

***Approaches, Rationales, Programs and  
Strategies in the Internationalization of College  
Education: The Case of Quebec cegeps***

***Major Research Paper***

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## SUMMARY

This major research paper uses Knight's framework (1999, 2004) to define the internationalization process occurring in Quebec general and vocational colleges (i.e. cegeps<sup>1</sup>). The data collected from 39 cegeps (81% of the population) show that internationalization is primarily motivated by academic and socio-cultural rationales and is realized through an activity-based approach. It means that cegeps develop specific and compartmentalized international activities which aim to promote tolerance and intercultural sensitivity in their students and to raise the academic level by promoting learning in other contexts, teaching new competencies and facilitating the learning of a new language. The analysis of the organizational and programmatic strategies also demonstrates that internationalization is more present, more diversified and more decentralized nowadays than it was in 2000 and 2005. In addition, this process fits in a broader political framework, in which the Quebec government adopts strategy- and program-based approaches to promote the recognition of Quebec internationally. Finally, comparisons with Canadian and American community colleges show that the institution's context and environment has an influence on the rationales and the strategies supporting internationalization; Canadian community colleges seeming to be primarily motivated by economic and socio-cultural rationales and American community colleges seeming to evolve in a context concerned with political and economic rationales.

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<sup>1</sup> The acronym CEGEP has become a common name because of its widespread use, hence the term "cegep".

## INTRODUCTION

If in modern times international relations occupied a distinct position in national policies, the post-industrial society (Bell, 1974) that characterize our time position each issue at the crossroads of relationships that go beyond geopolitical boundaries. Thus, traditionally public areas such as environment, immigration, employment and education, inevitably acquire an “international” or “global” quality. Education is particularly coveted by the economy of knowledge that accompanies the globalization process. Within this context, the expansion of migratory flows, international jobs, international rankings of universities (e.g. Academic Ranking of World Universities and Times Higher Education Ranking) or secondary schools (PISA) and international trade reconfigure the space of action within which educational institutions operate (Lauder, Brown & Ashton, 2008).

While it is generally recognized that schools, universities and colleges train citizens to be ready to face the challenges of a globalized world, many of the institutions that have been created or “modernized” during the modern era continue to evolve within a structure that is based on nationality and that has little concern for global trends (Milliron, 2007). Even if some universities recruit international students, realize mobility projects, offer virtual education and conclude agreements for joint courses or branch campuses (OECD, 2008), technical and vocational education and training (TVET) institutions still consider international activities as peripheral rather than institutionalized components (Raby & Valeau, 2007). In that sense, it seems that universities act as global actors in the knowledge society (Marginson, 2007) while TVET institutions, more restricted by national framework,

react to the challenges of globalization and the knowledge society. Yet, the state of knowledge regarding the influence of the political environment and organizational characteristics on TVET institutions' adaptation to globalization is rather limited.

Therefore, this study aims to understand how cegeps, institutions founded in Quebec in the 1960s that offer higher education to all Quebec citizens who want to pursue technical or pre-university studies, adapt to globalization through the internationalization of their educational training. Many studies have described how universities are redefining their space of action and strategies in a global world where competition is international and where more students come from other countries. However, technical education institutions have not received such attention and, while many of the new jobs being created are “international” in one way or another (Stearns, 2008), it seems essential to initiate a comprehensive analysis of the internationalization process in one institution of this kind.

In sum, by defining approaches, motivations, programs and strategies supporting the internationalization process in CEGEPS, situating it within its political framework and comparing it to the internationalization process that takes place in community colleges, this paper ultimately aims to understand how college institutions redefine their actions in a global context.

## **BACKGROUND**

### **Globalization and internationalization in education**

Globalization is now a well integrated concept in both social and economic sciences. But, as noted by Held and McGrew (2002), debates continue to rage between the hyperglobalists (Beck, 1999), who consider that globalization has put an end to modernity, borders and the State, the sceptics (Waltz, 1999) who claim that globalization is an invention of local/national actors who wish to justify some of their policies, and the transformationists (Sassen, 2005), who see globalization as a process that changes the social and international order and that forces societies to adapt and actors to redefine their locus of action. Adopting this third perspective, this paper states that even if globalization is a process that began in the 17<sup>th</sup> Century, the present widening, deepening and accelerating geo-spatial process of interdependence, convergence and integration is unprecedented (Marginson, 2007; Assayag, 2005).

Scholte (2005) observes two unique characteristics of globalization: transplanetarity and supraterritoriality. The former refers to the fact that the Earth is now perceived as a unified space within which territorial barriers tend to disappear, thus promoting the freedom of action of non-state actors. Similarly, supraterritoriality refers to the social relations that transcend geographical borders and that create new kinds of interaction between actors who may be geographically distant. Another essential element of globalization is the reconfiguring of the hierarchy of scales: local, national, regional, and global. Indeed, whereas

in the past actors tended to act only on a single scale and were subjected to all scales above their own, globalization allows different actors to act simultaneously on different spatial scales and breaks the hierarchy between those scales (Sassen, 2005).

In the sphere of education, academic research has been a global activity for quite some time (CRDI, 1999). But the end of the Second World War and, later, the fall of the Berlin Wall correspond to the appearance of new international collaborations. Programs such as Fulbright (1946) and Erasmus-Mundus (1987) have taken on greater importance, as have student mobility and the role of international organizations. With their notable growth in the development of new technologies, the 1980s and 1990s were a period of trade between institutions of higher education (e.g. GATTs) and new types of services: joint degrees, branch campuses and virtual courses. But nowadays, the academic world finds itself disrupted by mobility, convergence and transnational governance (King, 2009).

First, the 2.5 million international students in universities (OECD, 2008) greatly transform the space of action for universities as well as their role of “public service”. Second, as shown by Graf (2009) who used examples from British and German universities, each institution’s reaction to globalization depends on their environment, meaning that each institutional structure retains its distinctive features through the globalization process (German universities focusing on partnerships and British universities on concurrence). That said, there is an obvious convergence in the world of higher education, especially concerning the language of teaching (English), the structure of programs (LMD in Europe) and the emphasis on research (Aghion, 2010; Buhler, 2004; Davidenkoff & Kahn, 2006). And finally, one of

the greatest accelerators of globalization in universities is the emergence of university world rankings). Authors (King, 2009; Salmi, 2009; Usher & Savino, 2009) have shown that ranking acts like instruments of governance, influencing the decisions of students (their choice of university) and faculty (top ranked universities provide better research conditions) as well as the actions of administrators (making them focus a greater deal on the elements of their institution that affect ranking scores) and politicians (who can use top ranked universities in their knowledge diplomacy initiatives).

Globalization is a process that influences all institutions in all fields, but each institution chooses how to adapt to globalization according to its own features and environment. Some organizations will choose protectionism in order to maintain the influence of global trends to a minimum. Others, wishing to expand their profit or prestige, might opt for the liberalization of specific sectors, as did Australia, Singapore and the United States in the field of higher education. Finally, some institutions might choose strategies based on internationalization.

Internationalization has been defined differently by different authors. Gacel-Avila (2005) emphasizes the political aspects of internationalization and defines it as a cons-hegemonic process that promotes exchange among nations while preserving their traditions and differences as well as the processes of education. For his part, Grimmet (2009) looks at the philosophical concepts supporting this process and defines it as being at the crossroads of classical liberal, cosmopolitan and postmodern trans-nationalism stances, and refers to the notion that citizens of the world must promote a global understanding and respect of the social and individual differences that constitute identities. However, Scholte (2005), in his

attempt to explain globalization, raises the argument that internationalization, defined as the growth of exchanges and interdependence between actors, is no longer able to take into account the diverse realities that are transforming 21<sup>st</sup> century. If, on the whole, we recognize that the concept of globalization better explains the contemporary world than the concept of internationalization, the fact remains that the latter, when defined narrowly, is key to understanding how some organizations adapt to globalization. For this reason, this article uses Knight's (2003) "objective" definition of internationalization: the integration of intercultural and international elements into educational services and structures.

Knight has had a great influence on the formation of a complete framework that defines and puts in relation rationales, approaches, programs and strategies supporting the internationalization process. Rationales are, simply said, reasons that motivate institutions or governments to internationalize their educational offer. These rationales are categorized as followed: socio-cultural (citizenship development, intercultural understanding, cultural identity, etc.), political (foreign policy, peace among nations, national identity, etc.), economic (competitiveness, labor market, financial incentives, etc.) and academic (research, enhancement of quality, institution building, profile, profile and status, etc).

Knight (1999, 2004) also categorizes the approaches that institutions and governments adopt as a means of integrating internationalization. The author defines an approach as a set of priorities, culture, history, politics and resources that describe the manner in which institutions (or governments) implement internationalization. The many approaches that an institution might adopt are categorized as follows: activity-based (internationalization is

being conceived in terms of specific activities, each with their function and budget), outcome-based (internationalization described as concrete objectives like raising the number of international agreements), rationale-based (motivations supporting internationalization), process-based (international components infiltrate all services and programs of the organization), at-home (creation of a culturally diverse campus) and/or abroad (delivering education to other countries). At the government level, approaches can be program-based (provide funds to engage in international activities), rationale-based (see above), policy-based (that address the importance of internationalization), strategy-based (internationalization being a key element for a government's goal) or can be ad hoc (reacting to opportunities). Knight's 2004 revised framework also includes the concept of policies (official documents conceptualizing and planning internationalization) and programs (academic programs at the institutional level and financial or projects at the government level).

Finally, Knight's framework (2004) offers a tool for defining the strategies that institutions use in order to realize internationalization. Organizational strategies include: governance (leadership and commitment), operations (planning, budget, and management), services (support for students and staff) and human resources (recruitment, reward, professional development). Program strategies include academic programs (student mobility, internationalized curriculum, joint degrees, international students), research and scholarly collaboration (joint research, conferences), external relations (international development, international networks) and extra-curricular (student clubs, campus events). Considered together, this framework, applied and tested many times, provides categories and definitions

that enable a better understanding of the role of institutions and governments in the internationalization process.

Some might have argued that Vincent-Lancrin's (2008) framework has also been repeatedly applied and is easier to use. However, Vincent-Lancrin's concepts mostly apply to student mobility strategies and we resort to the comprehensiveness of Knight's framework in order to realize the first scientific study on cegeps' internationalization and thus to create the groundwork necessary for further studies.

### **Internationalization of colleges**

If the internationalization of universities has been widely studied, the various technical colleges (including community colleges and cegeps) have received much less attention. Created in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, community colleges have for mission to respond to the needs of their community and to offer open access to post-secondary education (Levin, 2001). They now educate half of all "undergraduate students" in the U.S. (Boggs & Irwin, 2007). The process of internationalization in community colleges has greatly evolved since the 1960s. Raby and Valeau (2007) explain that in the recognition phase (1967-1984), administrators and policymakers understood the potential of international education in colleges and put in place many initiatives such as the Rockland Community College Study Abroad Office and the Community College for International Development.

During the expansion and publication phase (1980-1990), the number of reports and research on student literacy grew following a similar growth in grants for international studies. Purposes of internationalization were defined and guides elaborated during this period. Between 1990 and 2000, the augmentation phase sees diversification (in study abroad programs and recruitment target countries) as well as a growth in organization and program strategies (50% of community colleges conducting business abroad in 1992). The current phase, called the institutionalization phase, represents the inclusion of international education (studying abroad, international recruitment and international cooperation) in official documents.

Even though international education started in the 1960s, before the great transformations of globalization, Levin (2001) shows in his study of seven community colleges in the United States and Canada that these organizations have changed a lot over the past 20 years. Economic globalization leads to the internationalization of curricula (and consequently the recruitment of more international students, and an increase in revenues), commodification (creating educational products for specific industries), homogenization in practices (adopting New Public Management principles), partnerships with private enterprises (to replace the loss of government subsidies), restructuring (reduction of staff), efficiency (larger classes and distance learning) and governmental pressures on community colleges to contribute to economic prosperity.

In sum, it seems that, while universities become global actors in the knowledge economy (Marginson, 2007), community colleges are still attached to their first mission of providing

low-cost “undergraduate education” to their surrounding environment. Hence, we could hypothesize that college institutions adopt internationalization strategies more to fulfil their “national” mission than to meet global challenges. If this hypothesis proved to be true, it would have many implications for institutions (which should develop strategies that take into account the spatial scale of intervention), policy makers (who should support colleges and give more autonomy to universities) and researchers (who should change their analysis parameters according to the type of institution studied). Yet, these assumptions remain to be explored in subsequent work.

### **The specific case of Quebec cegeps**

For most of Quebec history, the education system was run by religious communities and geared toward the education of an elite class. But during the Quiet Revolution in the 1960s, the Royal Commission on Education promoted a complete reconfiguration of the education system. Based on values of democracy, diversity, accessibility and comprehensiveness, the second report proposed the creation of public and free “intermediate higher education institutions” that would educate students who either wished to attend university or follow a vocational training (Rocher, 2008).

Today there count 48 *collèges d’enseignement général et professionnel* (General and vocational colleges, i.e. cegeps<sup>2</sup>) throughout all of Quebec’s regions that share the same three missions: to educate/train; to contribute socially, economically and culturally to their environments; and to advance knowledge through research and innovation (Conseil des

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<sup>2</sup> In this paper, we use “cegep” instead of “CEGEP” because the acronym is now accepted as a common name.

colleges, 1985). In 2007, there were approximately 162,300 students registered in the 8 pre-university programs and 130 vocational programs, and 29,110 adults following continuing education programs (Ministère de l'Éducation, du Loisir et du Sport, 2008). In terms of structure, even if the cegeps' funding, curriculum and structure are controlled by the Ministry of Education, they are considered to be autonomous partner institutions with a governing board of 19 people, including alumni, students, teachers, people from local industries and five people appointed by the ministry (Lavoie, 2008). Cegeps however differ from other colleges in that they offer both mandatory pre-university programs and technical training programs leading to the labour market.

The Quiet Revolution was a period of great change in many areas, including the field of international relations. In 1965, the Quebec Minister of Education, Paul Gerin-Lajoie, formulated the "Gerin-Lajoie Doctrine" that states that the Province of Quebec can establish international relations in its fields of jurisdiction (Paquin, 2006). Though challenged by the Federal Government of Canada, this doctrine has nevertheless defined international relations for all successive Quebec governments. The Ministry of Education (2002) has elaborated its "National Strategy to Succeed in Internationalizing Quebec Education" and the Quebec Ministry of International Relations also adopted a policy in which education appears as one of its central pillars. Finally at the intercultural level, the Ministry of Education (1998) has adopted a policy of intercultural education that states that teachers should support the openness to diversity in their classrooms and that curriculum should promote intercultural education.

In this favorable context for international education, all cegeps are involved at varying degrees in the internationalization of education. In 1993, cegeps already working in international development projects decided to improve their effectiveness by pooling their efforts and creating Cegep International. Since 1999, Cegep International represents the 48 cegeps before Quebec ministries, contributes to the international reputation of cegeps and facilitates the actions of its members internationally (Roberge, 2010). To this end, Cegep International organizes seminars, elaborates guidelines for internationalization, supports the recruitment of international students (by participating in international fairs) and, since 2003, it administers grant programs (for academic mobility and international students) funded by the Ministry of Education (*idem*). Since cegeps possess a different role from Quebec universities and they evolve in a different context from community colleges, it would be exciting to describe how such institutions transform through the internationalization process.

## RESEARCH QUESTION

This paper has a general objective of understanding the internationalization process taking place in Quebec cegeps. However, as no scientific article has been published on this subject, this paper is a first attempt to name, categorize and identify the rationales, approaches, programs, policies and strategies supporting the internationalization process. Hence, it will follow a descriptive approach in order to process quantitative data and to extract theoretical concepts that could lead to the elaboration of a comprehensive theory. Knight's framework (1999, 2004) will thus be used extensively.

Once the descriptive process is complete, another section will attempt to perceive how internationalization has evolved since the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century. Then, describing Quebec political framework, we will see how internationalization in cegeps meets the internationalization policies developed by the political authorities. Finally, we will contextualize cegeps' internationalization by comparing it with the internationalization process taking place in Canadian and American community colleges. In the end, the reader should have a better idea of the strategies used by TVET institutions to transform themselves and adapt to the driving forces of globalization.

Some readers may be disappointed that such a descriptive approach does not allow verifying whether internationalization is profitable as a whole, if one international activity is more beneficial than another or even to identify what are the impacts of the internationalization process on students and teachers.

However, the study is of relative interest to the academic community. In fact even if the paper does not contribute to the emergence of a new theory, it demonstrates that the theory created by Knight (1999) to describe the process of internationalization in universities applies to the reality of other institutions, namely cegeps and community colleges. In addition, this paper represents the first attempt to define and characterize the strategies adopted by cegeps to respond to globalization. Thus, while some higher education institutions choose to raise their prestige with cutting-edge research, others with joint programs established in partnership with leading institutions and others offer virtual training to students of the world, it is important to understand what forms does take the internationalization strategy adopted by cegeps. Finally, comparing cegeps to other technical colleges in North America, this study attempts to understand how environmental and organizational characteristics can shape the internationalization process in terms of approach, rationales and strategies. In sum, this paper will advance a modest knowledge about internationalization.

## METHODOLOGY

### **Locus of observation: the sub-national level**

As Sassen (2009) observed, globalization is not a new spatial scale but the transformation of all other spatial scales through a global phenomenon. Therefore, the impact of globalization should be analyzed on the most appropriate spatial scale. Globalization of education can be analyzed at the international level (e.g. GATT), regional level (e.g. Bologna process), national level (e.g. Deregulation of tuition fees), local level (e.g. The transformations of local industries' needs in terms of human resources) or the "sub-national" [*infranational*], i.e. a level that is below the national level and that captures both the joints of globalization at the local level and the proliferation of connections between cross-border communities (e.g. global cities, global universities, multinationals companies, etc.).

In this paper, the sub-national level is represented by cegeps, an institution that is local by definition but that is connected to other institutions abroad. Following Sassen's suggestions, this study will use a representative sample of cegeps (81% of all Quebec cegeps) to collect data on international activities and organizational strategies and will theorize these data within a global context to better understand the globalization of college education at an institutional level. It should be noted that data on the national level will also be used in order to explain the political framework that partly determines the internationalization of cegeps.

## **Conceptual framework**

In 1994, Jane Knight produced a report for the Canadian Bureau for International Education that defined the internationalization of higher education and that identified the rationales that could motivate institutions to engage in this process. In 1999, in a report published by OECD on quality and the internationalization of education, Knight refined her theoretical framework to include the concepts of approach and strategy. Finally, in 2004, considering the major changes occurring in the world of higher education, new rationales, approaches and strategies were defined and the concept of programs and the role of the State were added. These concepts and definitions, which have been explained in detail in the *Background* section, constitute the theoretical basis on which this paper is elaborated. Therefore, in light of the theory on internationalization, the data that has been collected from cegeps has been interpreted through the lenses of this conceptual basis in order to understand the meaning of the figures provided by the respondents.

## **The questionnaire**

In 2000, the organization Cegep International created a questionnaire titled “Profile of the International Activities of cegeps”, to which 31 cegeps answered. In 2005, the questionnaire was improved and answered by 43 cegeps. In 2010, the researcher of this study worked with Cegep International to improve the questionnaire, analyze the results and write a report. Through this process, questions about the rationales, benefits and importance of internationalization as well as about funding and perspectives have been added. The

questionnaire, comprising 41 pages and 68 questions, was then electronically sent by Cegep International employees to the international office or head office of all the 48 cegeps. The participation rate of 81% (39 institutions) ensures the representativeness of the sample. Considering the number and depth of the questions, the office responding to the questionnaire had no choice but to meet with other members of the staff to collect relevant data. In September 2010, the received questionnaires were processed and basic calculations were made concerning percentages, averages, frequencies and numbers. These results are available in French on Cegep International's website (CEGEP Interational, 2011a).

This study adopts an institutional perspective and relies on a descriptive method and self-reported data. Therefore, even if it seems to be valid in terms of content and appearance, it is impossible to quantify neither the validity nor the reliability of the instrument. For this reason, we present the raw results in terms of frequencies, arithmetic means and sums and we can not venture to make correlation, statistical regressions and factor analysis or to determine the confidence intervals. We believe, however, that the raw data describe in an efficient and simple way how cegeps have incorporated internationalization as a way to adapt to the globalization of higher education.

## **Participants**

The sample of cegeps that answered the questionnaire is representative of the total population of cegeps because it includes 81% of the total population of cegeps (39 of 48). Moreover, the sample is representative because urban, sub-urban and rural cegeps are properly represented as well as small, medium, large, Francophone and Anglophone cegeps. The few Anglophone

cegeps in the sample (10%) mirrors the likewise small proportion of Anglophone cegeps in Quebec (15%).

*Table 1* Characteristics of the 39 cegeps that have responded to the questionnaire

Characteristics	Number of cegeps	Percentage
<i>Region</i>		
Urban	14	36%
Sub-urban	12	31%
Rural	13	33%
Total	39	100%
<i>Size</i>		
Small (less than 1,500 students)	9	23%
Medium (between 1,500 and 4,500 students)	18	46%
Large (more than 4,500)	12	31%
Total	39	100%
<i>Language</i>		
Francophone	35	90%
Anglophone	4	10%
Total	39	100%

## **Limits**

Although the sample is representative, some concerns could be raised about the procedure used. Firstly, the questionnaire was sent by Cegep International, an organization dedicated to internationalization. This could generate social desirability in the responses. In addition, candidates did not complete the questionnaire anonymously, which caused many of them to leave questions related to funding unanswered. Moreover, even if the questionnaire of 2010 resembled the ones in 2000 and 2005, the 2010 edition was not pre-tested. In addition, the profile of individual respondents was not uniform, which may have biased certain answers. Thus, if the responses are those of the sample population, we can not guarantee that they represent the real importance of internationalization in cegeps.

Other concerns may also arise in terms of theorizing data. In fact, the questions were not elaborated according to Knight's framework and the ad-hoc procedure of incorporating sparse data into her framework could have caused errors. The reader should also be careful when reading the comparisons this paper makes between community colleges and cegeps. If comparisons were easier with Canadian community colleges because of the study realized in 2010 by the Association of Canadian Community Colleges, the case of American community colleges is problematic because much of the available data dates from 2000. Nevertheless, this study is the first of its kind to attempt to characterize and define the internationalization process in cegeps, and the first to rigorously apply Knight's framework to college institutions. Our hope is that these data help the reader to understand the role of educational institutions in the internationalization process.

## RESULTS

### *TO DEFINE CEGEP INTERNATIONALIZATION*

This section aims at characterizing the internationalization process of cegeps using Knight's (1999, 2004) conceptual framework. It will define cegeps' approach, rationales, policies and strategies supporting the internationalization process.

#### **Approach**

According to Knight (2004), an approach refers to a set of priorities, culture, history, politics and resources that define the manner in which institutions implement internationalization. Of the six approaches detailed in the *Background* section, our results show that cegeps adopt an activity-based approach which means that internationalization is conceived in terms of specific activities that are not central to the organization but additional to other sectors.

According to Table 2 below, cegeps define internationalization through five specific activities: student mobility, teacher mobility, international cooperation, recruitment of international students and the internationalization of curricula. Table 2 shows that those activities are included in cegeps' official documents. The Collège Édouard-Montpetit's (2003:2) international policy provides a revealing example of how those activities are named:

**Privileged Sectors:**

As part of its international policy, the College prioritize these activities:

- Integration of an international dimension in programs and extracurricular activities;
- Mobility of students and teachers through internships and exchanges;
- International cooperation and transfer of expertise, particularly in terms of training, training support, management, technology transfer and applied research;
- Recruitment of international students and their collaboration with the college for the organization of international and intercultural activities [*loose translation*].

Further evidence is found in the fact that the five activities are assigned to specific offices and allocated funds accordingly (e.g. student mobility is under the responsibility of the Academic Office and international cooperation under the responsibility of the Service for Continuing Education). Moreover, the designation of those five activities is even used by Cegep International in its official documents (Cegep International, 2011c) and partly used in the *National Strategy to Succeed in Internationalizing Quebec Education* (Ministère de l'Éducation, 2002).

An activity-based approach means that cegeps do not necessarily perceive internationalization as a comprehensive process that encompasses all sectors of the institution (i.e. process approach). This also means that internationalization is not necessarily stated in terms of expected results and therefore that there is not systematic impact assessment (i.e. outcome-based approach). Finally, it means that internationalization is not the result of a profound reflection on globalization (i.e. rationale-based approach). However, an activity-based approach has the advantage of flexibility since every activity is motivated by a specific rationale (see next section) and each activity can take more or less importance depending on the context.

Table 2. International activities included in the international policy, the strategic plan and/or the educative mission (2010)

<b>Activities</b>	<b>2010</b>		<b>2005</b>		<b>2000</b>	
Student mobility	36	92%	38	88%	16	52%
Teacher mobility	34	87%	n.a.			
International cooperation / transfer of expertise	32	82%	29	67%	21	68%
Recruitment of international students	31	79%	31	72%	20	65%
Internationalization of curricula	30	76%	28	65%	21	68%

Table 2 also shows that the international activities are more present in cegeps' official reports in 2010 than in 2000 and 2005. For example, 52% of cegeps included student mobility in

their official reports in 2000, while today it appears in the reports of 92% of responding cegeps. Moreover, if teacher mobility was not included in the 2000 and 2005 surveys, the 2010 survey shows that it is more present than international cooperation, recruitment of international students and the internationalization of curricula. This means that certain activities are becoming increasingly important and this suggests that, among a range of activities, cegeps prioritize those activities that seem best suited to the situation.

The five categories of activities mentioned above are however by no means considered of equal priority by cegeps. In our questionnaire, cegeps were asked to rank each of the five activities listed above (“1” being the most important). As Table 3 shows, student mobility is considered the highest priority, and a significant gap separates it from the next most valued, that is, the recruitment of international students. The reason that recruitment of international students arrives at a low rank relates probably to government incentives that prevent cegeps to keep tuition fees paid by international students but allow cegeps to receive funding for student mobility projects. This dynamic will be better explained in the Discussion.

*Table 3. Average level of priority given to each international activity (2010)*

<b>Activities</b>	<i>Average</i>	<i>Rank</i>
Student mobility	1,84	1
Recruitment of international students	2,77	2
International cooperation / transfer of expertise	3,23	3
Teacher mobility	3,31	4
Internationalization of curricula	3,34	5

## **Rationales**

One major contribution of Knight’s framework for internationalization was to define four categories of rationales that are responsible for the integration of an international dimension

into higher education. Basing itself on Knight's framework (1999), the AIU survey (2003), the AUCC (2007) and the ACCC (2010) studies, our questionnaire asked participating cegeps to identify, among the 15 rationales presented, those which prompted the implementation of each of the given activities. At the end, taking into account all activities, we selected the five rationales that were the most cited.

Table 2 presents the rationales that were selected by more than 50% of the sample and links each rationale to Knight's four categories (academic, economic, political, socio-cultural). Some rationales are related to two categories. For example, teaching students new competencies can be driven by an economic rationale (competencies to work in a globalized economy) or a socio-cultural one (intercultural abilities). Similarly, increasing the profile of an institution finds its source primarily in an academic rationale, but it also serves a political purpose in the case of cegeps because, being unique to Quebec, their promotion leads to recognition of the entire Quebec educational system (Boisvert, Lacoursière & Lallier, 2008).

Table 4. Rationales driving international activities in cegeps (2010)<sup>1</sup>

Activities	Rationales	Number	%
Internationalization of curricula	Educating students to be open to the world (SC)	33	85%
	Promote innovation and diversity in the curriculum (A)	32	82%
	Educating committed and responsible students (SC)	28	72%
	Promote respect for differences in a society open to the world (SC)	28	72%
	Teach students new competencies (E/SC)	24	62%
	Respond to students' current preoccupations (SC)	23	59%
	Contribute to a more just and equitable world (P)	22	56%
	Develop new teaching practices (A)	21	54%
Student and teacher mobility	Educating students to be open to the world (SC)	36	92%
	Teach students new competencies (E/SC)	36	92%
	Promote respect for differences in a society open to the world (SC)	34	87%
	Educating committed and responsible students (SC)	34	87%
	Establish strategic partnerships with foreign institutions (A)	34	87%
	Promote the professional development of teachers (A)	33	85%
	Respond to students' current preoccupations (SC)	32	82%
	Improve language skills (A)	29	74%
	Develop new teaching practices (A)	27	69%

	Improve the recruitment of local students (E)	25	64%
	Contribute to a more just and equitable world (P)	25	64%
	Promote innovation and diversity in the curriculum (A)	23	59%
	Enhance the reputation of the institution in Quebec and abroad (A/P)	22	56%
Recruitment of international students	Increase enrolment in programs in which the student population decreases (E)	25	64%
	Promote the recruitment of more international students (E)	22	56%
	Limit the local population decline (E)	21	54%
International cooperation / transfer of expertise	Strengthen the capacity of foreign partner (P)	28	72%
	Establish strategic partnerships with foreign institutions (A)	27	69%
	Enhance the reputation of the institution in Quebec and abroad (A/P)	26	67%
	Generate new revenues (E)	21	54%
Overall activities	Educating students to be open to the world (SC)		
	Establish strategic partnerships with foreign institutions (A)		
	Enhance the reputation of the institution in Quebec and abroad (A/P)		
	Educating committed and responsible students (SC)		
	Contribute to a more just and equitable world (P)		

<sup>1</sup> (A)= Academic; (E)= Economic; (P)= Political; (SC)= Socio-cultural

Overall, cegeps internationalize their education for socio-cultural, academic and political reasons. Economic rationales are the least often cited, with the exception of the recruitment of international students and international cooperation.

Since the 90s, cegeps, like many community colleges, lost part of their funding, forcing them to restructure their organization and find new sources of revenue (Boisvert *et al.*, 2008). CIDA funding several projects in education in these years (Trilokekar, 2009), it could explain why 54% of our sample cites “generate new revenues” as a rationale to engage in international cooperation and transfer of knowledge. In that sense, internationalization could be perceived as a marginal activity to bring funding to the entire organization. Moreover, cegeps get involved in international cooperation in order to develop the capacities of the institution with which they cooperate (motivated by a “political” rationale of promoting their own method). Also, in a world of higher education conditioned by the quest for prestige (King, 2009), cegeps can use international cooperation projects to gain recognition both

locally and abroad. For example, through large-scale cooperation projects in the fields of physical rehabilitation and environment, three cegeps were awarded CIDA prizes for excellence, making them suddenly visible on the Canadian stage (Foy, 2008). Collège François-Xavier-Garneau gains recognition by carrying out projects in over twenty countries in Africa, South-East Asia and Latin America (Cegep International, 2010a).

International students can become a source of revenue for both educational institutions and countries. A study commissioned by the Canadian Ministry of Foreign Affairs says that, in 2008, international students spent more than 6.5 billion dollars in Canada (Rosly Kunin and Associates, 2009). In Quebec, most tuition fees paid by international students (16,912\$ per year) are transferred to the government. Nonetheless, more than half of the cegeps that were part of the sample survey recruit international students to maintain their student population in less popular programs (Foy, 2008). Therefore, it seems that, even if tuition fees are not kept in cegeps, there is an economic rationale to recruit international students because it maintains programs (e.g. technology of civil engineering) and, as was showed in an OECD (2004) report, increasing the student per teacher ratio in the less populated programs reduces the marginal cost of those programs.

On another note, cegeps recruit international students in regions with declining populations. In fact, Bohman (2010) showed that international students had a significant impact on rural community colleges because they brought diversity and growth to the local population. In the case of cegeps, the recruitment of Reunion students has allowed 222 of them to officially

immigrate to one of Quebec's regions (Ministère de l'Immigration et des Communautés Culturelles du Québec, 2011).

For its part, internationalization of curricula is mostly driven by socio-cultural rationales. A socio-cultural rationale means that colleges engage in the process of internationalization for their students learn intercultural skills, develop openness to the world, become more tolerant to the differences and learn about other cultures. Consistent with a humanistic perspective (Grimmet, 2009) of internationalization, this rationale ultimately involves the construction of a "global citizenship". Thus, colleges motivated by this rationale will promote activities that offer great culture shock (e.g. living with Nigerian families) or that teach cultural knowledge (e.g. a class on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict).

In this study, 82% of our sample considered that an internationalized curriculum would educate students to be open to the world and that it helps students to better understand causes and consequences of globalization and fosters critical thinking and the learning of new languages (Cegep International, 2011a). cegeps seem to adopt a perspective shared by many authors (Whitaker, 2008; Thomas, 2005; Perkins-Gough, 2004) who state that international literacy promote openness to difference and the capacity for action on global issues.

Academic mobility constitutes the principal form of transnational higher education (OECD, 2004). A report for the Western Interstate Commission for Higher Education (Fantini, Arias-Galicia & Guay, 2001) recommends that North American States facilitate student mobility in order to develop intercultural competencies, i.e. a set of capabilities that enable a person to

have adequate and effective interactions with other cultures. Black and Duhon (2007) have shown that student mobility has a slight impact on openness to differences in students. Our study shows that the same phenomena occur within many cegeps that offer their students intercultural experience. In fact, 92% of our sample considers that student mobility educates students to be open to the world, 87% consider that it educates committed and responsible students and 87% consider that it promotes respect for differences. For example, students in Social Sciences from Collège François-Xavier-Garneau went to Laos to share the lives of local families and volunteer as a means of immersion (Cegep International, 2009a), hence making them more sensitive to the realities of others. Therefore, taking a humanist perspective, cegeps seem to consider that one of their roles globally is to promote peace through tolerance and mutual understanding (Vincent-Lancrin, 2008).

Beyond any justifications from a socio-cultural perspective, mobility also finds legitimacy within an academic rationale. The academic rationale means that cegeps perceive in internationalization the added value to existing education. By allowing students to receive training at a foreign institution that has a particular expertise or by offering the possibility of an internship in a foreign prominent company or in an environment with features that do not exist in Quebec, cegeps improve their education. It is also recognized that international experiences (through courses or mobility projects) allow learning new disciplines, developing an international perspective, fostering abstract learning and teaching new ways of working (Opper, Teichler & Carlson, 1990).

Cegeps can address academic weaknesses in their programs by leveraging the expertise of foreign institutions. This allows them to offer a high-quality practicum experience in foreign organizations, as well as a more comprehensive education (Raby & Valeau, 2007). For example, at the Cégep Saint-Jean-sur-Richelieu, students in Natural Sciences traveled to El Zota Biological Station in the Costa Rican tropical rainforest for their biology course in order to observe the fauna and flora of different types of forests (Cégep International, 2010b). In short, it appears that such cegeps promote student mobility as a way of adding value to their programs of study.

Academic rationales also encourage institutions to establish strategic partnerships with foreign institutions and organizations. Olds (2009) explains that in the global era, networks are part of a process of denationalization that enables institutions to collaborate, teach, and conduct research through relationships with foreign institutions. For example, members of Cégep International recognized the wellspring of experience Brazil's TVET Programme in agriculture, and so aim to create partnerships that would involve a competency-based approach, teacher training and sharing of expertise (Cégep International, 2009).

In sum, with the exception of international student recruitment, most international activities within cegeps are realized on the basis of academic and socio-cultural rationales. This focus on enhancing the quality of teaching as well as the student's learning experience shows that cegeps consider internationalization as a part of their mission as *educational* institutions. Yet, some might see an academic rationale of "goodwill" because student mobility is not mandatory in most programs; because only 44% of cegeps offer programs of study with an

international vocation (see Table 7 below) and because there is no certification that evaluates global competencies in students. From our side, we believe that the term “academic” should be interpreted broadly. We recognize that even though several mobility projects are “at the margin”, the facts remains that 92% of the cegeps acknowledge the benefits of those projects, that 79% of cegeps integrate an international perspective in their regular programs of study (see Table 7 below) and that the Academic office is often responsible for most international activities in cegeps.

## **Policies**

Knight’s (2004) explores the concept of institutional policies that structure international activities. Policy analysis helps to assess the level of institutionalization of the internationalization process. As shown in Table 5, cegeps’ commitment toward internationalization is reflected by its growing presence in official documents, with 95% of cegeps now referring to internationalization in their strategic plan and 74% in their educational mission statement. It seems that internationalization is now more central to cegeps’ structure and, considering that 95% of cegeps refers to internationalization in their strategic plan, we could infer that internationalization becomes part of cegeps’ strategies to meet their (academic/socio-cultural) mission.

*Table 5.* Number of cegeps with reference to internationalization in one or more official documents (2000, 2005 and 2010).

	<b>2010</b>		<b>2005</b>		<b>2000</b>	
Strategic plan	37	<b>95%</b>	37	<b>86%</b>		-
Educative mission	29	<b>74%</b>	32	<b>74%</b>		-
Plan of action	23	<b>59%</b>	23	<b>53%</b>		-
International policy	21	<b>54%</b>	16	<b>37%</b>	8	<b>26%</b>

## **Strategies**

Within the framework mentioned in the previous section, cegeps adopt two kinds of strategies to concretely realize internationalization. Knight (2004) defines strategies as planned initiatives related to (1) organization or (2) programs and undertaken in order to structure internationalization.

### *Organizational strategies*

Organizational strategies include all initiatives that ensure an institutionalized internationalization. Although we have previously shown that cegeps adopt a strategy-based approach, the following sub-sections demonstrate that their organizational structure is changing. First, strategies based on governance imply the recognition of an international dimension in the mission statement (Knight, 1999). Table 5 above shows that the internationalization process is mentioned in strategic plans and educative missions.

Strategies based on operations refer to institution-wide planning and budgeting, coordination systems and adequate support. Our study suggests that the coordination of internationalization has changed in cegeps between 2005 and 2010. While in 2005, 51% of responding cegeps stated that the organization and management of all international activities were the responsibility of a single department or service, only 46% of them delegate the responsibility to a single department or service in 2010 (it may not be significant, but it will be explained in the Discussion section). When they do, the most often cited are the Academic

Office or the General Office. Moreover, 10 cegeps (25%) mention having an international office responsible for the administration of international activities.

On the other hand, Table 6 shows that there is now more staff (and more full-time staff) dedicated to internationalization. Today, 61% of cegeps have a director in charge of international activities, while in 2005 only 30% possessed such a staff position.

*Table 6.* Number of cegeps with at least one person for each position that is dedicated to internationalization (2000, 2005 and 2010).

Position	Total			Full time			Partial time		
	2010	2005	2000	2010	2005	2000	2010	2005	2000
Director	61%*	30%	35%	28%	8%	27%	72%	92%	73%
Coordinator	28%	42%	42%	50%	56%	23%	50%	44%	77%
Manager	56%	25%	23%	46%	23%	6%	54%	77%	56%
Professional	90%	22%	22%	44%	30%	40%	56%	70%	40%
Teacher	46%	22%	26%	16%	2%	17%	84%	95%	61%
Technician	38%	8%	6%	27%	13%	0	73%	88%	50%
Support staff	67%	24%	23%	34%	16%	25%	66%	86%	56%

\* The “Total” column represents the number of cegeps that have at least one person at the position mentioned. The two other columns represent the proportion of cegeps, among the total, of which the employee works full time and the proportion which the employee works part time.

### *Programmatic strategies*

Programmatic strategies are initiatives related to academic activities, such as academic programs, student mobility, recruitment of international students, research collaboration, extra-curricular activities and cross-border relations (Knight, 1999).

Academic programs: According to Knight (1999), academic programs refer to international activities that aim at integrating an international/intercultural dimension into the teaching and learning process. In terms of curriculum content, Table 7 shows that all the responding cegeps offer language courses and 79% integrate an international dimension into their regular programs. However, a comparison between 2005 and 2010 shows that no significant change has occurred and therefore that the curricular dimension of internationalization is stable.

Table 7. Percentage of cegeps internationalizing their curricula (2005 and 2010).

<b>Internationalization components</b>	<b>2010</b>	<b>2005</b>
Cegeps offering language courses	100%	95%
Cegeps integrating an international dimension in their regular programs of study	79%	81%
Cegeps offering programs of study with an international vocation	44%	37%

Student mobility: 85% of cegeps have concluded student mobility agreements with foreign institutions, while only 52% did so in 2000 (Cegep International, 2011a). Whether through agreements or not, the 39 responding cegeps supported mobility projects that included, in total, 2,829 students over the course of one year (see Table 8). Of this number, 37% of students were completing unaccredited internships and 37% credited internships. Half of the students involved were studying in preparation for university, while the other half was involved in a vocational program. Overall, these results show a balanced representation of the different types of student mobility projects.

Table 8. Number of students participating in student mobility activities (2010).

<b>Student mobility activities</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>University preparation</b>	<b>Technical studies</b>
Unaccredited internship	1 052	464	588
Credited internship	1037	445	592
Study abroad	61	54	7
Co-op internships	34	0	34
Other (cultural tour, living language courses abroad, foreign exchange)	645	458	187
<b>Total</b>	<b>2 829</b>	<b>1 421</b>	<b>1 408</b>

International students: Table 9 demonstrates that international students come from various regions. The linguistic affinities between Quebec and France make France one of Quebec's largest collaborators in most of its international activities, followed by African, the Caribbean, the Southern Pacific, and South and Central American countries. For a long time, it was considered that these countries needed primary and secondary education more than post-secondary education (World Bank, 2000). But several voices have called out for the

development of technical education in developing countries in order to answer the demands of the job market in the 21<sup>st</sup> century (Lyngdoh, 2005). In that sense, following a perspective of “capacity-building”, developing countries send students abroad as a cost-effective alternative to domestic education when resources are limited or when there is a shortage in a specific field (OECD, 2008).

*Table 9.* Number of international students (with the Temporary resident status) studying in the responding cegeps and the regions of the world they come from (2010).

<b>World regions</b>	<b>Number of students</b>
France	561
Africa	493
Caribbean	145
South Pacific	102
South and Central America	83
Europe (other than France)	75
Asia	54
Middle East	18
United-States	18
Total	1 549

Research and scholarly collaboration: As higher education institutions, cegeps participate in research in technical fields. Because they are structurally different from universities, cegeps internationalize their research activities through teacher mobility and through international activities realized by College Centers of Technology Transfer (CCTT).

Of all responding cegeps, 56% are affiliated with a CCTT. The CCTT bring together 600 expert scientists, engineers and technologists possessing undergraduate, graduate, doctoral or specialized technical degrees (Transtech, 2011). Providing technical assistance, realizing applied research and offering training and information; these activities realized by the CCTTs are partly internationalized. In fact, 36% of them attend international forums and conferences, 31% give conferences on international events, 31% accept international students as interns and 28% of them receive researchers from abroad. Considering that there are 45

CCTT in Quebec (*Id*), it is possible that this form of internationalization is more promising than the preceding since it produces research that is able to contribute to Quebec's performance in the knowledge economy.

Extracurricular activities: According to Knight (1999, p. 25), "extracurricular activities can be an effective way to internationalize the total educational experience of both domestic and international students". cegeps organize intercultural events for their students and surrounding community as a way to contribute to their community mission. What is striking, though, is the number of people these events attract. In one year, 36% of cegeps organized a weekly event promoting interculturalism attended by 6,415 participants, and 18% of cegeps organized cultural conferences or forums that attracted a total of 5,900 people (see Table 10). If such events promote contact with different cultures, they may by the same token enhance the intercultural competencies of domestic students (Bell-Shaw, 2008) as well as facilitate the integration of international students into the community (Stearns, 2008; Green, 2007).

Table 10. Intercultural activities realized in responding cegeps (2010).

Type of activity	% of cegeps involved	Number of participants	Average frequency of activity
Intercultural Week	36%	6,415	1
Stands and intercultural activities	26%	5,525	2
Thematic day/week	23%	3,650	1
Conferences and forums	18%	5,900	1
Artistic activities	18%	2,452	2-3
Thematic/multiethnic dinner	13%	805	2
Intercultural training	13%	320	5-6
Visiting cultural communities in Quebec	8%	365	1
Orientation activities for international students	8%	108	-
Intercultural student clubs	8%	15	-

External and cross-border relations: External relations and services have long been oriented towards international development (Knight, 1999). However, the general trend is now

shifting from aid to trade, and Canada is no exception (Trilokekar, 2009). Table 11 shows a decrease in the number of international cooperation projects realized by cegeps. Still, cegeps realized 95 international cooperation projects in 2010 and even if the majority were realized in Africa, there are now more projects (than in 2000 and 2005) realized in Europe and the Middle East.

*Table 11.* Number of international cooperation/ transfer of expertise projects in all regions of the world since three years (2000, 2005 and 2010).

<b>Région du monde</b>	<b>2010</b>	<b>2005</b>	<b>2000</b>
Africa	54	73	52
South and Central America (and Caribbean)	19	24	15
Asia	6	4	10
Europe	8	3	4
Middle East	7	2	-
South Pacific	1	-	-
Others	0	2	-
<b>Total</b>	<b>95</b>	<b>115</b>	<b>81</b>

On the other hand, 13% of our sample also offers certificates of college education (AEC) abroad and this number is growing (the majority of the agreements having started in 2008 or after). Those cegeps offer technical programs (Business Management, Civil Engineering Technology, Computer Management, Logistics and Freight Transport, etc.) in the Middle East and Asia including more than 1,100 students abroad studying in a program offered by a CEGEP. These programs generate new revenues for the participating cegeps, but they also respond to the demand of the local workforce and offset some deficiencies in training (Kapur & Cowley, 2008). These types of activities usually tend to be more valuable to universities than to college institutions (Altbach & Knight, 2007), but it is interesting to note that cegeps also participate in the globalized market for education through the exportation of certificates.

In sum, cegeps engage in international activities mainly due to academic and socio-cultural rationales. In short, cegeps primarily associate international activities to academic and socio-

cultural rationales, thus emphasizing their educational mission. Moreover, since internationalization takes place in cegeps through specific activities that are named in official documents, that are under the responsibility of different offices and that are related to specific funding mechanisms, we conclude that cegeps follow an activity-based approach to internationalization. Finally, by comparing the internationalization strategies according to the number of people involved and their importance for administrators, we conclude that cegeps mainly achieve a more international education through student mobility (priority for cegeps), extracurricular activities (that reach a large number of participants) and scholarly collaborations (favoured by the reputation of CCTT).

## DISCUSSION

### *TO PUT INTO CONTEXT CEGEP INTERNATIONALIZATION*

The previous section characterized the internationalization process in cegeps. In order to contextualize these findings, this section documents the evolution of the process, analyzes the influence of the political framework and compares cegeps' internationalization with the process occurring in Canadian and American community colleges.

#### **Evolution of the internationalization process**

The 2010 survey, when combined with its predecessors in 2000 and 2005, makes it possible to understand how the internationalization of colleges has changed over the past decade. On the one hand, there is a quantitative change in the scale of the internationalization process, while on the other hand there is a qualitative change, visible in internationalization strategies.

#### *Growing importance of the internationalization process*

While some cegeps have been elaborating strategic plans since the 1990s, Quebec Bill 123, adopted in 2003, forces all cegeps to elaborate a strategic plan that must take into account local realities and ministerial orientations (Lavoie, 2008). This growth in planning is a positive development because it facilitates the establishment of common goals and roadmaps and drives annual budgeting and decision making (Green, 2007). A common document is recommended because each department can use it as a reference for setting objectives and it promotes transdisciplinary collaboration (Childress, 2009). In that sense, the growing number

of cegeps integrating internationalization in their official documents means a more advanced stage in the internationalization process and that cegeps have entered in a phase of institutionalization of internationalization (Knight, 1994; Raby and Valeau, 2007).

Along with a growth in planning, there are more employees dedicated to internationalization, and particularly more full-time employees. In fact, Boggs and Irwin (2007) say that activities that are under the responsibility of a senior administrator are more recognized. In that sense, the growing percentage of respondents having a director responsible for internationalization seems to confirm that internationalization is becoming more critical for cegep activities. It does not mean that international components infiltrate the hiring of teachers, student assessment, continuing education programs or community services, but it is clear that internationalization has earned a place in the organizational structure of cegeps.

#### *Transforming operationalization of the internationalization process*

Besides the quantitative growth in the presence of internationalization in cegeps, our results suggest that internationalization is operationalized differently in 2010 than it was in 2005 and 2000. Indeed, the organizational strategy seems to rely more on decentralization and diversity. In terms of organizational strategies, the management of international activities is less under the responsibility of a single department or service in 2010 than it was in 2005. Indeed, academic mobility is generally under the responsibility of the Academic office, international cooperation under the Service for Continuing Education, recruitment of international students shared between the Student Services and the Registrar—and that does not include the international contracts realized by the CCTT. This decentralization trend was

also confirmed by one of the first international officials in cegeps (Bonin, 2010). It is unclear whether this change is positive or not considering that the debate on decentralization does not yet include clear answers. Decentralization, common in North America (AIU, 2003), reduces the gap between services and allows greater mobilization. Kelo (2006) uses the example of the University of British Columbia, which has no international office, but possesses a coordinator, to show that that all members of the administration and teachers participate in internationalization process.

On the other hand, Childress (2009) says that decentralization makes changes more difficult to realize and increases the time required for consultation. Green (2007) adds that international activities can be fragmented and under the responsibility of different services, hence often resulting in missed opportunities for collaboration and synergy. Finally, Raby (2007) asserts that a centralized organization may help stabilize the international perspective in these times of continual staff and faculty turnover. In our study however decentralization seem to be correlated with a growing number of employees dedicated to internationalization and a more internationalized structure.

On the subject of programmatic strategies, we observe that some international activities are gaining importance at the expense of others. For example, student mobility is increasingly mentioned in the official records and it ranks as the top priority among international activities. In fact, because it promotes intercultural competencies and quality of learning experience, as well as attracts students and enhances the reputation of the institution, student

mobility becomes a priority for many institutions (Salmi, 2009; OECD, 2008; Stearns, 2008; Emert & Pearson, 2007).

Although we may observe some growth in official documents for international cooperation and transfer of expertise, both could become less important as most cooperative agreements will soon come to an end. In the 1980-90s, some cegeps began implementing international cooperation projects, most of which were financed by the Canada International Development Agency (CIDA). However, the substantial reduction in CIDA funding and the more complex process of bidding (Foy, 2008), as well as the great amount of financial and human resources required for these projects, have dampened previous enthusiasm for international cooperation.

This may explain why there are fewer international cooperation projects in 2010 than in 2005, and why the majority of those projects will be completed in 2011 (Cegep International, 2011a). This also corresponds to the observations made by Knight (1999), according to which external relationships between higher education institutions are shifting from aid to trade. Contract training and the export of educational products and services are therefore gaining more importance, especially with the creation of College Centers of Technology Transfer, which receive contracts and generate revenue for the affiliated CEGEP.

Also, the provision of certificate of college education to 1,100 students abroad could mean the emergence of a new model of international cooperation in which institutions do not wait

for CIDA tenders and export directly their educational method to countries interested, finding other sources of funding (e.g. through the tuition fees paid by students abroad).

### **The internationalization process within the institution-Government dynamics**

The framework elaborated by Knight (1999, 2004) has the advantage of being applicable to both educational institutions and governments, enabling comparisons between the internationalization processes of each. The case of Quebec is interesting because it has a cultural identity—French language, catholic tradition and a civil code—that differs from other North American states. Therefore, in order to promote its interests and ensure the expression of its identity, the Government of Quebec has established its own presence abroad (Ministère des Relations internationales, 2006a).

#### *Rationales of the Quebec Government*

The concept of knowledge diplomacy (Olds, 2009) has been a part of Quebec politics for quite some time. In fact, the internationalization of education became an integral part of Quebec's political actions abroad in 2002, with the adoption of the *National Strategy to Succeed in Internationalizing Quebec Education* (Ministère de l'Éducation, 2002). This strategy promotes the internationalization of curricula, the mobility of students, teachers and knowledge, the exportation of Quebec expertise in education and Quebec's presence in international forums related to education. After reading this document, one could conclude that the principal rationales guiding the internationalization of education in Quebec are political (strengthening Quebec's role), sociocultural (developing citizens of the world) and

economic (preparing for the global economy). Though taking it a step further and considering Quebec's historical affinities with the concept of knowledge diplomacy, it might be stressed that political rationales play a particularly central role.

In 2006, the Government of Quebec adopted its international policy (Ministère des Relations internationales, 2006b) and in it education appeared as a central pillar. First, education was mentioned as a way to strengthen Quebec's place in the global economy through innovation, research and human development. Following in that logic, the policy stated that cegeps and universities should be promoted abroad and that the recruitment of international students and researchers should be bolstered. If these objectives focus on the economic rationale, it is not to say that the political rationales are any less prominent, since they play an important part in two of the policy's objectives: strengthening Quebec's capacity for action (through international forums like UNESCO) and contributing to international solidarity (through support to African educational systems). In sum, the government's perspective on the internationalization of its education follows primarily political rationales and only afterwards economic or sociocultural rationales, depending on the document under scrutiny.

#### *Approach of the Quebec Government*

Internationalization of education is an official strategy adopted by the government to strengthen Quebec's political and economic roles in the international community. Therefore, according to Knight's framework (2004) the approach is "strategic", which means that internationalization is a key element of a national strategy to achieve goals domestically and internationally. In that case, internationalization of cegeps can lead to the recognition of

Quebec internationally and promote economic competitiveness. Yet, to achieve this strategy, the Government has set up incentives in the form of programs so that institutions engage in a process that is beneficial. This approach refers to the “programs” approach defined as “providing funded programs that facilitate institutions and individuals to have opportunities to engage in international activities” (p.19). Those programs include support to student mobility (Scholarships for Short Stays, OFQJ, OQAJ), teacher mobility (Teacher Mobility Grants, PIEQ-2), promotion of Quebec culture (Quebec Program to Support Art Activities) and the recruitment of international students (through tuition fee exemptions).

#### *Governmental and intergovernmental programs*

Tables 12 shows that the programs mentioned above play an essential role to support the Government’s policies as well as institutions’ policies. For example, we observe that Quebec programs have an undeniable importance: 85% of cegeps receive the PIEQ-2, 74% receive funding from OFQJ, 56% receive the PIEQ-1 and 51% receive funding from the OQAJ. Those programs support mobility accordingly to cegeps’ priorities, but also correspond to Quebec’s strategy to succeed internationalization.

A clear pattern emerges when observing the numbers above: the percentage of cegeps that receive funding from these programs has tended to diminish, with the exceptions of PIEQ-2 and the “Other” funds. This decrease could be the result of several causes but considering the rising importance of the programs listed in the “Other” category, as well as the funding programs recently created by the Quebec Ministry of Education (Roberge, 2010), it seems likely that the diminution is the result of a reorientation in programs to fit new political goals. What is striking is that the shift in priorities observed in cegeps fits this reorientation.

Table 12. cegeps having received financial support from these organizations and programs (2005 and 2010)

<b>Organizations and programs</b>	<b>2010</b>	<b>2005</b>
PIEQ, Tier 2	85%	58%
OFQJ (Youth French-Quebec Office)	74%	74%
PIEQ, Tier 1	56%	56%
OQAJ (Youth Quebec-Americas Office)	51%	67%
CIDA (Canadian International Development Agency)	49%	51%
ACCC (Association of Canadian Community Colleges)	46%	-
AQWBJ (Youth Quebec Wallonia-Brussels Agency)	41%	37%
World Bank	13%	23%
Quebec Ministry for International Relations	13%	30%
Canada International Cooperation Agency	10%	23%
HRDC (European Mobility Program)	5%	5%
HRDC (North American Mobility Program)	3%	2%
Canada Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade	3%	14%
Secretariat for International Aid	3%	7%
African Development Bank	3%	9%
Interamerican Development Bank	0	2%
Other	18%	12%

### *Interplays between Quebec Government and cegeps*

The analysis of the state perspective suggests important interactions between, on one hand, the government's approach and the cegeps' approach, and, on the other hand, government programs and strategies adopted by cegeps (see Table 13). First, we observe a convergence between international activities prioritized by cegeps (student mobility, teacher mobility and international recruitment), the Quebec strategy and government programs. For example, as more cegeps prioritize student mobility, the number of funds to finance student mobility increases; the Youth Quebec-Americas Office was created in 2000 and the Youth Quebec-World Office in 2010 (LOJIQ, 2011). Similarly, while teacher mobility is a recently established activity in cegeps, PIEQ-II (for staff mobility) was created in 2004<sup>3</sup> and the program to support teacher mobility projects in 2008 (Foy, 2010).

<sup>3</sup> In 2011, the Quebec government terminated the PIEQ-II. See Ministère de l'Éducation (2011).

This consistency between cegep activities and Government’s strategies, often described as crucial for an effective internationalization (Boggs & Irwin, 2007), can be explained by the community of interest composed of cegeps, the Quebec Government and Cegep International (Gorman, 2006). First, as designed by the commissioners of the Royal Commission on Education, the Ministry of Education is the only organization responsible for all levels of education in Quebec (Rocher, 2008), facilitating coherent action between primary, secondary and higher education.

*Table 12.* Interplays between Quebec Government and cegeps on the internationalization of education.

	<b>Quebec Government</b>	<b>Cegeps</b>
<b>Rationales</b>	Political, economic/socio-cultural	Academic/socio-cultural
<b>Approach</b>	Strategic/Programs	Activity
<b>Policies</b>	Strategy to Succeed in Internationalizing Quebec Education Quebec International Policy	Strategic plans, International policies, Educative mission, Plans of action
<b>Programs/Strategies</b>	PIEQ-I/PIEQ-II Teacher mobility supports OQAJ, OQWBJ, OFQJ, OQMJ Scholarship for short student mobility stays Art activities support program Excellence awards for international students Exemption from tuition fees	Staff and budget for international activities Support structures for domestic and international students Internationalized professional development Internationalized curricula, student mobility and international students recruitment Scholar collaborations (teachers and CCTT) Intercultural activities International cooperation/transfer of expertise and providing education abroad

Second, unlike primary and secondary schools, cegeps have no intermediate organizations, that is, they interact directly with the Ministry which considers them to be “complementary partners of the State” instead of “organizations of the State” (Lavoie, 2008). This means that cegeps enjoy a degree of freedom and decentralization, especially in terms of programs, pedagogy and human resources. Third, this political dialectic between the ministry and cegeps is embodied by Cegep International, an organization that promotes cegeps’ international activities, participates in government meetings and lobbies so that the

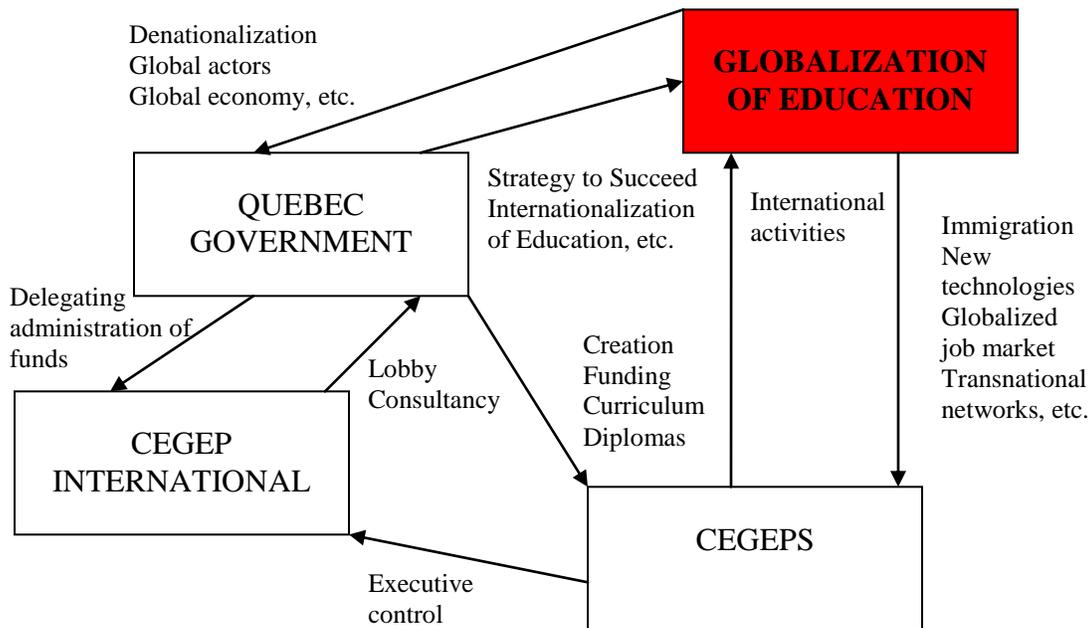
government chooses some policy alternatives (Kingdon, 2003). In this sense, consistency comes from the dynamic interplays in which cegeps have the autonomy to choose their international activities, Cegep International promotes these activities to receive funding and the Quebec Government funds in accordance with its own goals and often delegates the administration of funds to Cegep International. In other words, the international actions of cegeps are recognized by the government, and the government's goals are accepted by cegeps (Cegep International, 2011a).

However, do cegeps decide their approach and activities exclusively within the government parameters? It is true that cegeps are a creation of the Government of Quebec and that they act primarily within a local framework. Yet, as show in Figure 1 below, the actual interactions appear more complex. Globalization of education transforms cegeps and Quebec's environment and these two organizations try to influence in turn the process. For example, in the '80s, former international humanitarians who became CEGEP teachers pushed some cegeps (e.g. CEGEP Saint-Jean-sur-Richelieu and Collège Montmorency) to apply to CIDA projects (Bonin, 2010). Even if cegeps were constrained in terms of structure, curriculum, funding and diplomas, their administrative autonomy allowed them to respond to global issues without a coordinated strategy at the provincial level.

In a similar context, many universities have demanded more autonomy from the governments (Aghion, 2010), but cegeps, operating primarily on the local and national scales, have created an organization (Cegep International) to lobby the Government so the political framework regulates and supports their actions. Therefore, in this community of practice, it is accurate to

say that cegeps have a degree of autonomy to respond to global realities, but their ability to act internationally becomes really important when they manage to convince the government to support them. Moreover, the activities chosen by cegeps to meet global realities often adapt to the financial incentives that governments put in place.

Figure 1. Interplays between the Government of Quebec, Cegep International and cegeps in response to the globalization of education



### *The role of the Federal Government*

Since the Federal Government is normally responsible for Canada’s international relations and foreign affairs, it is part of the community of interest described above. However, according to Trilokekar’s article (2009) on Canada’s knowledge diplomacy, the federal government has developed a program-based approach to the internationalization of education that is fragmented, hence altering its influence within the interplays. Internationalization of

education is a responsibility divided between CIDA (international cooperation), Human Resources and Skills Canada – HRSDC - (graduates' skills) and the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade – DFAIT - (mobility and recruitment).

In consequence, even if, say, DFAIT tries to create a brand in order to promote Canadian education abroad (e.g. *Imagine*) and CIDA uses funding in order to influence the internationalization process, the fragmentation of the approach and the multiple conflicts with provincial ministries of education will prevent the federal government from organizing a coherent international offensive. For this reason, and despite the efforts of the federal government to promote the recruitment of international students, we consider that the most influential members of the community of interest are the Quebec Government, cegeps and Cegep International.

### **Comparative study: cegeps and community colleges**

Cegeps are intrinsically different from community colleges for many reasons. Among these reasons, we find the context of their creation, student population, funding and structure. Community college students are generally older (Achieving the Dream, 2007) and pursue a vocational education, even if a subsequent university degree isn't out of the question. Cegeps offer a different reality. Since they are, firstly, a pre-requisite for admission into university, and secondly, public and almost free of charge, most students that attend cegeps are younger in age and enrolled in pre-university programs (Fédération des cegeps, 2011).

If community colleges and cegeps are different, why would we like to compare them? We believe that despite large differences, cegeps and community colleges share many characteristics that allow comparisons. First, both organizations are “Technical and Vocational Education and Training” institutions. In this sense, although cegeps offer general education to all students and pre-university programs to some of them, the fact remains that these institutions, like the French *Instituts Universitaires Technologiques* (IUT) and the Mexican *Universidades Tecnológicas* (UT), offer a three-year technical training and provides access to university education. Moreover, cegeps have many partnerships with the institutions mentioned above, showing the degree of coherence that may exist between these systems. Therefore, it is precisely because community colleges are both similar and different from cegeps that we can analyze how the organizational and contextual variables can influence internationalization in both types of institutions.

Both cegeps and community colleges have as their primary mission to train at a lower cost the local population for jobs in the region or in preparation for further studies and both offer advanced technical training. Levin (2001a) explains that in the 1990s, all institutions of higher education faced the same challenges of globalization: massive immigration, transformation of the job world and cuts in government funding. At that time, cegeps and community colleges alike took on the additional role of integrating the newly arrived populations in their localities, some even offering courses specifically geared to newcomers (Moisan, 2008). Globally, challenges of globalization have forced institutions to redefine

their boundaries, gradually reaching out to communities, industries and students outside of their locality, and in some cases outside of their country (Barlosky, 1995).

This section will use Knight's framework to compare how cegeps and community colleges, with their differing backgrounds and similar challenges, internationalize their education. The comparisons between Canadian community colleges and cegeps are made possible because the Association of Canadian Community Colleges (ACCC, 2010) surveyed 146 institutions, among which 108 responded. The data used to analyze the internationalization process in American community colleges mainly comes from the 2007 special issue of *New Directions for Community Colleges*. Other background information comes from Stearns (2008), Hayward and Siaya (2001) as well as Levin's articles (2002, 2001).

### *Rationale*

The ACCC survey reveals that 60% of Canadian community colleges directors affirm that their college internationalize its educational offer (through mobility, courses, recruitment of international students or international cooperation) in order to prepare their students for success in the global economy, and to develop their international competencies. This rationale also drives the internationalization of curricula for 85% of the responding community colleges. Moreover, though 52.8% recruit international students to create a culturally diversified campus, this number closely mirrors the 54.6% that wish to increase their institution's revenues. Therefore, while cegeps are primarily motivated by academic and socio-cultural rationales, the rationales driving internationalization in Canadian community colleges are economic and socio-cultural.

There exist two hypotheses that might explain this difference: one methodological, the other contextual. The first hypothesis is that the structure of the two surveys created biases in the responses. Education being under provincial jurisdiction, it is possible that the questionnaire developed by Cegep International had a more academic slant due to its ties to the Quebec Ministry of Education. Furthermore, the data from their survey was intended to be used to convince Quebec authorities that they should support internationalization. As for the survey regarding Canadian community colleges, the study of the ACCC was pan-Canadian and aimed more directly at DFAIT—the federal department of international relations and *international trade*. It is therefore possible that the academic focus of cegeps, on the one hand, and the economic focus of community colleges, on the other, is due to an implicit bias within the organizations that developed the surveys.

That said, there is another possible explanation. The differing rationales of cegeps and Canadian community colleges might also reflect intrinsic differences between the two institutions. Though cegeps do have the responsibility of preparing students for the job world, all cegeps offer pre-university programs with strong emphases on academic and theoretical content. Community colleges, on the other hand, almost exclusively train students for vocational careers. For example, a US community college president said that 95% of the students come to his institution to acquire specific competencies in order to find a job (Levin, 2001). This could explain why economic incentives (and rationales) are more prevalent in community colleges than in cegeps.

Tuition fees also provide another explanation to the economic rationale in community colleges. In fact, as cegeps charge only nominal registration fees, Canadian community colleges charge between 1,800\$ and 3,300\$ for an eight-month academic year (Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, 2006). Moreover, in community colleges, tuition fees paid by international students (around 14,000\$) are retained by the institution. Finally, this economic emphasis can be the result of political pressure from governments. In fact, the Canadian government affirmed that community colleges have a responsibility to reduce unemployment rates (ACCC, 2010).

Similarly, the American committee for Economic Development (in Raby & Valeau, 2007) asserted that, considering that 80% of jobs today had international components, a workforce lacking international skills could potentially reduce the country's competitiveness. Yet, in the United States, there is also a political rationale that is specific to the country's recent history. Since the 2001 events, national security has become a preeminent concern for the American government, and this shows in its pressure to internationalize. In 2006, former president George W. Bush stated that the lack of international and linguistic skills in graduate students is a threat to national security (in Boggs & Irwin, 2007). Motivated by this concern, the former Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice stated the government's goal to expand educational exchanges with countries such as China, India and Iraq (*idem*). Within these broader political frameworks, we can sum up by stating that cegeps' rationales are academic and socio-cultural, Canadian community colleges' rationales are economic and socio-cultural and American community colleges' rationales are economic and political.

### *Organizational strategies*

If we look at internationalization from a structural point of view, we see that 70% of Canadian community colleges (ACCC, 2010), 12% of American community colleges (Hayward & Siaya, 2001) and 25% of cegeps have an international office. Moreover, 70% of Canadian community colleges have employees dedicated to internationalization (Birchard, 2010) while 90% of cegeps have at least one professional and 61% a director dedicated to internationalization. These numbers suggest that internationalization is more centralized in Canadian community colleges, but also more circumscribed to one unit, while in cegeps it seems that the decentralization process that has taken place since 2005 is accompanied by an increase in employees from different units working toward internationalization.

Canadian community colleges consider that the principal challenge in internationalizing their institution is funding. While cegeps and Canadian community colleges receive funding from CIDA for international cooperation projects, the availability of funds for mobility projects varies greatly from one province to another. For example, British Columbia, Nova Scotia and Quebec have put in place provincial funds for student mobility projects, but the ACCC (2010) survey reveals that in Canada few community colleges know about the academic mobility initiative put in place by DEFAIT. But, student mobility is more a provincial matter and, in that sense, Quebec students enjoy more funding opportunities (though it does not mean that the proportion of students completing these projects is greater in Quebec).

### *Programmatic strategies*

The prioritization of activities differs in community colleges and in cegeps. For example, 86.6% of Canadian community colleges are engaged in the recruitment of international students, 80.6% in international cooperation, 77.9% in student mobility and 77.2% in the internationalization of curricula (ACCC, 2010). This seems to show that, while international cooperation becomes less important for cegeps and student mobility becomes more important, an opposite trend occurs in Canadian community colleges. Therefore, even if the National Association of Foreign Student Advisers (NAFSA) considers education abroad to be one of the most effective forms of internationalizing one's curriculum (in Raby, 2007) and even if 91% of all American institutions of higher education have study-abroad (Stearns, 2008), Guerin (2009) recalls that most American community colleges do little in this domain, and he further explains that students often do not go abroad because of their familial ties and responsibilities. Similarly, Raby (2007) explains the fact that only 0.01% of American community college students travel abroad whether it be for work, family obligations, student interest or affordability.

For its part, the ACCC (2010) is concerned that only 1.1% of Canadian community college students study abroad, and that this is explained by the lack of financial support, program rigidities, lack of information and insufficient linguistic skills in students. Even though we are currently unable to tell the percentage of cegep students participating in student mobility projects, 100% of the cegeps surveyed supported mobility projects that included, in total, 2,829 students over the course of one year and 85% have concluded mobility agreements with foreign institutions. Yet, further studies will be necessary to verify if the status of

student mobility within cegeps' hierarchy of priorities correlates with a greater percentage of students participating in mobility projects. That said, it is without a doubt that the structure of cegeps, the age of its student population and the financial support are all conducive to the further expansion of student mobility.

In addition, while the recruitment of international students is of growing interest to cegeps, it is already a top priority in Canadian community colleges. Indeed, recruitment is of growing importance to all college institutions because it generates sizeable revenue through tuition fees, fosters diversity on campus and enhances the institution's profile. In the United States, the number of international students in community colleges has grown by 20% (compared to a 12% growth for all U.S. higher education institutions) (Bohman, 2010). Levin (2001) has also shown that the majority (70%) of international students in Canada and the U.S. come from Asian countries, while in Quebec students mostly come from France and African countries. Despite its growing popularity, cegeps may be less inclined to make the recruitment of international students a priority because the tuition fees are handed over to the Quebec government (Cegep International, 2011c).

In sum, this last section shows that the internationalization of cegeps differs from the internationalization of community colleges and that because of the influence of organizational structure and political context. Indeed, the academic and socio-cultural rationales are influenced by the emphasis placed by cegeps on general education; the activity-based approach mirrors the strategy-based approach of the Government of Quebec; and the popularity of the student mobility is supported by multiple funding programs. For

their part, community colleges have flexible programs that adapt to business' needs and therefore justify economical and socio-cultural rationales. In addition, enjoying greater financial autonomy, the revenues generated by international cooperation and the recruitment of international students promote the expansion of these activities.

Following their educative mission, cegeps prioritize student mobility (internationalization abroad) while community colleges are more focused on the revenues generated by the recruitment of international students (internationalization at home) and international cooperation. It should be noted that funding incentives (such as cegeps receiving funds for mobility but not keeping the tuition fees paid by international students) can also explain this difference in interest.

In terms of organization, unlike their Canadian counterparts, cegeps seem to decentralize responsibilities for internationalization, while increasing the number employees working in the field. A last fact to add here is that cegeps have the support of a strong and central provincial consortium called Cegep International. Even though American community colleges can pay fees to subscribe to major consortia such as the Ohio Community College Consortium for Global Education, subscription is optional and the role of the consortium is often limited to collaborative projects and information (Korbel, 2007). Cegep International, for its part, represents all 48 cegeps in Quebec since 1999 (subscription being mandatory when cegeps become part of the Quebec Cegep Federation) and, as we have shown, it is part of the complex interplays taking place between Quebec Ministry of Education and cegeps, resulting in a consistent approach conducive to internationalization. This growing

convergence also seems to be correlated with a growing presence and diversification of internationalization in cegeps. Within the context of the common challenges of globalization, cegeps are undergoing a process unlike that of its community college counterparts that corresponds to their mission and unique political context.

## CONCLUSION AND IMPLICATIONS

This paper used Knight's framework (1999, 2004) to define, characterize and situate the internationalization process occurring in Quebec cegeps in order to shed light on the broader issue of how TVET institutions adapt to globalization in North America. The data collected in a wide survey to which 81% of cegeps responded has shown that internationalization in cegeps is motivated by academic and socio-cultural rationales (except for the recruitment of international students, which is motivated by economic rationales). Thus, it means that cegeps organize international activities in order to promote openness to other cultures in students and to enhance the quality of learning.

Cegeps adopt an activity-based approach to internationalization which means that internationalization is not fully institutionalized but conceived in terms of specific activities under the sole responsibility of some officials and has relatively little influence on the other sectors of the institutions. In addition, the analysis of the process' evolution demonstrates that internationalization is more present in organizational strategies (e.g. number of employees) and programmatic strategies (e.g. number of mobility agreements), more diversified (e.g. more countries for recruitment) and decentralized.

Cegeps, Cegep International and Quebec Government form a community of interest in which the government plays an important role. Motivated by political, economic and socio-cultural rationales, the Government adopts a strategy- and program-based approach, allocating funds to international activities that can promote the recognition of Quebec internationally, the

growth of the economy and that promotes openness to the world. Finally, the institution's context and environment has an influence on the rationales and the strategies supporting internationalization. Canadian community colleges are motivated principally by economic and socio-cultural rationales for internationalization and focus more on international cooperation. For their part, American community colleges evolve in a context concerned with economic and political rationales (i.e. national security).

### **Implications from a policy perspective**

Although this paper is not intended for political actors, the descriptive method may inform institutional and public policies of cegeps, the Government of Quebec and the Government of Canada. While internationalization is seen as an institutional strategy to adapt to the challenges of globalization, the fact remains that this strategy may have political, social and economic implications for the society in which it takes place.

1. For cegeps' managers, the study reveals that internationalization is a growing reality, but also that it occurs more bilaterally and outside of traditional government and intergovernmental channels. Partnerships with foreign institutions allow diversifying strategies, enhancing the prestige of the institution and reaching new markets. To be consistent with the academic rational, managers should seek the best institutions in a given field to enhance the academic offer in their cegep. On the other hand, the reduction of cooperation projects should encourage cegeps to disseminate their expertise (in the mining, forestry and health) while generating revenue by offering college certificates abroad. To establish these partnerships, it is however important that Cegep International promotes cegeps internationally.

2. For its part, the Government of Quebec is part of a community of practice with Cegep International and cegeps and it is precisely this tripartite consistency (between the government objectives, funding programs and priorities of cegeps) that gives comparative advantage. Thus, cegeps, unique to Quebec, are the trademark of Quebec educational system and constitute the cornerstone of the provincial knowledge diplomacy. For this reason, academic mobility, recruitment of international students and international cooperation can improve the reputation of cegeps and the Quebec education system. However, our comparison with community colleges lead us to believe that in a situation of budgetary constraints, it might be beneficial that Quebec allows cegeps to keep up to 50% of tuition fees paid by international students. Cegeps would be more motivated to recruit foreign students (increasing diversity on campus and population growth in rural regions) and use these funds for prospection of partners and the promotion of the cegep system.
3. Finally, this paper indicates that a very fragmented program-based approach to internationalization erodes greatly the influence of the Canadian government. Yet the international offensive of the United Kingdom, France, Australia, New Zealand and the United States should worry Canada that might not be able to take advantage of the globalization of education. If the Government of Canada is able to coordinate its departments (CIDA, DFAIT, HRSDC) and develop a framework for action with the provinces, then cegeps could be important allies considering that they have technical expertise, that they have established relations with many French-speaking countries and that they are recognized for their teaching methods.

### **Implication for the advancement of research**

This paper was a first attempt to identify, categorize and contextualize the internationalization process taking place in cegeps. More broadly, it aimed to describe how TVET institutions internationalize in order to respond to globalization. However, once this description is complete, deeper theoretical analysis should be undertaken. In this sense, we highlight four major issues that should be further studied:

1. Universities have more autonomy than TVET institutions in terms of diplomas, finance and administration. Could it be that this autonomy gives universities the ability to act on globalization while TVET institutions can only react to through the national framework? Could a comparison between TVET institutions and universities allow the development of a “scale of global empowerment”?
2. Cegeps and the Government of Quebec appear to influence each other through complex interplays. Could it be appropriate to analyze more specifically these interplays and determine which entity is the most influential? In other words, do the priorities of cegeps influence the government or is it government funds that affect cegeps’ priorities in terms of international activities?
3. Cegeps, Canadian community colleges and American community colleges are TVET institutions operate in different contexts and are differently organized. Thus, a single survey for these three types of organizations would probably bring out more clearly the influence of organizational and structural variables on the process of adapting to globalization.
4. In a context where there are less tenders from CIDA in education and an increase in cross-border education, could there be the emergence of a new model of

international cooperation in which institutions interact with each other directly and outside of traditional channels?

In the meantime, we can only hope that this text has inspired other researchers, theoreticians and practitioners to deepen reflection on the internationalization of TVET institutions and especially cegeps.

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