observations on policy trends. As Gornitzka underscored 'the body of literature is rich in descriptions on what countries have been doing with the respect to internationalizing their higher education systems, and rather less advanced in its development of analytical frameworks and conceptualizations' (Gornitzka, Gulbrandsen and Trondal, 2003, p.86-87).

In relation with analysis of national policy it is crucial to consider issue of rationales for internationalization of higher education in literature. Why are national governments or institutions of higher education involved in international activities?

Authors have identified internationalization rationales differently over time. Aigner et al (1992) described three reasons for internationalization: safeguarding international security, maintaining economic competitiveness and fostering intercultural understanding. Scott (1993) identified seven grounds for governments to internationalize their higher education system. They include the increasing competitive nature of economics, countries' wish for environmental interdependence, the multicultural and multi-religious diversity within nations, the growing number of foreign owned firms within national borders and the pressure they exert on local businesses, the multi-raciality of academic supervisors and the striving for peaceful relations between nations.

Other authors stressed the importance of economic factors in internationalization processes in higher education. For example, Davies (1992) has added to Scott's work that internationalization is "closely linked with financial reduction, the rise of academic entrepreneurialism and genuine

philosophical commitment to cross-cultural perspectives in the advancement and dissemination of knowledge” (Davies, 1992). He stresses the changing context of the fiscal situation of HEI’s which makes the internationalization of higher education more a matter of revenue production than an educational development (Qiang, 2003).

Knight (1997, 2004) and de Wit (1999, 2002) developed political, economic, educational and cultural rationales explaining the internationalization policy. They provided a useful conceptual framework of four different rationales for internationalization in higher education: the political, the academic, the cultural/social, and the economic ones. The political rationale is mainly related to issues of national security, stability, and peace as well as ideological influences ensuing from internationalization efforts. The academic rationale is linked to the goal of achieving international standards for both teaching and research. More generally, the reasoning goes that by encouraging greater internationalization across teaching, research, and service activities, the quality of higher education can be achieved. The cultural/social rationale is based on the view that the “homogenizing effects of globalization” (Knight, 1997, p.11) need to be resisted and the culture as well as language be respected. This view places particular emphasis on understanding foreign languages and cultures, the preservation of national culture, and respect for diversity. Finally, there is the economic rationale, which, by many, is considered to be a direct response to the market forces associated with the economic dimension of globalization. On the one hand, the economic rationale underlies efforts aimed at developing the human resources/capital needed for the nation to stay internationally competitive; on the other hand, it underlies efforts aimed at increasing the institutions' income by providing education abroad or attracting more foreign students. While the political, cultural, and academic rationales are based on an ethos of cooperation, the economic one is based on an ethos of competition.

One of the most comprehensive European studies on national policies for internationalization in higher education was carried out by Källemark and Van der Wende (1997), which provided a comparative analysis of these policies for several European countries (Austria, Denmark, Finland, Germany, Greece, the Netherlands, Sweden, United Kingdom, and Central and Eastern Europe and Russia). The study examined six major issues: (1) fundamental political ideas and commitments underpinning national policies; (2) priorities for national policies and motives for their setting; (3) policy development; (4) policy implementation; (5) changes in national higher education systems as

a result of the internationalization process; and (6) assessment of how national policy affects or is affected by international/multilateral initiatives.

As for outcomes, based on the analysis of national policies, Kälvemark and Van der Wende identified several general trends. Firstly, they came to conclusion that the economic rationales became more important in Europe, although a distinction needed to be made between short term (e.g., generating institutional income) and long term (e.g., an internationally trained labour force, etc.) economic benefits. They also noted that it was necessary to distinguish between cooperative and public oriented policy and more competitive and market oriented approaches. In addition, the authors observed that some countries were widening their geographical priorities (target countries and regions) in the internationalization efforts. Finally, Kälvemark and Van der Wende found out closer linkage policies on national level with activities on the institutional level.

Another comprehensive study on higher education institutions responses to Europeanisation, internationalization and globalization, with the abbreviated name “HEIGLO”, was carried out in seven European countries during 2002 - 2004. The HEIGLO project aimed at identifying and analyzing higher education institutions' responses to the challenges of Europeanisation, internationalization and globalization, the organizational settings and the policies aimed to support these responses.

The first phase of the project concentrated on national policies for internationalization of higher education in the various countries (Austria, Germany, Greece, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal and the UK) as well as on European-level policies in this area. In fact, the first stage concerned a pre-study of the policy context or external environment for the responses of higher education institutions to the challenges of Europeanisation, internationalisation and globalisation, which were studied in the second phase of the project.

The main outcomes of the research are the following. Firstly, internationalization of higher education is entering a new phase which is characterized not only by student and staff mobility as it was earlier, but a wide range of international activities.

As for rationales for internationalization it should be noted that the trend towards more economically oriented rationales is continuing. The main reasons of dominance of the economic

rationales are improving the international competitiveness of the higher education sector and the enhancing the competitiveness of the national economy.

But at same time, it is necessary to underline that this trend is less pronounced in some national systems than in others. For example, the economic rationale is thus less explicit in the Northern region of Europe in comparison with Western Europe. As Maassen, Nokkala and Uppstrøm (2004), who investigated internationalization in Northern Europe and its Nordic cooperation, concluded that 'unlike institutions in other countries (inside and outside Europe) Nordic higher education institutions, with the exception of Danish universities, cannot profit economically from attracting foreign students other than through the national public funding model. Therefore the 'export' dimension is lacking from the Nordic cooperation in higher education' (Maassen, Nokkala & Uppstrøm, 2004, p. 7).

To sum up, it should be noted that comparative studies reflect emerging common trends typical for many countries. Until the 1990s internationalization in higher education was largely understood to be a cooperative effort with its rationale based primarily on political, cultural and academic arguments, nowadays many researchers come to a conclusion that internationalization is becoming increasingly economically motivated (e.g., Kälvermark & Van der Wende, 1997).

3 Internationalization of Higher Education in Russia

Russian higher education joined international processes later than other countries. In the Soviet period higher education institutions did not participate in international co-operation actively due to ideological and political reasons. Activities in the area of academic mobility and joint research projects (space, nuclear energy and medicine) were mainly with socialist countries and partly with developed countries.

In 1990-s countries Russia as well as countries of Central and Eastern Europe had to restructure their systems of higher education as part of transition to democracy and market economy. International cooperation was regarded not as an aim but as an important mean in transformation the systems of higher education. According to Kälvermark and van der Wende (1997), this was the main difference of internationalisation of higher education in Central and Eastern Europe from

Western Europe since the internationalisation of higher education in the latter countries was a response to the globalisation of society in general.

Since 1990-s the international cooperation of Russian HEIs with European and world universities has been intensified. In the 1990-s the international activity of HEIs ceased to be a sphere of responsibility only of the Ministry of Education and Science and other specialized agencies. Higher education institutions became independent as regards the ways of cooperation with foreign partners.

It should be noted, that research on the internationalization of higher education in Russia is in infancy due to various reasons. Firstly, higher education issues as a thematic area on the whole and internationalization issues particularly were on the periphery of research during the Soviet period. Secondly, the importance of internationalization issues for Russian higher education was recognized widely with the joining Russia the Bologna Process. It is should be noted that internationalization as a topic of research in Russia was sometimes substituted by the Bologna process. Finally, most of publications on internationalization issues in English were not available especially in early of 1990s.

Consequently, there are few research centers in Russia specializing on issues of higher education on the whole and specifically on internationalization problems. Some of the research centers have been established recently, for example, Center for Comparative and International Education (People's Friendship University of Russia), the International Laboratory for Educational Policy Research (National Research University Higher School of Economics), National Training Foundation, etc.

Publications on various aspects of internationalization began to appear at the end of 1990-s. Last years have witnessed a boom of research and publications on issues on internationalization of higher education. To some extent, this trend reflects an interest of researchers towards recent initiatives of the government in the area of higher education. These initiatives include innovative educational projects, development and support for national research universities, and most recently, the international competitiveness program. The second reason, why issues on internationalization of higher education have become in the center of higher education agenda recently, can be explained the fact that researchers were interested in internal problems. The economic and political events of

the 1990s have had a dramatic effect on every area of Russian society, including the system of higher education. Education reforms were in focus of researchers and it was a dominant topic during many years while internationalization issues were on the periphery of research.

Analyzing literature, I have defined key areas of discussion on internationalization of higher education as following:

- general trends of the internationalization and globalization of higher education and the role of Russia in these processes (M. Larionova, O. Perfilieva, 2013; Vilippov, 2010, 2013; Drantusova, Knyazev, 2013; Kupriyanova-Ashina, Chang Zhu, 2013; Borevskaya, 2013);
- internationalization activities (academic mobility, joint academic programs and research collaboration) Artamonova, Stavruk, 2010; Kuzmin, Nikonova, 2007;
- an impact of the Bologna Process on the internationalization of higher education in Russia (Nikolaev, Suslova, 2010; Gorbunova, Larionova, 2008; Baidenko, 2009; Arzhanova, Suslova, 2007);
- GATS and opportunities and risks for higher education (Larionova, 2007; Zornikov, 2003; Arephiev, 2010) ;
- comparative studies (Semchenko and Kallo, 2011; Vainio, 2009);
- case studies of internationalization strategies on the institutional level.

Obviously, one of the most topical theme has become the implementation of the Bologna Process in Russia. As many authors point out, the internationalization policy has been greatly influenced by the Bologna process and integration into the European Higher Education Area. Whereas exchange programmes such as ERASMUS were aimed at the individual student, teacher or institution; with the Bologna process internationalization in higher education is taken to the national level through reforming the structures of degrees to make them more comparable between the different countries. Key developments since joining Russia in 2003 include: legislation has been passed making provisions for the implementation of the two-cycle system; introducing uniform state examination as a basis for admission to HEIs; quality assurance and academic recognition; allowing HEIs to adapt programmes to suit specific features of the institution; the participation of employers in developing and implementing state education policy; integration of education and science aimed at strengthening research and development and enhancing HEIs. The Bologna Process is considered by many researchers as a driving force of the internationalization of higher education of Russian universities.

There are some comparative studies on co-operation in higher education between Russian and Finnish universities (Semchenko & Kallo, 2011; Vainio, 2009). The comparative study within a project Developing Quality Assurance of Higher Education Curriculum Planning in Finland and Russia (Vainio, 2009) focused on issues of curriculum development, quality assurance and internationalization of higher education in both countries. It should be noted that internationalization was considered mainly in a conventional way as academic mobility, recognition of qualifications and joint programmes. Three different case studies presented in the handbook reflected the Finnish-Russian cooperation in higher education.

Semchenko and Kallo (Semchenko and Kallo, 2011) discussed issues of establishment and implementation of quality criteria for cross-border higher education between Finland and Russia. Research was based on analysis of the Cross-Border University (CBU) as a case study on the transfer of the OECD/UNESCO Guidelines for quality provision in cross-border higher education (2005) from the supranational to national and local level. The Cross-Border University is a consortium of ten universities (four Finnish and six Russian) which has been developed in collaboration between Finnish and Russian authorities and which is aimed to be developed as an internationally renowned and attractive higher education institution in the future.

Only few studies focus on comprehensive analysis of internationalization policy at the national level. Actually, one of the attempts to study the policy issues was done by Bremer (in Kälve­mark & van der Wende, 1997) within an overview of national policies for internationalization of higher education in Europe between 1985 and 2000s. Based on conceptual framework developed by Kälve­mark and van der Wende (1997), the author provided overview of rationales, priorities in national policies, policy development and implementation in Central and Eastern European countries, including Russia. According to Bremer, before the changes of the 1990s the limited degree of international cooperation of the CEE countries and Russia was based mainly on political and cultural motives, and only to a very modest extent on educational or economic rationales. He characterized internationalization policy at national level as ad hoc with more initiatives coming from institutional level.

But at the same time, this analysis has some limitations. It was a brief analysis just dotting main trends without detailed exploring rationales for internationalization of higher education. Some

aspects of internationalization policy on the national level are considered by Vilippov (2013); Drantusova and Knyazev (2013). Currently there is a need in update of analysis of rationales or motives of national policy taking into account new internal as well as external developments Russian higher education is facing.

To conclude, there are different approaches how to define what the internationalization is. For the purpose of this research it is crucial to consider internationalization on both national and institutional levels as “the process of integrating of international, intercultural or global dimension into purpose, functions or delivery of post-secondary education” (Knight, 2003, p. 2).

Secondly, although the bulk of the internationalization processes and activities is taking place at the institutional level, “the national/sector level has an important influence on the international dimension through policy, funding programs and regulatory frameworks” (Knight, 2004, p. 5). Until the 1990s internationalization in higher education was largely understood to be a cooperative effort with its rationale based primarily on political, cultural and academic arguments, nowadays many researchers come to a conclusion that internationalization is becoming increasingly economically motivated (e.g., Kälvermark and Van der Wende, 1997; Van der Wende, 2001).

As for Russia, only few studies focus on analysis of internationalization policy at the national level especially rationales for internationalization of higher education. Some aspects of internationalization policy on the national level are considered by Vilippov (2013), Drantusova and Knyazev (2013), but there is a need in a comprehensive analysis of main motives for internationalization of higher education taking into account interests of main stakeholders. This study is aimed to fill this gap and provide an analysis of rationales for internationalization of higher education in Russian context.

3. Methodology

This section explains what methodology will be used and how this study will be conducted. It focuses on two main aspects: research design and research methods. The main research objective of the study is to analyze rationales for the internationalization of higher education in Russia from the perspective of main stakeholders. The research has a qualitative approach and there are two

reasons to undertake this kind of study. Firstly, the qualitative approach is determined by the nature of the research question. In a qualitative study, the research question often starts with what or how; in our case begins with “What are rationales for internationalization ...” that requires the understanding motives of stakeholders for internationalization. Also it is crucial to underscore the understanding of the particular context within various stakeholders such as government bodies and agencies or HEIs are acting (Maxwell, 2005). This is in contrast to quantitative question that ask why or how many and look for a comparison of groups or a relationship between variables, with the intent to establish a relationship or cause and effect. Secondly, utilizing a qualitative study can be explained because of sufficient time and resources need to be spend on extensive data collection in the field and data analysis mainly of "text" information (policy documents).

1 Data collection

The study is based on using such methods as a documents analysis and an interview. The main research method is the documents analysis. Documents included for the analysis can be classified as:

- legislation (e.g., Law on Education in Russian Federation);
- policy documents of different government bodies and agencies of the Russian Federation (e.g., Concept of Government Policies of the Russian Federation on Developing National Human Resources for Foreign Countries at Russian Educational Institutions (2002);
- universities strategies and programs on internationalization;
- others (e.g., verbatim records, reports and presentations of an expert group 7 “Labour market, post-secondary education and migration policy” for preparation Strategy of socio-economic development of Russia 2020).

The first and the fourth groups of documents will be used for background information. The second and the third group of policy documents represent the most significant and numerous part of the documents body and can be regarded as a statement of the courses of action that policy-makers and administrators intend to follow. According to Scott (1990), there are four criteria for assessing policy documents: firstly, the authenticity of the document; secondly, the credibility of the document; thirdly, is the document representative, and, fourthly, the meaning of the document.

For the purposes of this study, government and higher education organizations' policy documents will be selected and analyzed. The documents will be reached through web-pages of government bodies as well as universities, also on-line databases will be used. The analysis will cover documents published between 1991 - 2013.

Analysis of rationales for internationalization of higher education from the perspective of the government sector is based on the following documents:

- National Program on Development of Education 2013-2020;
- Postulates on Russia's Foreign Policy (2012-2018). Report 4. 2012;
- Concept of the Foreign Policy of the Russian Federation Approved by President of the Russian Federation V. Putin on 12 February 2013;
- Concept Paper on the Export of Education Services by the Russian Federation in the period 2011–2020;
- Concept of Government Policies of the Russian Federation on Developing National Human Resources for Foreign Countries at Russian Educational Institutions (2002);
- Presidential Decree 967 “On Strengthening Human Capacity of the Russian Federation” (28.12.2013);
- Government Regulation 220 “On Recruitment of Leading Researchers at Russian Higher Education Institutions” (09.04.2010).

As the focus of this study is concerned with current policy for internationalization of higher education and specifically with its rationales, the identified documents are considered as cornerstone policy documents and their selection is based upon their significance for the formation of a national agenda on the internationalization of higher education in Russia.

Analysis of rationales for internationalization of higher education from the perspective of the higher education institutions is based on universities strategies and programs on internationalization. According to statistical data, currently there are 1046 higher education institutions, 609 of them are public and municipal and 437 non-public institutions. (Russia's 2013: Statistical Pocketbook, 2013, p.13). Because of the time constraints and limit of resources, ten higher education institutions with high ratings on internationalization criterion will be analyzed in the research. The selection is done according to the National rating of classical and research universities of 2012/2013 academic year.

Table 1. National rating of classical and research universities of 2012/2013 academic year.

Rating	Higher Education Institution	Point
1	People's Friendship University of Russia	100
2	MGIMO University	92
3	Lomonosov Moscow State University	88
4	Petrozavodsky State University	79
5	National University of Science and Technology 'MISIS'	71
6	Saint Petersburg State University	70
7	Russian State Pedagogical University named after Herzen	65
8	National Research Tomsk State University	64
9	National Research University “High School of Economics”	63
10	Russian State Humanitarian University	62

Source: National rating of classical and research universities of 2012/2013 academic year.

The following universities strategies and programs will be analyzed:

- People's Friendship University of Russia, Strategic Development Program (2012-2016);
- MGIMO University, Development Strategy (2009-2015) ;
- Lomonosov Moscow State University, Strategic Development Program (2010-2020);
- Petrozavodsky State University, Strategic Development Program (2012-2016);
- National University of Science and Technology 'MISIS', Competitiveness Growth Program;
- Saint Petersburg State University, Development Program (2010-2020);
- Russian State Pedagogical University named after Herzen, Strategic Development Program (2012-2016);
- National Research Tomsk State University, Strategic Development Program (2010-2096);
- National Research University “High School of Economics”, Development Program (2009-2020);
- Russian State Humanitarian University, Strategic Development Program (2012-2016);

The second method of the research is an expert interview. The expert interview is an important source of information since experts have high insight in aggregate and specific knowledge. Two individuals will participate in the research representing different positions and opinions related with

the topic of the thesis. The experts are identified through specialized literature review. Their capacity as experts is based upon their formal positions as senior administrators:

- the head of an institute of education of an university, an expert member of a working group 7 “Labour market, post-secondary education and migration policy” for preparation Strategy of socio-economic development of Russia 2020;
- a professor, the head of a regional center for academic mobility.

Data will be obtained using an e-mail interviewing. The e-mail interviewing refers to conducting interviews via e-mail, which allows the respondent to answer questions at their own pace and over a relatively long period of time (in comparison to traditional interviewing methods). Respondents are given a choice of being interviewed by phone or via e-mail and e-mail is favoured by the respondents due to their time shortage and flexibility of the method. The respondents will be sent a list of eight open questions which were designed to offer considerable freedom to interviewees so that they could focus and elaborate on the aspects that they thought were most important or interesting. It is supposed that all responses are provided in Russian and then translated into English.

Moreover, three interviews published in official sources will be used for the research as a secondary data:

- Interview with Veniamin Kaganov, Deputy Minister of Education and Science of the RF, 2014;
- Interview with Viktor Koksharov, Rector of the Ural Federal University named after the first President of Russia B.N. Yeltsin, 2012;
- Interview with Anatoliy Torkunov, Rector of MGIMO University, 2013.

2 Data analysis

In order to define rationales for the internationalization of higher education from the perspective of the government and universities, a content analysis will be used for analysis of policy documents and interviews. According to Berg (2001), content analysis as "the interaction of two processes: specification of the content characteristics (basic content elements) being examined and application of specific rules for identifying and recording these characteristics" (p. 248). In other words, certain

content elements, such as words, paragraphs, items, themes, concepts are coded. King (2004) describes a code as "a label attached to a section of text to index it as relating to a theme or issue in the data which the researcher has identified as important to his or her interpretation" (p. 257).

Padgett (1998) explains the process of coding qualitative data as "a process of identifying bits and pieces of information (meaning units) and linking these concepts and themes around which the final report will be organized" (p. 76). Based on Knight's classification of rationales, a template of categories is constructed with some modifications. The process of coding will be done during the review of the policy documents by hand using the template of categories.

3 Validity and reliability

Validity in qualitative research refers to whether the findings of a study are true and certain - "true" in the sense that research findings accurately reflect the situation, and "certain" in the sense that research findings are supported by the evidence. One of methods used by researchers to check and establish validity is a triangulation which implies analyzing a research question from multiple perspectives. One of the popular types of triangulation is data triangulation which involves using different methods in order to increase the validity of a study (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005). The use of different methods compensate their individual limitations and exploits their benefits.

The data collected for this study is based on different information sources. In my study, documentation, interviews, observations and personal experience have formed a basis for analysis on rationales of the internationalization of higher education. In addition to the use of multiple sources in data collection, the analysis is based on two different levels: national and institutional. Multiple sources of data and different levels of considering rationales through content analysis and comparison them in different periods meet the data triangulation requirements identified by Denzin and Lincoln (1998).

4. Conceptual framework

In this chapter conceptual framework of the thesis will be considered. Firstly, general assumptions regarding the analysis of the policy for internationalization of higher education in Russian context will be presented. Secondly, framework for stakeholders analysis and modified Knight's and de

Wit's typology of rationales to identify reasons why national government involved in international activities will be covered.

The conceptual framework of this study is based on the literature on internationalization of higher education (Huisman & van der Wende, 2004) and particularly on concepts of Knight (2004) and de Wit (2002). Knight's updated and developed conceptual framework (2004) provides some clarity on definition, meaning and principles to guide policy and practice. She updated the definition of the internationalization as the process of integrating an international, intercultural or global dimension into the purpose, functions or delivery of post-secondary education. (Knight, 2003, p. 2). This definition is applicable both to institutional and national/sector level and will be used for the purpose of this research.

Knight's conceptual framework included such notions as *policy, program and approach*. At the national/sector level, all policies that affect or are affected by an international dimension of education are included. This can involve *policies* related to foreign relations, development assistance, trade, immigration, employment, science and technology, culture and heritage, education, social development, industry and commerce, etc. *Programs* are considered as one of the ways policy is translated into actions.

The notion of *approach* is introduced to describe and assess the manner in which internationalization is being conceptualized and implemented. According to Knight (2004), internationalization has five different approaches, each of them with an emphasis on different elements and components. The *programs approach* focuses on providing funded programs that facilitate higher education institutions and individuals to have opportunities to engage in international activities such as mobility, research, and linkages. *The rationale approach* looks why it is important that a national higher education sector become more international. Rationales vary enormously and include human resources development, strategic alliances, commercial trade, nation building, and social/cultural development. The emphasis on a reactive response to the many new opportunities that are being presented for international delivery, mobility, and cooperation in post secondary education relates to *the ad hoc approach*. According to *the policy approach*, internationalization of higher education is described in terms of policies that address or emphasize the importance of the international or intercultural dimension in post secondary education. Policies can be from a variety of sectors, for example, education, foreign affairs, science and technology,

culture, or trade. Finally, within *strategic approach* internationalization of higher education is considered as a key element of a national strategy to achieve a country's goals and priorities both domestically and internationally.

The analysis of the policy for internationalization of higher education in Russian context is guided by general assumptions regarding the interaction between levels of governance (Huisman & van der Wende, 2004):

- National policy for internationalization is defined by the country's role and position as an international actor (i.e. size, geographic position, foreign and cultural policy, language, etc);
- National policy for the internationalization of higher education is an integral part of a broader set of policies meant to steer the national higher education system;
- These broader policies (i.e. the steering model) as well as the shape of the higher education system (structural characteristics) may have an impact on the way and the extent to which internationalization can and will take place;
- Also other (non higher education specific) areas of national policy (e.g. economic, trade, cultural, migration policies) may influence the internationalization of higher education.

The focus on internationalization at the national/sector level reflects diversity of policy stakeholders or actors. Knight identified three major sectors of stakeholders: government sector, education sector and private sector with various groups within each sector. Table 2 provides a framework for addressing the growth in number and diversity of actors/stakeholders involved in internationalization. There are different stakeholders, for example, government departments, non-governmental organizations, foundations, and education providers. In terms of their functions, they are policymakers, regulators, funders and mediators. Their activities include student mobility, research and development, curriculum, scholarships and quality assurance, etc.

Table 2. Framework for stakeholders involved in internationalization

Type	Level or scope	Role	Activity
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Government departments or agencies • Non or semi-government organizations 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • National • Bilateral • Sub-regional • Regional • Inter-regional • International 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Policy-making • Regulating • Funding • Programming • Networking 	For example: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Scholarships • Academic mobility • Research • Curriculum

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Professional associations • Foundations • Providers 			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Quality Assurance • Science and Technology
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Source: Knight, J. 2006. Changing dynamics in the internationalization of higher education. In: Kishun, R. Ed. The internationalization of higher education in South Africa. Durban, South Africa: IEASA.

It is crucial for a national system of education to analyze a diversity of rationales or motives of different groups. According to de Wit (2001), 'rationales can be described as motivations for integrating an international dimension into higher education. They address the 'why' of internationalization. Different rationales imply different means and ends to internationalization' (p. 78). Knight's and de Wit's typology of rationales will be used to identify reasons why national government involved in international activities. Knight (1997, 2004) and de Wit (1999, 2002) developed four broad categories of rationales explaining the internationalization policy: political rationales, economic rationales, academic rationales and social and cultural rationales.

Political rationales include such subcategories as foreign policy, national security, technical assistance, peace and mutual understanding, national and regional identity. They have been very important in all periods especially postwar period (World War II), the period of restructuring the relationships with the former colonies, as well as during the process of integration of the European Union.

The economic rationales include financial incentives, labour market, economic growth and competitiveness. They are related with the short and long term economic benefits. Short term benefits mean first of all tuition fees and the other money international students bring with them during their stay in a country. Regarding long-term economic benefits, international students can fill labour shortages and they can improve a country's research capacity. Economic rationales are currently considered as one of the main drivers of internationalization policies in many countries.

The third group of rationales are *academic rationales*. They include international dimension in research and teaching, extension of academic horizon, institution building, profile and status, enhancement of quality and international academic standards. Despite the fact that economic

rationales are becoming very important educational and academic rationales remain crucial for many countries. In contrast to the economic rationales, academic rationales for internationalization tend to promote policies based on cooperation, although it is necessary to point out that cooperation and competition go hand in hand (Huisman & van der Wende, 2004).

As for the *cultural and social rationales*, internationalization is often considered as an important way to promote and preserve national culture in response to the globalization processes. In this sense, the internationalization of higher education is viewed as a way to ensure cultural and ethnic diversity.

Knight (2004) points out emerging rationales at the national level such as:

- human resource development;
- strategic alliances;
- income generation/commercial trade;
- nation building;
- and social/cultural development and mutual understanding.

These rationales appear to overlap partly the other national level rationales (Table 3).

Table 3. Rationales Driving Internationalization.

Rationales	Existing (National and institutional levels combined)
Social/Cultural	National cultural identity Intercultural understanding Citizenship development Social and community development
Political	Foreign policy National security Technical assistance Peace and mutual understanding National identity Regional identity
Economic	Economic growth and competitiveness Labour market Financial incentives
Academic (predominantly institutional level rationales)	International dimension to research and teaching Extension of academic horizon Institution building

	Profile and status Enhancement of quality International academic standards
National level (These rationales appear to overlap partly the other national level rationales)	Emerging Human resources development Strategic alliances Commercial trade Nation building Social/cultural development

Source: Knight, J. (2004). Internationalization Remodeled: Definitions, Approaches, and Rationales. *Journal of Studies in International Education*, Vol. 8 No. 1, 5-31.

Modified set of rationales

In this sub-section the conceptual framework proposed by Knight (2004) and de Wit (2002) is modified with the aim of: 1) making a specific framework focusing on the national level and 2) reducing the overlap between the rationales.

Firstly, it should be noted that such academic rationales as international dimension to research and teaching, extension of academic horizon, institution building, profile and status are predominantly institutional level rationales. As for enhancement of quality and international academic standards, they refer more to national level. Enhancement of quality is generally a top-level rationale whereas international academic standards is a more specific rationale which contributes to quality. Also it necessary to point out the growing importance of international rankings especially for evaluation of competitiveness of universities and higher education systems on the whole. University rankings have become an integral part of the global higher education system. They have important functions in supporting communications, informing stakeholders about universities and acting as instruments of transparency and image-building for universities at the national and international levels.

There appears to be an overlap between two rationales as Financial incentives and an emerging one as Commercial trade. Many national governments consider higher education as an export commodity and encourage various internationalization income generating activities as contract education, recruitment of foreign students and international education advisory services. Characterizing growing importance of commercial trade Knight means mainly cross-border delivery of education, which include franchise arrangements, foreign or satellite campuses and online delivery. In my opinion, commercial trade can be included into financial incentives.

The framework proposed by Knight (2004) includes one rationale called Labour market as well as an emerging rationale entitled Human resources development which can be included into Labour market. Some rationales have been removed in order to reduce the overlap. For example, rationales as Intercultural understanding, Citizenship development, Social and community development can be combined under more general rationale Social and cultural development.

A modified framework for national internationalization rationales is proposed in Table 4.

Table 4. Rationales Driving Internationalization at the National Level.

Political	Economic	Academic	Social/Cultural
Foreign policy	Economic growth and competitiveness	Enhancement quality of education	National identity (including cultural identity or preservation and promotion of language and culture)
National security	Labour market	Ranking and competitiveness of higher education system	Social and cultural development
Technical assistance	Financial incentives		
Regional identity			
Nation building			
Peace and mutual understanding			
Strategic alliances			

These different rationales for the internationalization of higher education are not mutually exclusive. They may be different in importance in various countries and can change over time. If we analyze the internationalization policy of any country, one can find a combination of various rationales and this mix of rationales is changing over time. Based on the modified framework for national internationalization rationales and stakeholders, I will analyze rationales for the internationalization of higher education of the government sector and universities.

5. Internationalization of higher education in Russia

This chapter aims to analyze the data have been collected through documents analysis and interviews. Firstly, the chapter provides background information on system of higher education of Russia and main changes it has experienced since the 1990-s. Next, overview of the development of internationalization of higher education in Russia and current goals, priorities and stakeholders of internationalization of higher education have been considered. Finally, rationales from the perspective of the government sector and universities and their shift have been analyzed.

1 *The higher education system: national context*

Since the 1990s the system of higher education in Russia has witnessed significant changes. On the one hand, there is a growth of students and institutions of higher education; on the other hand, one can see crucial qualitative changes caused both internal and external factors. According to Smolentseva, significant change has taken place in the following areas: 'in goals - with an orientation toward the needs of the market, society and individuals; in structure - decentralization (in contrast to Soviet centralized planning); in the autonomy of higher educational institutions - the emergence of private higher education; in financing - diversification of financial sources instead of a reliance solely on state financing; in content - increasing the humanitarian components in the curriculum and diversifying programs and courses' (Smolentseva, 2002, p.26).

Currently the system of higher education in Russia consists of 1046 HEIs, 609 of which are public and municipal and 437 non-public institutions. In the academic year 2012/2013, out of 6073.9 million students 5143.8 million or 87% were registered at state HEIs. Thus, 41% of non-state institutions enrol about 13% of students (Russia's 2013: Statistical Pocketbook, 2013, p.13). For comparison, in 1990 there were only about 700 institutions and 2.8 million students. The number of students pursuing higher education in Russia has significantly increased over the past 20 years, growing 2.5 times from 2.8 million in 1990 to 6 million in 2013. An average annual increase is about 5 percent. The expansion has been significantly due to the growth of the number of students studying in private institutions of higher education. The number of institutions of higher education has increased twofold (Nikolaev, Chugunov, 2012).

There are five types of higher education institution in the Russian Federation:

- Federal university – a leading higher education institution and centre of research at federal level. Currently, there are nine federal universities that were established following the merger of a number of regional universities.
- National research university - a higher education institution integrating regional research activities. Nowadays, there are 14 national research universities.
- University - a higher education institution offering a wide range of programmes in many disciplines.
- Academy - a higher education institution that delivers diverse programmes in a certain area (e.g. agriculture, health, arts, etc.).
- Institute - an education institution which trains specialists for a specific profession.

Main legal framework include the Constitution of the Russian Federation, decrees and orders of the President of the Russian Federation, decrees and orders of the Government and Parliament of the Russian Federation, the Russian Federation Law on Education (N 273-FZ of 29.12.2012).

The steering of higher education

The Russian system of governance of higher education has retained certain features of the Soviet system that followed a linear and centralized model. Most of the higher education institutions are affiliated and fall under the jurisdiction of federal ministries that are the founders of state higher education institutions. Among them are the Ministry of Education and Science, the Ministry of Agriculture, the Ministry of Health and Social Development, the Ministry of Culture and Mass Communications. Eight additional ministries are in charge of two higher education institutions each.

The Federal Government provides no less than 50% of all higher education institutional expenditures and keeps all state-owned institutions' funds under control through a special system of treasury accounts. It provides accreditation, attestation and licensing of all institutions, private or public. It also establishes detailed unified standards of higher education programs defining the curricular and content for all disciplines and has a monopoly on diplomas confirming higher education degree. The influence of the state on the system of higher education is still very high. Nevertheless, the higher education system is gradually going through the process of decentralisation.

Funding

The 1992 Law on Education gave higher education institutions a right to raise funds and offer paid tuition. As a consequence, the funding sources of higher education have been diversified. The sources and mechanisms of financing state and private higher education institutions differ considerably. State HEIs receive funding from the budget (mostly the federal budget) regularly (on an annual basis). Moreover, the state provides higher education institutions under its jurisdiction with premises, hostels and other property free of charge. Private HEIs do not receive state funding. Their key source of income is tuition fees.

Reforms in the new millennium

In May 2000, the Strategic Research Center (SRC) presented the Strategy for the socio-economic development of the Russian Federation for the period up to 2010, which formulated economic, social and administrative reforms. The revised educational policy, articulated in the National doctrine for education and the Concept of modernization of Russian education, emphasized the role of education as a major factor in the country's economic development and transition to a democratic state. Both policy texts noted that education should reflect the needs of the labour market and of the nation's socio-economic growth. For the first time, education was defined in economic terms as 'the long-term investment' and 'the most effective capital investment' (Government of the Russian Federation, 2000).

In 2005, the government adopted the Federal strategic program for the development of education for the period 2006–2010. The main goals defined in this document were to ensure Russia's global competitiveness, to introduce market mechanisms into the education sector and to eliminate obstacles to joining the Bologna process and the World Trade Organization (WTO). Competitiveness of the national economy on the global market; flexibility and innovation; the productive and allocative efficiency of the education sector; accountability and transparency; educational quality and responsiveness to the needs of the labour market; and the growth of the country's human capital were the leitmotif of this document.

Three 'pillars' of education modernization.

The first modernization project, known in Russia as the Unified State Examination (USE), was introduced in 2000. The exam, which is often compared to the US SAT, was designed to replace the 'wastefulness' of university admission exams and to provide equal access to higher education.

Despite much controversy and criticism surrounding the USE, its universal implementation started in 2008.

The second ‘pillar’ of educational modernization was the State Individual Financial Obligation (GIFO) project introduced by the architects of the current reform in 2002. GIFO vouchers would essentially change the financing of higher education in Russia. The government wanted to restructure the entire higher education system so that it would be regulated by consumer and market demands rather than administrative measures.

Russia’s joining the Bologna process in 2003 is considered the third ‘pillar’ of the reform. The signing of the Bologna Declaration was viewed as an important step on the way to the European integration of Russian higher education in particular and the country in general. According to the Russian officials, this integration would enable Russia to compete in the market of educational services and to attract more international students and resources. The process implies the development of the higher education system on the basis of the bachelor-master levels; the introduction of ECTS system and the diploma supplement; the creation of mechanisms for recognition of Russian and international education credentials; and the facilitation of academic mobility of students and professors.

The three projects can be considered a part of the government’s project to transform the Russian economy into a knowledge-based market economy and to secure Russia’s place in the global economy. The growth of country’s competitiveness is the primary condition for strengthening the political and economic role of Russia and for improving on its population’s quality of life. In the modern world, which is moving toward globalization, the ability to adapt to the conditions of the international competition becomes a major factor in successful and steady development. The main competitive advantage of a highly developed country stems from the ability to develop its human capital, which is defined mainly by its education system. Higher education would have to fulfill the need for highly trained specialists, who should be able to compete in the international labour markets and be mobile, entrepreneurial, dynamic and responsible.

2 *Development of the internationalization of higher education in Russia*

The international education in Russia dates back to the mid of the 19th century when the Ministry of Public Education decided to start training of foreign citizens mainly from Bulgaria and Serbia. The government provided scholarships for foreign students, but their number was rather low. The foreign students studied primarily at Moscow and Saint Petersburg universities. At the beginning of the 20th century the percentage of foreign students enrolled at Russian universities did not exceed 1% of the total student body. After the Revolution of 1917, a small number of students from Afghanistan, Turkey and Mongolia studied in the Soviet Union. Since the 1950s the number of foreign students pursuing graduate studies has increased significantly. In 1960, People's Friendship University of Russia was established as the world largest university engaged in training of international students. During the 1970 - 1980s, the number of foreign students were rising, reached a peak in 1990. With 126,500 foreign students enrolled in 1990, Russia was ranked among the first 10 countries in the world providing academic services for foreign students. A policy for attracting foreign students was implemented: specific services were created, such as Russian language courses, access to libraries and scholarships. Majority of students studying in the Soviet Union were from the Eastern Europe (Poland, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia), Asia (Vietnam, Mongolia, China, Afghanistan), Africa (Syria, Lebanon, Ethiopia, Yemen) and Cuba. 53% of foreign students studied engineering, 17% of students majored in medicine, about 7% of foreign students specialized in agriculture, forestry and fishery (Sheregi F., Konstantinovsky D. & Arephiev A., 2006). After the break-up of the Soviet Union in 1991, the number of foreign students reduced.

Table 5. Changes of the foreign citizens number studied in HEIs of the USSR in 1950 – 1991.

Years	Number of foreign students in the world (thousands people)	Number of foreign students in the Soviet Union (thousands people)	Share of foreign students studying in the Soviet Union in world number of students, %
1950	110	5,9	5,3
1960	231,4	13,5	5,8
1970	447,8	26,2	5,9
1980	915,8	88,3	9,6
1990	1168,1	126,5	10,8

Source: UNESCO Statistical Yearbook. Paris, 1972, p. 458-460; World Educational Report. Paris, 1993, p. 106; Specialists' training for foreign countries in Russia: current situation and perspectives. Moscow, 1999, p. 29.

Since 1990-s the international cooperation of Russian HEIs with European and world universities has been intensified. For ideological and political reasons, during the Soviet times academic exchange and research were carried out mainly with socialist countries. In the 1990-s the international activity of HEIs ceased to be a sphere of responsibility only of the Ministry of Education and Science and other specialized agencies. Higher education institutions became independent as regards the ways of cooperation with foreign partners.

In 1990-s countries of Central and Eastern Europe and Russia had to restructure their systems of higher education as part of transition to democracy and market economy. According to Kälvemark & van der Wende (1997), international cooperation was regarded not as an aim but as an important mean in transformation of systems of higher education. This is the main difference of internationalization of higher education in Central and Eastern Europe from Western Europe since the internationalization of higher education in the latter countries was a response to the globalization of society in general.

3 *The internationalization of higher education: goals, priorities and stakeholders*

The post-Soviet period of the internationalization of higher education can be divided into two stages. The first stage (1990-s – mid 2000-s) is characterized by activities mainly on the institutional level and lack of a policy on the national level. Many HEIs participated in exchange programs, established cooperation with abroad universities, also this period is marked by active work of international organizations. Since the mid - 2000s, internationalization has been high on the agenda in Russian higher education policy. With increasing internal and external pressures, Russian government had to develop strategy in the area of the international cooperation in higher education to make universities more competitive and appealing to both domestic and global markets.

It should be noted that joining the Bologna process in 2003 was an important movement and it promoted the internationalization of higher education in Russia and the integration of Russian HEIs into the European Higher Education Area. Whereas exchange programmes such as ERASMUS were aimed at the individual student, teacher or institution; with the Bologna process the internationalization of higher education has been taken to the national level through reforming the structures of degrees to make them more comparable between the different countries. Nevertheless,

there is a low level of integration into the world market of educational services where the competition is growing. According to OECD statistics, in 2010 Russia was the 7th most popular destination for international students. It attracted a relatively modest 4% of all students, compared to 17% in the United States, 13% in the United Kingdom and 6.4% in Germany (OECD, 2012, p.364).

The internationalization of higher education has become a pressing issue over the past years and the government has paid attention and made a lot of efforts to internationalize universities. Recent initiatives of the government in the area of higher education include innovative educational projects, development and support for national research universities and most recently, the international competitiveness program. Why is the government interested in international activities?

There are numerous factors that put pressure on the policy makers to internationalize higher education:

- Internationalization has become a strategy implemented at both national and institutional levels in response to the forces of globalization which encourages the convergence and interdependence of economies and societies. According to Altbach and Knight (2007) globalization is considered as 'the economic, political and societal forces pushing twenty-first century higher education toward greater international involvement' (p.290);
- The labour market requires more graduates adapted to the needs of the new economy: besides the theoretical knowledge and practical skills, the graduates are expected to know foreign languages and have social and multicultural competencies;
- Research demands for increased resources, insufficient at local level, imposing the establishment of international research consortia and networks;
- Recruitment of foreign students is regarded as a source of additional financial resources for HEIs.

It should be noted that, on the national level internationalization is moving away from ad hoc approach towards planned and institutionalized approach. To underline the strategic orientation of internationalisation, policy is increasingly being linked to the national strategy of socio-economic development and the higher education policy. In May 2000, the Strategic Research Center (SRC) presented the Strategy for the socio-economic development of the Russian Federation for the period up to 2010, which formulated economic, social and administrative reforms. The revised educational

policy, articulated in the National doctrine for education and the Concept of modernization of Russian education, emphasized the role of education as a major factor in the country's economic development and transition to a democratic state. Both policy texts noted that education should reflect the needs of the labour market and of the nation's socio-economic growth. For the first time, education was defined in economic terms as 'the long-term investment' and 'the most effective capital investment' (Government of the Russian Federation, 2000).

Internationalization policy on the national level is increasingly being linked the higher education policy. According to the National Program Education Development for 2013-2020, the main objective of the Russian higher education is an enhancing the quality and international competitiveness of the Russian higher education. The Program seeks to improve the quality of post secondary education by the following priority actions:

- strengthening student and academic mobility;
- exchange programs;
- increasing joint international research and teaching programs at different academic levels;
- expanding international cooperation through strategic alliances in education.

On the whole, the internationalization of higher education is considered as a means for modernization of post secondary education and as integral part of general higher education policy. The implementation of the goal implies achievement of the following outcomes: at least five Russian universities should be among 100 leading world universities; the number of foreign students should amount to 5%; and revenue from the export of educational services should amount to 10% of public funding by 2020.

The analysis of geographical priorities of the internationalization policy shows that Russia has a wider international scope. International policy arenas for Russian higher education include the CIS, Europe, the Asia-Pacific region and global arena. The CIS arena and Europe are main priorities, at the same time, it should be noted that the Asia-Pacific region is becoming one of the important priorities recently. Russia focuses international cooperation on the CIS strongly. The formal cooperation with the Commonwealth of Independent States dates back to 1991 and signing various agreements with member states. Cooperation centres on academic staff and student mobility mainly through various programmes and legal agreements that are designed to reduce the formal barriers of student and staff mobility.

The internationalization policy has been greatly influenced by the Bologna process and integration into the European Higher Education Area. Whereas exchange programmes such as ERASMUS were aimed at the individual student, teacher or institution; with the Bologna process internationalization in higher education is taken to the national level through reforming the structures of degrees to make them more comparable between the different countries. Key developments since joining Russia in 2003 include: legislation has been passed making provisions for the implementation of the two-cycle system; introducing uniform state examination as a basis for admission to HEIs; quality assurance and academic recognition; allowing HEIs to adapt programmes to suit specific features of the institution; the participation of employers in developing and implementing state education policy; integration of education and science aimed at strengthening research and development and enhancing HEIs.

The Asia-Pacific region has become one of the important priorities recently. Bi- and multilateral links with Brazil, India, China, and South Africa within the BRICS framework confirm this trend. Also it is crucial to underline enhancing relations with the United States and Canada. Russia's efforts are aimed at strengthening the export potential of its education system on the world markets of education services and integrating Russian higher education into the world's education space.

There are three major governmental stakeholders relevant for internationalization of higher education on the national level. The Ministry of Education and Science is responsible for higher education and research in general. It defines national policy goals and internationally relevant action schemes. With respect to international education, the Ministry has an International Department and it leads the development and implementation a policy and regulations related with international education in Russia. The Department coordinates scholarship programmes, disseminates information on matters relating to the internationalization of education and provides HEIs with support for their international activities. In relation to internationalization the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry for Economic Development are involved in frame-setting and funding international cooperation and exchange activities. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs is in charge of the Russian cultural relations policy, for instance, the promotion of the Russian language and culture abroad, cooperation in the area of higher education as well as intercultural dialogue. The Ministry for Economic Development is concerned with internationalization aspects of higher education through cooperation in bi- and multilateral programmes, exchange activities, supporting national educational

and technological development. Other ministries involved are Federal Agency on the CIS and Humanitarian Cooperation, the Ministry of Justice and Federal Migration Service.

Beside governmental stakeholders one can find different non or semi-government organizations relevant for internationalization of higher education on the national level. In 1997, the Russian Council of Academic Mobility (RCAM) with a network of regional centers was established to promote academic mobility. RCAM is a voluntary association of HEIs and other educational organizations. Its primary tasks are promotion of academic mobility, assistance to HEIs in the development of international relations, marketing of educational services and consultancy.

The newly created Russkiy Mir (Russian World) Foundation and Russian International Affairs Council (RIAC) entered the policy arena in 2007 and 2010 respectively. These non or semi-government organizations are becoming active in the field of international cooperation. RIAC operates as a link between the state, scholarly community and civil society. The RIAC mission is to facilitate Russia's peaceful integration into the global community including higher education area. Russkiy Mir (Russian World) Foundation is engaged in the Russian language and culture promotion, development of research and educational exchanges, disseminating knowledge about Russia, cooperation with expat communities abroad. The Foundation has several key areas of activity: creation of Russian centers abroad, scholarship and educational programs, information projects, etc.

The policy arena of internationalization of Russian higher education is marked by the increasing number and growing importance of intermediary actors. The most active drivers of the process of internationalization are some intermediary organizations. These organizations embarked their activities in the 1990-s. Among them are TACIS/TEMPUS, Erasmus Mundus, DAAD, Institute 'Open Society', IREX, British Council, American Councils for International Education, Campus France, the Swedish Institute, etc. In particular the EU-funded Tempus programme, the largest fund for cooperation in higher education with Central and Eastern European countries, has specific aim to assist the countries in their transition to democracy and market economies. The Tempus projects implemented in Russia have had a strong impact both on the modernisation of higher education in Russia and on the integration of Russian HEIs into the European Higher Education Area. The programme has impacted on the improvement of content of curricula, and has yielded new competence based programmes. Also the Tempus Programme has considerably contributed to the

adoption of the two-cycle higher education structure and to development of the Federal Standards of Higher Education of a new generation that are currently being put into practice. Another considerable contribution of the Tempus Programme is facilitation to international cooperation and creating conditions for multiple partnerships between Russian and European universities.

At the institutional level HEIs departments and offices of international affairs are operating. Today, virtually all universities have international units and vice-rectors who are responsible for international cooperation. Since 1990-s HEIs have high level of autonomy in the field of international cooperation. Sometimes universities have been forced to perform international activity, using the accumulated experience and acting according their own system of priorities because of lack state policy on national level. As internationalization has progressed, the number of actors on the HE policy arena has increased.

To sum up, the current policy and measures linked to internationalization in Russia might be characterized as movement away from ad hoc approach towards strategic approach. As was above mentioned, there are two stages in the post-Soviet period of the internationalization of higher education. The first stage (1990-s – mid 2000-s) is characterized by activities mainly on the institutional level and lack of a policy on the national level. Many HEIs participated in exchange programs, established cooperation with abroad universities, also this period is marked by active work of international organizations. Since the mid - 2000s, internationalization has been high on the agenda in Russian higher education policy. With increasing internal and external pressures, Russian government had to develop strategy in the area of the international cooperation in higher education to make universities more competitive and appealing to both domestic and global markets. State began to play significant role using various instruments to support selected HEIs in efforts to internationalize higher education. Also it is crucial to stress out the coordination of the internationalisation policy with other affected policy fields, such as migration policy, international relations, economic and financial policies, etc. The missing link between different policy arenas (Kälvemark, T. & van der Wende, 1997) seems to be disappearing to make way for more coherent and a more consistent higher education and internationalization policy.

4 Rationales driving the internationalization of higher education

Findings

This section presents and discusses the results of the content analysis. The research question that guided this content analysis is the next: what are rationales for the internationalization of higher education from the perspective of the government sector and universities?

a From the perspective of the government sector

As was above mentioned, the government sector includes the different government agencies and bodies. First of all, it is education unit, also there are other units such as foreign affairs, economic development, science and technology which all have an interest in the international dimension of higher education. These different stakeholders have different interests. In case of Russia, main stakeholders from the perspective of the government sector are Ministry of Education and Science of RF, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of RF and Ministry of Economic Development.

The following national policy documents have been analyzed:

- The Concept of the Foreign Policy of the RF (Concept, 2013);
- The Concept of Government Policy of the Russian Federation on Developing National Human Resources for Foreign Countries at Russian Higher Educational Institutions (Concept, 2002);
- National Program on Development of Education 2013-2020;
- Concept Paper on the Export of Education Services by the Russian Federation 2011–2020;
- the Presidential Decree 967 “On Strengthening Human Capacity of the Russian Federation” (28.12.2013);
- Regulation “On Recruitment of Leading Researchers at Russian Higher Education Institutions”;
- the Presidential Decree 1394 Program New Generation (19.10.2011).

Rationales per Category, Knight's Typology (2004)

The policy documents have been analyzed using Knight's (2004) typology of existing and emerging rationales (e.g., political, social/cultural rationales, economic and academic). A content analysis was conducted looking for text passages illustrating the categories for each of the rationales. A summary of the evidence found for each category is presented in Table 6, followed by a discussion of the findings.

Table 6. Summary Rationales Found in Policy Documents.

Documents	Rationales (categories and sub-categories)
Concept of the Foreign Policy of the RF	Political (foreign policy) Social/Cultural (promotion of language and culture)
Concept of Government Policy of the Russian Federation on Developing National Human Resources for Foreign Countries at Russian Higher Educational Institutions	Political (foreign policy) Economic (financial incentives) Strategic alliances
the Presidential Decree 1394 Program New Generation (19.10.2011)	Political (foreign policy)
The Federal Target Program the Russian language 2011-2015	Social/Cultural (promotion of language and culture)
The Concept of Education Services Export by the Russian Federation 2011-2020	Economic (financial incentives)
The National Program on Development of Education 2013-2020	Academic (enhancement quality of education) Economic (financial incentives)
Presidential Decree 967 “On Strengthening Human Capacity of the Russian Federation” (28.12.2013)	Economic (labour market)
Regulation “On Recruitment of Leading Researchers at Russian Higher Education Institutions”	Economic (labour market)

Political rationales

The political rationales are considered more important at the national level than at the institutional level. They consist of different subcategories: foreign policy, national security, technical assistance, peace and mutual understanding, strategic alliances, national and regional identity. The international education is historically seen as a tool for foreign policy. Educational co-operation between countries is a form of diplomatic investment in future political relations. For example, the provision of scholarships to potential leaders can be considered as a way of endowing them with knowledge of the host country and sympathy with its political system, culture and values. In addition, cultural and academic agreements between countries can be a vehicle for the development or preservation of economic and political relations.

Currently the role of international education as well as achievements in culture and arts, sciences, technologies, or the so called 'soft power' are increasing. According to Nye (Nye, 2004), soft power

is a state's ability to win others over, ensuring support for their agendas in international relations by demonstrating their cultural and moral values, their policies' appeal and the efficiency of their political institutions. This is a strategy built on certain instruments that help a country position itself on the world stage such as exporting education, promoting their language and disseminating national cultural values. In the 20th century's the dominant trend for states was strengthening their hard power, military and economic might. Nowadays soft power alongside economic resources, military and political power are becoming crucial tools for foreign policy of many countries.

Russia's foreign policy has various regional priorities: the development of bilateral and multilateral ties with the CIS Member States, the European Union, the USA and the Asia-Pacific region, etc. *The Concept of the Foreign Policy of the RF (Concept, 2013)* recognizes the development of cooperation with the CIS Member States as a main priority area of Russian foreign policy. Especially Russia is interested in establishing the Eurasian Economic Union aimed at developing mutually beneficial economic ties in the CIS area. At the same time the Concept places the emphasis upon the development of cooperation among CIS Member States in the humanitarian area based on the common cultural and civilizational heritage. Particular attention is paid to using 'soft power' or educational, linguistic, social, labor, humanitarian and other projects since Russia enjoys significant advantages in the CIS to attract foreign students (price to quality ratio, the language of study, geographic, historical and cultural proximity).

In *the Concept of Government Policy of the Russian Federation on Developing National Human Resources for Foreign Countries at Russian Higher Educational Institutions (Concept, 2002)* there is a strong emphasis on training of political elite to maintain long-term geopolitical interests of Russia in this region as the main goal of national policy. The Concept outlines the key directions that are to be undertaken to implement policy:

- enhancing the country's role as a key education center across the CIS;
- provision of access to higher education for citizens of the CIS Member States and compatriots;
- provision of scholarships for study in Russia;
- export of educational services;
- recognition of diplomas;
- promotion of Russian language and culture.

It must be noted that in along with political rationale the Concept recognizes the importance of economic rationale as export of educational services.

The international mobility of students and academics as well as collaborative research and education initiatives are being seen as productive ways to develop closer geopolitical and economic relationships. There has been a definite shift from alliances for cultural purposes to economic purposes. This is especially true at the regional level where countries are trying to achieve stronger economic and political alliances with neighbors through increasing their international education activities on a regional basis. The development of strategic alliances through internationalization of post secondary education is therefore being seen as a way to develop closer cooperation bilaterally or regionally to gain a competitive edge. According to *the Concept of Government Policy of the Russian Federation on Developing National Human Resources for Foreign Countries at Russian Higher Educational Institutions (Concept, 2002)*, Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) is an example of regional cooperation in the area of higher education between Russia, the CIS and China.

The Program New Generation 2011-2014 also places focus on training of political elite to maintain long-term geopolitical interests of Russia not only in the CIS area but in the world. The aim of the Program is to make investments in future political relations. As the policy document states, the expected outcomes are mutual projects in all areas with participation of young leaders. According to the Program, it is supposed that 2400 young political, academic and business leaders from foreign countries make short-term study trips to Russia.

Cultural and social rationales

The cultural rationale, as related to foreign policy and national identity, is presented in numerous cultural and scientific agreements and programs between governments. One of important dimensions of cultural rationales is the promotion of national languages and country studies. Many national governments pay attention to this aspect and support intermediary agencies, for example the British Council in the UK and DAAD in Germany. These intermediary agencies play important role in the promotion of national languages and country studies.

As *Concept of the Foreign Policy of the RF* states one of tools of 'soft power' for foreign policy promoting the language and disseminating national cultural values. The Russian language is the sixth most popular language in the world with more than 260 million people speaking Russian

nowadays. However, the number of Russian speakers has hardly increased in the recent years. One of the efforts in this direction is an establishment of the Russkiy Mir (Russian World) Foundation in 2007. The Foundation is a joint project of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Education and Science and supported by both public and private funds. Main goals of the Foundation are the Russian language and culture promotion, development of research and educational exchanges, disseminating knowledge about Russia, cooperation with expat communities abroad, The Foundation has several key areas of activity: creation of Russian centers abroad, scholarship and educational programs, information projects, etc.

Within *the Federal Target Program the Russian language 2011-2015* strategies are identified that seek to promote study of the Russian language and culture especially in the CIS. *Program* focuses on support of the Russian language and culture as a basis for integration processes within the CIS area.

Economic rationales

Economic rationales include different subcategories: economic growth and competitiveness, the labour market and financial incentives for institutions and governments. Economic rationales are becoming more dominant, and there is a direct link with the globalisation of economies. Countries are focusing on their economic, scientific and technological development and competitiveness. Today's globalizing economy requires countries to nurture pools of well-educated workers who are able to adapt rapidly to their changing environment and the evolving needs of the production system. Also it is important to invest in applied research. Highly skilled labour force and investments in applied research are effective ways to develop the competitiveness. Both these strategies are related with higher education. Therefore, at the national level, there is a close link between the internationalization of higher education and economic development of the country.

As was above mentioned, economic rationales include such a subcategory as financial incentives for institutions and governments. Various internationalization activities as contract education, recruitment of foreign students and international education advisory services are initiated mainly for reasons of income generation. Higher education as an export commodity is becoming a dominant rationale for internationalization not only for institutions and the private sector, but also for many national governments. The more foreign students are paying a high tuition fee, the higher the

economic return and the less the national government needs to invest in higher education. Analysis of rationales for internationalization of higher education in Russian context shows that financial incentives are becoming significant especially after Russia joined the WTO. Education is now one of the twelve service sectors in the GATS and many countries including Russia are showing increased interest in the potential for exporting education for economic benefit.

It should be noted that after the disintegration of the Soviet Union, Russia's share of the world's educational services market has been on a steady decline. According to OECD data, Russia had only three percent of the total number of foreign students in 2004 and only two percent in 2007. The USSR was the third most attractive destination for foreign students for a number of years after the United States and France. Today Russia holds only the ninth place. Most of the foreign students in Russia come from developing countries, the former Soviet republics and Asia. The largest groups of foreign students come from Kazakhstan, China, Kyrgyzstan, Belarus, India, Vietnam, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, Armenia and Ukraine.

Analysis of key policy documents, such as *National Program on Development of Education 2013-2020*, *Concept Paper on the Export of Education Services by the Russian Federation 2011–2020*, *Concept of Government Policies of the Russian Federation on Developing National Human Resources for Foreign Countries at Russian Higher Educational Institutions* shows that they declare the importance of an export of educational services. According to *National Program on Development of Education 2013-2020*, the export of educational services was stated as a priority goal for higher education sector. *Concept of Government Policies of the Russian Federation on Developing National Human Resources for Foreign Countries at Russian Higher Educational Institutions* defines the export of educational services as a source of income for higher education institutions.

The *Concept of Education Services Export by the Russian Federation 2011-2020*, developed by the Ministry of Education and Science with support of National Training Foundation, is another key policy document. It focuses on setting up clear quantitative targets:

1. to increase the number of foreign students to 5% by 2020;
2. to increase the revenue from the export of educational services to 10% of public funding.

An increasing emphasis on the knowledge economy, demographic shifts, mobility of the labour force and increased trade in services are all factors that are driving national governments to place more importance on developing and recruiting human capital or brain power through international education initiatives. There are signs of increased interest to recruit the brightest of students and scholars from other countries to increase scientific, technological, and economic competitiveness. In 2010 the Government adopted a regulation “*On Recruitment of Leading Researchers at Russian Higher Education Institutions*”. The Government allocated competitive-based scholarships to support a research under a supervision of leading Russian and foreign researchers. It is significant to underline that some changes in visa and employment procedures were undertaken to attract scholars from other countries. Currently scholars do not need to obtain quota and work permits while for other positions is compulsory. Besides, they can work as a lecturer not only with employment visa but also with business or humanitarian one. Thirdly, migration registration period is prolonged that eases mobility of scholars especially for short-term period. Nevertheless, there are some challenges Russian HEIs are facing: long procedure to obtain a working visa for a long-term period and diploma recognition issues. Changes in recruitment strategies, incentives, and immigration policies are examples of efforts to attract and retain students and academics with potential for enhancing the human capital of a country.

But at the same time, one can find manifestations of other economic rationales, for instance, emerging rationales human resource development. The lack of sufficient higher education provision at home or inadequate academic infrastructure stimulate the outward mobility of students. The *Presidential Decree 967 “On Strengthening Human Capacity of the Russian Federation” (28.12.2013)* refers to the importance of human resources development. The document emphasizes strengthening human resources capacity and competitiveness of high tech and industrial enterprises and also social work as desirable outcomes. Based on the Decree, the Ministry of Education and Science and a non-commercial organization Agency for Strategic Initiatives developed a pilot project 'Global Education'. The project provides an opportunity for Russian citizens to study at world leading universities and assistance in employment after the study. It is supposed to send 3000 students to study at leading world universities in such areas as sciences, medicine, social work management, engineering and high technologies.

Educational rationales

It should be noted that such academic or educational rationales as international dimension to research and teaching, extension of academic horizon, institution building, profile and status are predominantly institutional level rationales. As for national level, enhancement quality of education and international academic standards, ranking and competitiveness of higher education system are more appropriate. Enhancement quality of education is generally a top-level rationale whereas international academic standards is a more specific rationale which contributes to quality. Also it necessary to point out the growing importance of international rankings especially for evaluation of competitiveness of universities and higher education systems on the whole. University rankings have become an integral part of the global higher education system. They have important functions in supporting communications, informing stakeholders about universities and acting as instruments of transparency and image-building for universities at the national and international levels.

An analysis of policy documents reflects these rationales for internationalization of higher education. The *National Program on Development of Education 2013-2020* states as a main goal for education an improvement of quality of post-secondary education in compliance with demands and meets of society and economy. According to the Program, the internationalization of higher education is considered as a means to improve the quality of post-secondary education. This strategic document includes various internationalization activities such as student and academic mobility, professional development and advanced training for academics at world leading research and educational centers, curriculum innovation, foreign language study, joint international research projects. All these activities are very important and require serious review and reflection as to their greatest impact on the student and faculty experience.

Moreover, according to the program, it is supposed to provide a support for leading Russian universities to be competitive among top-100 university ranking. Currently, a project “5/100” is under an implementation and the aim is entering at least five Russian universities in the rankings of the 100 world's best universities by 2020. In 2013, an independent audit selected fifteen universities to receive special state grants worth of RUB 9 billion (US \$270 million) in the initial phase of their disbursal. These universities will have to upgrade their management teams and create conditions to attract top academics from leading Russian and foreign universities, as well as talented young professors, heads of scientific laboratories and famous scientists. In addition, they will be required to implement joint educational programmes with Russian and foreign universities, as well as take part in research and development projects in cooperation with local and international

high-tech companies. The internationalization of higher education is considered as a mean to raise quality of post-secondary education and in the long run the competitiveness of Russian HEIs.

Summary of the government sector policy documents examination

Political and social/cultural rationales

Three policy documents supported the political rationales category—specifically, the foreign policy subcategory. The motive for foreign policy is aimed toward investment in future political relations, the provision of scholarships to potential leaders is considered as a way of endowing them with knowledge of the host country and sympathy with its political system, culture and values. No evidence was found supporting other political rationales such as national security, technical assistance, peace and mutual understanding.

According to Knight's (2004) typology, social/cultural rationales seek either social learning and personal development or national/cultural identity. The first rationale emphasizes the importance of internationalization and academic development of the student through interaction with other cultures as well as with the home culture. On the other hand, the motivation of a national/cultural identity and cultural understanding highlights internationalization having a cultural function. In some countries, internationalization policy articulates a nationalist argument; —one which emphasizes the export of national and cultural values (p. 93). In addition, cultural agreements between countries is a vehicle for the development or preservation of economic and political relations.

Identifying evidence for social/cultural rationales according to de Wit (2002) posed a challenge. For example, findings supporting the rationale, extension of academic horizon, in the academic category indirectly relate to the rationale, social learning and personal development, in the social/cultural category. In the end, individual and academic development is a possible outcome for a student participating in a student exchange or study abroad program. Indeed, de Wit (2002) argued that the importance of international academic exchange frequently contributes to the personal, academic, or cultural development of the student.

Economic and academic rationales

Passages supporting economic rationales in main policy documents such as *National Program on Development of Education 2013-2020*, *Concept Paper on the Export of Education Services by the*

Russian Federation 2011–2020, Concept of Government Policies of the Russian Federation on Developing National Human Resources for Foreign Countries at Russian Higher Educational Institutions confirm that they have high priority. Evidence for rationales in this category consists of policy documents illustrating economic growth and competitiveness, financial incentives and labor market subcategories. A possible interpretation of these findings, framed by de Knight's (2002) typology, follows. The argument behind the rationale, economic growth and competitiveness is that international education will have a positive impact on economic growth and on technological development. Financial incentives and labor market rationales are self-explanatory. The first indicates that internationalization activities might have been initiated to generate income, for instance, contract education and recruitment of foreign students. The basic argument for the rationale labor market is that because of a globalized economy, future graduates will work in an international environment and face greater competition in the job market. Examination of the documents also revealed that there is a motivation to increase the competitiveness of the skilled workforce for an international labor market. As for academic rationales, they often remain implicit reflecting the general consensus that internationalization improves academic quality.

To conclude, the examination of the government sector policy documents has showed that political and economic rationales are regarded as having high priority while both academic and social/cultural rationales are considered as having moderate priority. A disaggregated analysis of categories has demonstrated that a type of political rationales - foreign policy - is regarded as having high priority. This analysis has also proved the following subcategories of economic rationales having high priority: economic growth and competitiveness, financial incentives and labour market.

b From the perspective of the universities

The higher education sector is diverse and one can look at the sector from different levels: the system level, the institutional level and the individual level. As Knight (2004) points out, the diverse body of stakeholders within the higher education sector includes different types of institutions, the scholarly research and discipline groups, the professional and membership associations, the students, teachers, researchers and administrators.

One of the key stakeholders are universities, hence it is important to consider rationales for the internationalization on the institutional level. Since 1990-s Russian HEIs have had high level of

autonomy in the field of international cooperation. Sometimes universities have been forced to perform international activity, using the accumulated experience and acting according their own system of priorities because of lack state policy on the national level. Some experts identify the three most common strategies of internationalization.

1. Large and well-established HEIs (for example, the Lomonosov Moscow State University, St. Petersburg State University, the Plekhanov Russian Economic Academy, the Moscow State Institute (University) of International Relations, Tomsk Polytechnic University and others) use old relations and experience as a basis for new partnerships and models of cooperation.

2. HEIs emerged in 1990-s (for example, the State University-Higher School of Economics, the Moscow Higher School of Social and Economic Sciences and others) actively develop international cooperation, based on the best foreign models and international centres of excellence.

3. Also there are higher education institutions which do not have clear institutional strategies of internationalization.

In order to define rationales for the internationalization of higher education, a content analysis of universities strategies and programs has been undertaken. Categories and subcategories developed within analytical framework were used to interpret motives of universities internationalization. It is obvious that, all four broad categories are applicable to universities. But at the same time, academic rationales are of great importance. According to Knight (2004), academic rationales include various subcategories as:

- International dimension to research and teaching;
- Extension of academic horizon;
- Institution building;
- Profile and status;
- Enhancement of quality;
- International academic standards.

Providing international dimension to research and teaching

Internationalization efforts are intended to enable the academic community to have the ability to understand and articulate the reality of interdependence among nations (political, economic, cultural and social) and to prepare faculty and students to function in an international and intercultural context. Even students who never leave their own country are affected by the impact of our globalized society and economy. Higher education institutions have the opportunity and responsibility through teaching and research to increase awareness and understanding of the new and changing phenomena that affect the political, economic and cultural developments among nations. Internationalization strategies such as curriculum innovation, study abroad programmes, faculty/student exchanges, foreign language study, joint international research initiatives and cross-cultural training are important activities which require serious review and reflection due to their greatest impact on the student and faculty experience.

Extension of the academic horizon

An extension of the academic horizon is part of the previous one, but given the dominance of study abroad as an instrument for the internationalization of higher education, it is also relevant to treat it separately. As stated above, internationalization in the sense of mobility of students and faculty is sometimes seen as a form of social learning by means of a multicultural experience. On the other hand, the importance attached to study abroad, faculty mobility and research co-operation tends to be measured more from the academic point of view: can one learn something at a foreign higher education institution that one cannot learn at a home institution?

Institution-building

Internationalization can strengthen the core structures and activities of an institution and may enable initiatives to be taken that would not be possible on the basis of local resources and expertise. International co-operation between higher education institutions is becoming a necessity since the pursuit of knowledge in the modern world requires vast resources which are not available to a university. One of the negative side of this case is the brain-drain problem. It is important, therefore, to acknowledge the necessity of mutual benefits for partner institutions or countries in international co-operation.

Profile/Status

There is a growing trend to competitiveness among institutions of higher education across national borders. For some universities especially research oriented, international ranking is increasingly

becoming more important than competition with neighbor institutions within the national borders. Participation in international research, teaching and institutional networks is an important aspect of this competition. This argument refers to the aspiration of the part of HEIs to increase their international profile for status and marketing purposes, based on an assumed perception that the more international an university is, the better it is. This rationale is related with the economic one as well as the educational rationale.

Enhancement of quality

Quality assurance of education is receiving more and more attention. This is also true for the quality of internationalization and transnational education. There are two aspects to the link between internationalization and quality of education. Firstly, it is related with quality of the delivery of international education. Secondly, also it is important how the international dimension of higher education can enhance the quality of higher education provision. These aspects are interlinked in the sense that the international dimension of higher education can make the best contribution to enhancing quality in higher education if it is itself of high quality. As a rationale for internationalization of higher education, the issue of enhancement of the quality of higher education is relevant. This rationale is used frequently, although mostly in a general way, without providing clear indicators how internationalization enhances the quality of higher education.

International academic standards

Finally, international academic standards related with profile/status and quality assurance are becoming important as a rationale for the internationalization. The achievement of international academic standards as important motivation for many universities since their meeting is a way for institutions of higher education to match others and receive recognition in the international arena. As Knight (1999d, 225) points out, there is also a fear that standardization implies uniformity and westernization.

It is also crucial to take into account emerging institutional rationales (Knight, 2004):

- international branding and profile;
- income generation;
- students and staff development;
- strategic alliances;
- and knowledge production.

Findings

Analysis of rationales for the internationalization of higher education from the perspective of the higher education institutions is based on universities strategies and programs on internationalization. According to statistical data, currently there are 1046 higher education institutions, 609 of them are public and municipal and 437 non-public institutions. (Russia's 2013: Statistical Pocketbook, 2013, p.13). Because of the time and resources constraints only ten higher education institutions with high ratings on internationalization criterion were selected for the research. The selection was done according to national rating of classical and research universities of 2012/2013 academic year.

Table 7. Higher education institutions selected for the research.

Higher Education Institution
People's Friendship University of Russia
MGIMO University
Lomonosov Moscow State University
Petrozavodsky State University
National University of Science and Technology 'MISIS'
Saint Petersburg State University
Russian State Pedagogical University named after Herzen
National Research Tomsk State University
National Research University "High School of Economics"
Russian State Humanitarian University

Short characteristics of universities

Since 1990-s Russian HEIs have had high level of autonomy in the field of international cooperation. Many universities have been forced to perform international activity, using the accumulated experience and acting according their own system of priorities because of a lack policy on the national level. All above mentioned universities can be classified as first group - large and well-established HEIs which use old relations and experience as a basis for new partnerships and models of cooperation. There is only one exception - National Research University "High School of Economics" which was founded in 1992. It refers to the second group of HEIs emerged in 1990-s and developed international cooperation based on the best foreign models and international centres

of excellence. Three universities - National University of Science and Technology 'MISIS', National Research University “High School of Economics” and National Research Tomsk State University - have been included in 5/100 project. All universities are public universities with a student population ranging from 5000 to 30000 located in the European part of Russia except National Research Tomsk State University which is located in Western Siberia.

Table 8. *Rationales Found in Universities Strategic Documents*

University	Rationales for Internationalization of Higher Education
People's Friendship University of Russia	Strategic Development Program (2012-2016) Foreign policy Export of educational services Enhancement of quality
MGIMO University	Development Strategy (2009-2015) Providing an international dimension into teaching and research Income generation (enlargement of educational services in terms of quality and quantity) Strategic alliances Students' development (to enlarge students' opportunities for access to best educational programs)
Lomonosov Moscow State University	Strategic Development Program (2010-2020) Providing an international dimension into teaching and research International profile and reputation Research and knowledge production
Petrozavodsky State University	Strategic Development Program (2012-2016) International profile and reputation International dimension to research and teaching Research and knowledge production
National University of Science and Technology 'MISIS'	Competitiveness Growth Program International academic standards Research and knowledge production International profile and reputation
Saint Petersburg State University	Development Program (2010-2020) International profile and reputation International academic standards Research and knowledge production
Russian State Pedagogical University named after Herzen	Strategic Development Program (2012-2016) International academic standards International profile and reputation Students and staff development
National Research Tomsk State University	Strategic Development Program (2010-2019) International academic standards International profile and reputation

	Income generation (export of educational services) Strategic alliances Research and knowledge production
National Research University “High School of Economics”	Development Program (2009-2020) International academic standards International profile and reputation Income generation (export of educational services) Strategic alliances Research and knowledge production Students and staff development (import of educational services)
Russian State Humanitarian University	Strategic Development Program (2012-2016) International profile and reputation Strategic alliances International academic standards Students development

Summary of universities strategic documents examination

Universities as one of the main stakeholders do not have one exclusive rationale, but a combination of rationales for internationalization. The diversity of rationales and greater importance of institutional level rationales partly can be explained by the fact that internationalization was not given much importance on the national level especially in early of the 1990s.

The most preferred rationales are international profile and status, international academic standards and research and knowledge production (Table 9). These rationales are reflected in strategic documents by eight and six universities correspondingly. International profile and status is a leading rationale found in strategic documents of eight universities. Traditionally, prominence has been given to the importance of achieving international academic standards. This motivation is still important, because there is an evidence of the rationale in strategic documents of six universities. But at the same time there is an overall drive to achieve a strong worldwide reputation as an international high-quality institution. This drive relates to the ambition for name recognition internationally in an attempt to attract the brightest scholars and students, and high-profile research and training projects. So, academic standards are still significant, but perhaps there is a shift from an emphasis on a high-quality academic experience for students/ teachers to one where high academic standards are key for branding purposes to compete domestically and internationally. The evidence suggests universities expect that internationalization initiatives will promote knowledge production to solve regional or global problems (e.g., environment, health, etc.) by means of an interdisciplinary collaboration. Besides, universities consider as important rationales export of educational services, strategic

alliances and students development. The remarkable fact is only one university has national level rationales (foreign policy and enhancement of quality) - People's Friendship University of Russia. It should be noted that this higher education institution was established in 1960 as a flagship university engaged in training of international students.

Table 9. Summary: Rationales Found in Universities Strategic Documents.

Categories of rationales and number of universities
International profile and reputation (eight universities)
International academic standards (six universities)
Research and knowledge production (six universities)
Export of educational services (four universities)
Strategic alliances (four universities)
Students development (four universities)
International dimension into teaching and research (two universities)
Enhancement of quality (one university)
Foreign policy (one university)

It is interesting to use secondary data for the analysis of rationales for internationalization of higher education and compare them with the results of the content analysis. Self-evaluation of sixteen leading HEIs within a research project 'Development a comprehensive strategy on the export of Russian higher educational services and promotion of its competitiveness in the global educational market' carried out by the Ministry of Education and Science of the Russian Federation and National Training Foundation (Larionova, 2010) shows that universities in Russia consider internationalization as means of modernization and competitiveness of education not only as a source of revenue.

According to the survey 'Interplay between Russian HEIs and international foundations and universities: monitoring and performance evaluation' (Sheregi F., Konstantinovsky D. & Arephiev A., 2006), motivation for internationalization of higher education for many universities can be explained by aspiration to gain international profile and reputation and raise a competitiveness of universities on international arena. Income generation through export of educational services is not among main motives for international cooperation.

Thus, analysis of secondary data confirms results of international surveys as IAU's Global Survey Report (2003) and HEIGLO project that economic motives are priorities mainly at the national level. Internationalization is becoming an integral part of universities strategy and strategic plans of

universities are evidence. As for main areas of internationalization most universities prefer student and academic mobility as well as joint programs.

5 Shift in rationales

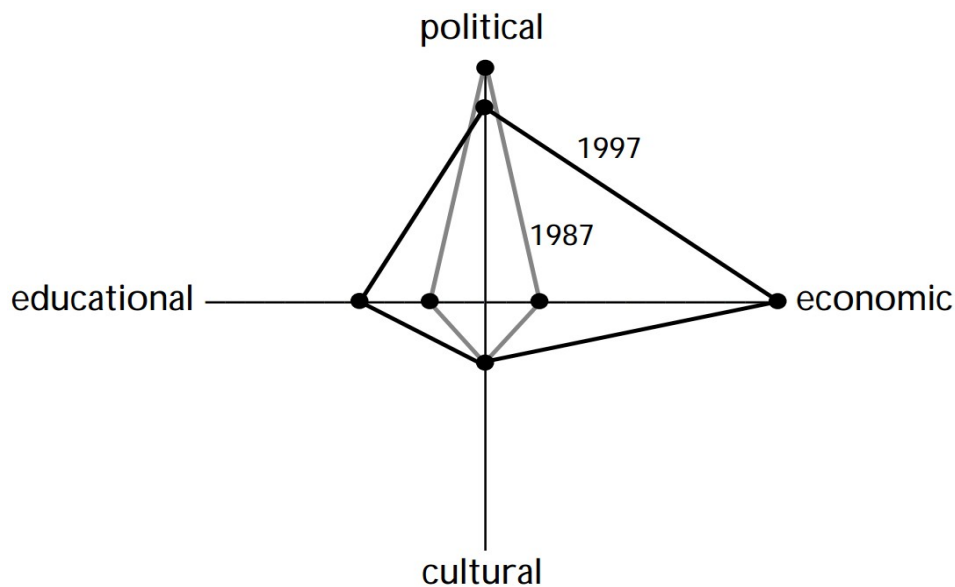
This section presents the key findings that have been developed from documents analysis, literature review and expert interviews, as they relate to the second research question: “How have rationales for the internationalization of Russian higher education changed since the 1990s?” The expert interview is an additional and important source of information since experts have aggregate and specific knowledge. Two individuals have participated in the research representing their opinions related with the topic of the thesis. The experts were identified through specialized literature review. Their capacity as experts is based upon their formal positions as senior administrators:

- the head of an institute of education of an university, an expert member of a working group “Labour market, post-secondary education and migration policy” for preparation Strategy of socio-economic development of Russia 2020 (Participant 1);
- a professor, the head of a regional center for academic mobility (Participant 2).

Throughout the section participants' responses provide examples of the key ideas that underpin the findings presented.

On the whole, the international cooperation in the area of higher education before the 1990s was limited and HEIs developed international ties mainly with socialist countries. According to Bremer (in Källemark & van der Wende, 1997), political and cultural motives were dominant while educational and economic ones had a low priority on the national level (Figure 1). On the institutional level, academic rationales were main motives for international cooperation. Also it is important to note a lack of evidence and it is impossible to make a disaggregated analysis of categories.

Figure 1. Rationales for internationalisation policies in Central and Eastern Europe and Russia.



Source: Kälvemark, T. & van der Wende, M. (1997). *National policies for internationalization of higher education in Europe*. Stockholm: National Agency for Higher Education.

The 1990s were crucial and momentous period for Russian higher education system since this period was marked by significant changes. On the one hand, there is a growth of students and institutions of higher education; on the other hand, one can see crucial qualitative changes caused both internal and external factors. According to Smolentseva (2002), significant change has taken place in the following areas: 'in goals - with an orientation toward the needs of the market, society, and individuals; in structure - decentralization (in contrast to Soviet centralized planning); in the autonomy of higher educational institutions - the emergence of private higher education; in financing - diversification of financial sources instead of a reliance solely on state financing; in content - increasing the humanitarian components in the curriculum and diversifying programs and courses' (Smolentseva, 2002, p.26). At the same time changes in external environment to some extent forced many HEIs to develop strategy in the area of the international cooperation to make them more competitive and appealing to both domestic and global markets.

It is important to underline that priorities in rationales may change over time and by country. When analyzing rationales especially nowadays, one has to take into account the diversity of stakeholders' groups and within each stakeholder group in comparison with previous period. Higher education is not only the sector with a strong interest for internationalization. Analysis of the government sector in Russia shows that it has its own specific view why it is important to internationalize higher education.

Table 10. Stakeholders' perspectives on rationales for internationalization of higher education in Russia.

Rationale	Government sector	Higher education sector (universities)
Political	X	
Social/Cultural	X	
Economic	X	X
Academic	X	X

One can see that the government sector has all four rationales for the internationalization of higher education whereas universities mainly academic and economic ones. As the examination of the government sector policy documents showed, political and economic rationales are regarded as having high priority while both academic and social/cultural rationales are considered as having moderate priority. On the institutional level, the most popular rationales are academic ones: international profile and status, international academic standards and research and knowledge production. In comparison with the Soviet period, income generation through export of educational services is becoming a motive for international cooperation although it is not among main rationales.

Analysis of current rationales for internationalization from the perspective of the government sector and universities and comparison with rationales before the 1990s allows to identify certain change in motives. Firstly, it should be noted the shift from the political rationale to the economic, as well as a shift within the political rationale from peace and mutual understanding and technical assistance to foreign policy. The overarching rationale of the internationalization policy on the national level is an economic one. This rationale is explicit in policy papers. For instance, the key policy documents, such as *National Program on Development of Education 2013-2020*, *Concept Paper on the Export of Education Services by the Russian Federation 2011–2020*, *Concept of Government Policies of the Russian Federation on Developing National Human Resources for Foreign Countries at Russian Higher Educational Institutions* declare the importance of an export of educational services.

As for academic rationales, they often remain implicit reflecting the general consensus that internationalization improves academic quality. Analysis of documents and literature review allow

to conclude that the before the 1990s international academic standards were main motive for the internationalization for institutions of higher education whereas currently international profile and status is dominant. Finally, cultural motives for the internationalization of higher education are not so strong as they were before the 1990s.

Generally, there is an agreement in the views of the interviewed regarding the shift from the political rationale to the economic one. Noteworthy was a comment by Participant 1 who stated that “in Russia, economically oriented rationales for internationalization now appear to be the dominant driver of higher education internationalization policy. Possible explanations of this trend are improving the international competitiveness of the higher education sector and enhancing the international competitiveness of the national economy”. Participants agreed that an economic rationale is a key driver for internationalization of higher education on the national level. At the same time, Participant 2 stressed out that “... the economic rationale is also becoming important on the institutional level. Some HEIs are active in export of educational services and they are facing a lot of challenges related with lack of coordination policy on the national level”.

Participant 2 claimed that political rationales are equally important as economic rationales due to historical reasons. He provided an insight into reasons of political rationales importance : “A few decades ago, Russia was perceived as a socialist country which maintained relations mainly with other socialist countries. Russia’s geopolitical position changed after the break-up of the Soviet Union. Currently Russia is trying to renew ties especially with former Soviet republics and higher education is considered as an important instrument to restore influence”.

6. Conclusions

This qualitative study has attempted to provide an answer the following research questions:

What are rationales for the internationalization of higher education in Russia from the perspective of the government sector and higher education institutions?

How have rationales for the internationalization of Russian higher education changed since the 1990s?

Exploring rationales for the internationalization of higher education is crucial, but the difficulty is that they are often formulated implicitly or described in general terms, such as 'enhancement quality of education' or 'competitiveness of higher education' and cannot be measured. A clear understanding of rationales is necessary because, they dictate the kind of benefits or expected outcomes one would expect from internationalization efforts... rationales are reflected in the policies and programs that are developed and eventually implemented (Knight, 2005, p. 14–15).

This study has found that the government sector has all four rationales for the internationalization of higher education whereas universities mainly academic and economic ones. As the examination of the government sector policy documents showed, political and economic rationales are regarded as having high priority while both academic and social/cultural rationales are considered as having moderate priority. A disaggregated analysis of categories has demonstrated that a type of political rationales - foreign policy - is regarded as having high priority. This analysis has also proved the following subcategories of economic rationales having high priority: economic growth and competitiveness, financial incentives and labour market.

Universities as one of the main stakeholders do not have one exclusive rationale, but a combination of rationales for internationalization. The diversity of rationales and greater importance of institutional level rationales partly can be explained by the fact that internationalization was not given much importance on the national level especially in early of the 1990s.

On the institutional level, the most preferred rationales are academic ones: international profile and status, international academic standards and research and knowledge production. In comparison with

the Soviet period, income generation through export of educational services is becoming a motive for international cooperation although it is not among main rationales.

Analysis of current rationales for internationalization from the perspective of the government sector and universities and comparison with rationales before the 1990s allows to identify certain change in motives. Firstly, it should be noted the shift from the political rationale to the economic, as well as a shift within the political rationale from peace and mutual understanding and technical assistance to foreign policy. The overarching rationale of the internationalization policy on the national level is an economic one.

As for academic rationales, they often remain implicit reflecting the general consensus that internationalization improves academic quality. Analysis of documents and literature review allow to conclude that the before the 1990s international academic standards were main motive for the internationalization for institutions of higher education whereas currently international profile and status is dominant. Finally, cultural motives for the internationalization of higher education are not so strong as they were before the 1990s.

1 *Limitations of the study*

There are several limitations identified for this research. Firstly, analysis of rationales for the internationalization of higher education in Russia is limited by the main stakeholders - the government sector and the higher education sector. The government sector is represented by Ministry of Education and Science of RF, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of RF, Ministry of Economic Development of RF. Within the higher education sector one can distinguish between three subgroups: the institutional level, the academics and their departments and the students. The study focuses on analyzing rationales for internationalization in higher education institutions that are so called traditional providers. This refers to classical and research universities that are research centered and not simply profit oriented. It must be noted that this study have not taken the viewpoint of the students and the staff. This would require a different starting point to the study, meaning empirical data on academics' and students' attitudes.

The second limitation is related with sampling of higher education institutions. As was above-mentioned, currently there are 1046 higher education institutions, 609 of them are public and

municipal and 437 non-public institutions. (Russia's 2013: Statistical Pocketbook, 2013, p.13). Because of the time constraints and limit of resources, only ten leading higher education institutions with high ratings on internationalization criterion will be analyzed in the research. It is difficult to make a generalization based on ten universities taking into account number and different types of HEIs in Russia. Finally, the last limitation is related with the small number of interviews that will be conducted. The main reason is that some experts are unavailable due to busy schedule.

2 *Suggestions for further research*

The internationalization of higher education in Russia is relatively an unexplored topic. So, there are various directions for further research. Few studies have analyzed the rationales for the internationalization of higher education in Russia from the perspective of different stakeholders. Analysis of rationales for the internationalization of higher education in Russia requires taking the viewpoint of the students and the staff. This will allow to have a comprehensive picture of the rationales for the internationalization of higher education. One of the possible directions for further research is a comparative study of rationales for the internationalization of higher education in Russia and other countries.

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Secondary interview

Interview with Veniamin Kaganov, Deputy Minister of Education and Science of the RF, 2014 (http://www.sovetnikprezidenta.ru/122/1_nauka_pr.html);

Interview with Viktor Koksharov, Rector of the Ural Federal University named after the first President of Russia B.N. Yeltsin, 2012 (http://russiancouncil.ru/blogs/riacmembers/?id_4=163);

Interview with Anatoly Torkunov, Rector of MGIMO University, 2013 (<http://presscentr.rbc.ru/pressconf/2012/05/23/651297/>).

Conducted interview

- the head of an institute of education of an university, an expert member of a working group 7 “Labour market, post-secondary education and migration policy” for preparation Strategy of socio-economic development of Russia 2020 (Participant 1);
- a professor, the head of a regional center for academic mobility (Participant 2).

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Petrozavodsky State University - <http://www.petsu.ru/>

National University of Science and Technology 'MISIS' - <http://www.misis.ru/>

Saint Petersburg State University - <http://spbu.ru/>

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National Research Tomsk State University - <http://www.tsu.ru/>

National Research University “High School of Economics” - <http://www.hse.ru/>

Russian State Humanitarian University - <http://www.rsuh.ru/>

Appendix 1

Interview outline

- How do you evaluate the coordination between various government bodies and agencies responsible for the internationalization of higher education in Russia?
- Is it possible to speak about policy or strategy of the internationalization of higher education at the national level?
- How do you evaluate the level of the internationalization of Russian universities? What are main reasons of differentiation between universities related with international cooperation?
- What are rationales for the internationalization of higher education from the perspective of the government and universities?
- Do you agree that economic rationales are dominant? Especially on the national level? What is the reason in your opinion?
- What do you think about feasibility of the Program 5/100 (The Program is aimed at rising a competitiveness of Russian universities. According to the main target, five Russian HEIs should be among 100 top world universities by 2020)?
- How do you evaluate Russia's perspectives to increase its share on the global market of educational services?
- What is the main problem of the internationalization of higher education in Russia (lack of funding, poor coordination between various government bodies and agencies, issues with legal framework, internal issues of higher education, etc.)?

Appendix 2

List of Higher education institutions

- People's Friendship University of Russia;
- MGIMO University;
- Lomonosov Moscow State University;
- Petrozavodsky State University;
- National University of Science and Technology 'MISIS';
- Saint Petersburg State University;
- Russian State Pedagogical University named after Herzen;
- National Research Tomsk State University;
- National Research University “High School of Economics”;
- Russian State Humanitarian University.