LOOKING BACK TO MOVE FORWARD: INTERNATIONALIZATION AT QATAR UNIVERSITY

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Abstract

Calls to "re-think" and "re-define" internationalization of higher education (IoHE) have been increasingly noted in the literature (Heleta & Chasi, 2022). This article takes the institutional archives of Qatar University to look back and consider what the past could mean for the future of internationalization on the campus. I highlight the importance of studying the context of Qatar University in which internationalization unfolds, including its institutional history and geopolitical surroundings. By examining the historical, cultural, and social contexts/networks in which QU is embedded, I argue that QU has been portrayed as an international project from the onset, although one motivated by Third-Worldist, Islamic, and Arab notions of solidarity and, equally importantly, one critical of Western hegemony. While I am cautious of romanticizing the past, I discuss how looking backward helps IoHE scholars think less of internationalization as a fixed phenomenon and moves the goal toward offering a more plural understanding of what internationalization can mean in different contexts. Through this case study of QU, I contribute to efforts within this critical strand of research to recenter IoHE conversations from "Euro-American-centric internationalisation definitions, strategies, policies, approaches, and practices" to other parts of the world (Heleta & Chasi, 2022, p. 2).

Keywords: Internationalization, Qatar University, higher education, institutional archives

Introduction

In this article, I focus on the internationalization of higher education (IoHE) policy from the perspective of a university in the global South. I briefly describe the higher education landscape in Qatar and focus on the history of Qatar University (QU) as the first higher education institution in the recently independent state of Qatar. I adopt a critical lens, informed by critical internationalization studies (CIS), to understand internationalization policy as a more multilayered phenomenon than that contained in neat definitions. The data presented challenges the depoliticization of IoHE policies and instead "critically assess[es] and reimagine[s] the current orientation of mainstream internationalization" by shedding light on the "configurations of power and policy that converge within a particular context, and the political and theoretical investments of those involved" (Critical Internationalization Studies Network, n.d., para. 3). Internationalization of higher education goals differ across contexts "ranging from educating global citizens, building capacity for research, to generating income from international student tuition fees and the quest to enhance institutional prestige" (IAU, 2012, p. 2). This article contributes to discussions about how internationalization is defined and guided by the geopolitical contexts in which they emerge.

This history of QU is rife in connections between how QU was envisioned within the broader national educational and post-colonial political projects and the conditions of the wider region in

1977. I analyze documents related to a critical moment in QU's history: the inauguration of its permanent campus in 1985. I chose this focus because, as this article will demonstrate, opening the permanent campus was considered a time of realization for the institution. It had already built a reputation since its establishment in 1973/77. Focusing on the inauguration of the campus allows us to analyze how the physical fixed space acted as a crucible through which particular international networks and visions moved and flowed. By reviewing the architectural layouts, speeches, panels, the attendees, and their affiliations, I show the physical and social networks the university was embedded in during its founding phase, demonstrating epistemic diversity through connections not limited to the Global North.

Overall, the documents reveal a project that, from its very inception, was simultaneously part of a nation-building effort and part of an international vision of an Arab, Islamic, Third-Worldist, and anti-colonial drive. This further connects to the way internationality, as it was defined at the time, was present on campus. From early vision to realized daily life, the campus was shaped by ideas and people of different international and diverse epistemic backgrounds. It was not limited to how internationalization is expressed today, where benchmarking and borrowing expertise from universities in the West is the norm. Instead, internationality was connected to wider solidarity networks and collaboration between academics, research institutions, and nations. If anything, one can read through these documents a strong position in opposition to Western hegemony

and an insistence on building something rooted in the context: "locally situated with a global outlook" (Kazem, 1986, p. 12).

Critical studies of internationalization of higher education and academic mobility

Internationalization scholars in education have been warning since the beginning of the current century that IoHE can further inequalities if institutions do not consciously attempt to adopt a "socially responsible approach" (de Wit, 2018, p. 4). Altbach and Knight (2007), for example, note that the economic, competitive lens under which internationalization is being implanted and for which it is instrumentalized tends to favor "well-developed education systems" (p. 3), exacerbating inequalities globally. Even though academic and student mobility means knowledge is circulating globally, "the North largely controls the process" (p. 4). This has intensified with the rise of for-profit and commercialized forms of higher education providers and assessors (including ranking agencies). This commercialization yields further inequalities by cementing long-standing cultural and economic power stands in contrast to the actual essence of internationalization according to scholars of IoHE. To them, the essence should be enhancing the quality of education by incorporating an intercultural and global dimension to make a meaningful contribution to society worldwide (Altbach & Knight, 2007; de Wit, 2017). While it is important to highlight how the "economic and status competition... driven by the emergence of the global knowledge economy and world university rankings" (Saito,

2018, p. 174) reflect the dark side of IoHE, it is also important to caution that such sweeping grand critiques may prevent scholars from seeing how internationalization is redefined and taken up in localities by agentive academics. They may produce modes of internationalization that may not be contained and captured by neat definitions (Larsen, 2016).

Building on these criticisms of the dominant internationalization literature, CIS shifted toward historicizing and contextualizing IoHE socially, politically, and economically to highlight inequalities. Specifically, CIS became "an area of study that problematizes the overwhelmingly positive and depoliticized approaches to internationalization in higher education" (Stein, 2019, p. 1771). By adopting such an approach, CIS invites "people to make their own critically informed, contextually relevant, and socially accountable decisions as they encounter multiple, contradictory perspectives" (Stein & McCartney, 2021, p. 7). Some refreshing studies focus on the historical and social context, offering alternative complex understandings of internationalization. For example, Unkule (2019) takes on internationalization from the perspective of spiritual learning. She historicizes and contextualizes border crossing for the purpose of education, reminding us of comprehensive examples of what is now called international education, such as monks who traveled to China or India to find Buddhist texts. She states that the purpose of this process is to demonstrate that internationalization is not unique to the West, but at the same time, she warns,

Of course, this is not about nostalgia, and, you know, the answers are not in nostalgia. The answers are in looking at historical experience; [in] seeing what is the diversity of models that is really out there and trying to make the most of them by interpreting how they are relevant to the present. (Unkule, 2020, 13:53)

Like Unkule (2019), Anderson and Bristowe (2020) take issue with how internationalization is enacted. Examining the case of New Zealand, they also find that internationalization is rooted in "market concerns and the ongoing legacy of white settler colonialism" (p. 417). They begin the study in search of other forms of internationalization. This desire to find other forms of internationalization invites us to think of it as a plural rather than a fixed policy or single phenomenon associated exclusively with the Global North. The authors offer us a way of exploring internationalization from an Indigenous learning approach, refraining from presenting it as universally applicable. They draw on Māori epistemological traditions to emphasize place in a policy often associated with de-territorializing the academic space. One of the Māori concepts they highlight is "Manaakitanga," which is "grounded in genealogical understandings that valorise relationships, between people, between generations, and between the human and non-human world" (p. 421). In both these studies, there is a clear desire to problematize current models of internationalization that come under the guise of quality assurance or profit-driven agendas, putting forward forms that are place-based instead.

In this article, I aim to contribute to this growing body of literature that allows us to imagine "internationalization otherwise," away from grand scripts that have dominated the literature so far. To do that, I not only take one case of IoHE but also one aspect which is understudied in internationalization efforts: academic mobility. I map academic mobility to understand the networks that gave birth to QU as an institution. This is partly due to my position in the academic space and my desire, like Unkule (2019) and Anderson and Bristowe (2020), to find an alternative to the dominant, performance-obsessed internationalization patterns. Because transnational movement is an important aspect of the study, I take up the term *internationalization* to signal the way it has reconfigured the academic space more than as a set of policies. I will employ the definition used by Larsen (2016): "Internationalization is the expansion of the spatiality of the university beyond borders through mobilities of students, scholars, knowledge, programs, and providers" (p. 178). I use this definition because it provides a theoretical opening emphasizing the university in spatial terms and highlights another essential part of this study: the academic mobility necessary to realize internationalization. It also offers more opportunities to imagine "internationalization otherwise" than the technical definitions often employed in university strategies. Within the same field of critical internationalization, "internationalization otherwise" has been introduced. The purpose of it is not to offer "a predetermined approach to internationalization but an ongoing process of unlearning dominant modes of knowing, being, and relating;

experimenting ethically with efforts to know, be, and relate otherwise" (Stein & McCartney, 2021, p. 5).

Methodological note

The data presented in this study draw from a qualitative case study of Qatar University that I conducted for my doctoral research between November 2019 and July 2021. I used ethnographic methods, including occasional participatory observation, qualitative interviews, document analysis, and archival research, to dig deeper into the institution's history and inner workings. In this essay, I only present part of the findings from the archival research. Initially, I had planned to collect archival material related to QU's reform effort and internationalization process for the purpose of triangulation. What was not anticipated was that much of my fieldwork would be in the university archives, searching different locations for material that was lost or erased from the university records. Luckily the writing of the professors I was researching—including founding QU president Dr. Mohammad Ibrahim Kazem and Dr. Abdulla Al-Kubaisi, the second president, discusses the importance of memory and time. This helped shape the way I went about collecting the material and connecting it. My father was a librarian, and his professional instincts had impelled him to save documents from discarded material at his workplace over the years. This trove included publications from QU and the Arab Bureau of Education for the Gulf States, which I use in this article.

Dr. Al-Kubaisi also allowed me to borrow from his personal library when the COVID-19 pandemic meant I was no longer able to access the library's basement because of enforced access restrictions. He offered guidance and his fieldwork insights, pushing me to reflect on my methods and obsessions (as he would refer to my methods of tracking material). I used Evernote to collect, scan, and photograph much of the material, and I kept field notes while going through papers on campus. I then used MAXQDA[1] software to code them.

Overall, I relied primarily on archival research that aims to connect what seems disconnected to offer a version of the institution's past and a snapshot of what the institution looked like, no matter how incomplete the picture is (Rhee, 2021). Prioritizing the importance of the material aspects of the university—the tangible ways knowledge was created, embodied, and recorded, and where this knowledge work occurred—I review documents relating to the founding of the university, including speeches, books, and architectural making time and space central to understanding the social relations through which the university was founded, and the ways knowledge generation and international relations were envisioned and practiced. How did the university position itself as a national and international institution? With whom did it affiliate, and to what purpose? As Kazem, the founding president of Qatar University, notes, in relation to higher education studies,

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[1] MAXQDA was especially useful due to its compatibility with Arabic. I used it to preserve Arabic archival material as images, but I was also able to insert my interview transcripts into the program, so that all the data was in one software.

The dimension of time and the sense of history are central to the concept of a university. A university as a system, and as an instrument of education, is very closely related to a deep complex concept of time. A modern university obviously exists in the present, but it has roots in the past, and aspirations for the future. (Kazem, 1981, p. 5)

Setting: Qatar and QU brief history - 1970's to early 2000

Qatar is located on the western shores of the Arabian Peninsula overlooking the Gulf. It has been under the rule of the Al-Thani family since at least 1869 (Zahlan, 1979). Following the second world war, a centralized modernized state bureaucracy took shape, built around the Emir as an absolute ruler with colonial Britain's backing and buoyed by the oil revenues that went directly to the ruler. As part of the modernization program, institutional state schools opened for the first time, starting with two in 1952 and increasing to six schools by 1956, including the first girls' school established by Amna Mahmoud Al-Jaidah, a pioneer of women's education in Qatar (Al-Kubaisi, 1979; Al-Ammari, 2017). A steady increase in oil revenues and the growth in the state apparatus paved the way for Qatar's gradual move toward independence in 1971, followed by the coup of 1972[2]. The rapid growth of oil revenues during the oil boom of the 1970s saw unprecedented growth: hundreds of thousands of migrants moved to the Gulf. By 1976 the population had reached 173,716 (The World Bank, 2022). There were 59 schools and a teacher training institute that

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[2] The coup of 1972 was the second change in rule in Qatar, following the change of rule in 1949.

opened in 1962 (Al-Kubaisi, 1979). In 1973, the state of Qatar invited UNESCO to assist in establishing the first higher education institution in Qatar – two teacher's colleges, one for males and one for females. By 1977 the colleges were transformed into a university by law no. 2 for that year, which officially established Qatar University.

In 1995 the then-heir apparent Sheikh Hamad bin Khalifa Al-Thani initiated a coup against his father and took over the helm. The low oil prices during the 1980s and 1990s gave way to increasing exports of liquefied natural gas (LNG) as prices rose once again in the 2000s. Qatar became the second largest exporter of LNG globally and came to boast the highest GDP per capita in the world[3]. Over the same time, the population of Qatar more than quadrupled from approximately half a million to over two million souls, more than 85% of whom were non-citizen migrants (The World Bank, 2022; De Bel-Air, 2014)[4]. The ruler and his wife, Sheikha Moza bint Nasser Al-Misnad, initiated several new strategies and policies at the state level throughout the 2000s, including in education. The most notable was Qatar Foundation, which hosted and paid for the American branch campuses. RAND Corporation, an American think tank, was also invited to consult across sectors, and their mark on education was especially notable. I return to this phase in the conclusion.

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[3] From 1995 to 2013, Qatar's GDP "increased by more than 24 folds, and per capita GDP by about six folds" (Amiri Diwan, 2022, para. 1)

[4] Qatar does not publish exact figures of its nationals' population.

Qatar University's 1985 building as a symbol of international development

I begin with the story of the inauguration of Qatar University's flagship campus in 1985, eight years following the establishment of the university, as a physical representation to understand better how international ideas, institutions, and individuals congregated in a fixed space that came to embody Qatar University. The campus's design, implementation, and opening made it a crucible that can shed light on how Qatar University unfolded as a national knowledge-producing project within an international setting. In this section, I will examine the ideas behind it, the philosophy that guided it, and the political and social forces that influenced it.

The day chosen to inaugurate the Qatar University (QU) building in 1985 was February 23rd, the same day on which the university establishment was announced in 1973. This inauguration was carefully orchestrated to overlap with state festivities celebrating the anniversary of Sheikh Khalifa's rise to rule on February 22nd—an emphasis on the university as a hallmark of the ruler's reign and his aspirations for the state. The inauguration entailed a series of talks and lectures given and attended by a plethora of Arab and international dignitaries. Their focus was on higher education's problems, roles, and aspirations in the Arab, Muslim, and developing world. In a speech delivered at the inauguration, the Emir outlined his view of the university's role as one dedicated

to help form creative minds, providing them with ample education, and promoting virtues of morality and conscientiousness in the individual. We have been keenly supporting the assiduous and invaluable efforts of the University in this direction, which are inspired by the principles of our sublime Islamic religion and genuine Arab traditions, and are based on wise scientific planning. (Al-Thani, 1986, p. 9)

The role of the university articulated here touches on what the Emir identifies as the three spheres of belongings constituting the space of education and learning—a theme he outlines in a speech delivered on the occasion of QU's first graduating class in 1977. Specifically, when determining the purpose of Qatar's educational and teaching policy, the Emir explains that it is one that "seeks to solidify belief in the correct belongings of the human being in the state of Qatar" (Al-Thani, 1977, p. 9). According to this declaration, "the correct belongings" are to a) "Islam" and the Muslim Ummah; b) "the ancient Arab nation"; and c) "humanity" (Al-Thani, 1977, p. 9). Consequently, these multi-layered belongings animated the geographic spread of representatives from the different countries and organizations attending the series of inauguration events— indicative of the international bonds the university had developed in the eleven years since its establishment[5]. Further, the

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[5] Most guests were university presidents or ministers of education, except for the eminence grise of modern Arab poetry, Abdulla Al-Baradoni from Yemen. The country from which most guests came was neighboring Saudi Arabia (12), followed by Egypt (8), Iraq (6), and Sudan (6). The guests stretched geographically from the U.S. (1) to Japan (2). They included academics that served on Qatar University's board of regents, such as Prof. Dr. Adnan G. lskandar (Chair, Dept of Political Studies and Public Administration at the American University of Beirut), leading thinker Prof. Dr. Constantine K. Zurayk (Distinguished Professor Emeritus, AUB, and one of the luminaries of Pan-Arabism), Prof. Dr. Bakr Abdulla Bakr (Rector, University of Petroleum and Minerals in Saudi Arabia), Prof. Dr. Sir Frank Hartley (Former Vice-Chancellor Univ. of London), Prof. Dr. Michel Alliot (Director, legal anthropology laboratory at University of Paris I), and Prof. Dr. Abdellatif Ben Abdeljalil (Pres.,

multinational board of regents was considered another aspect of internationalizing the campus. This is because the appointed scholars brought with them their own connections and visions for the university, drawing on different epistemic backgrounds. More importantly, the regional makeup of the board members shows that this internationalization took the form of Third-Wordlist cooperation. This cooperation also extended to established centers of learning in the Global North (QU Cultural Affairs Department, 1986).
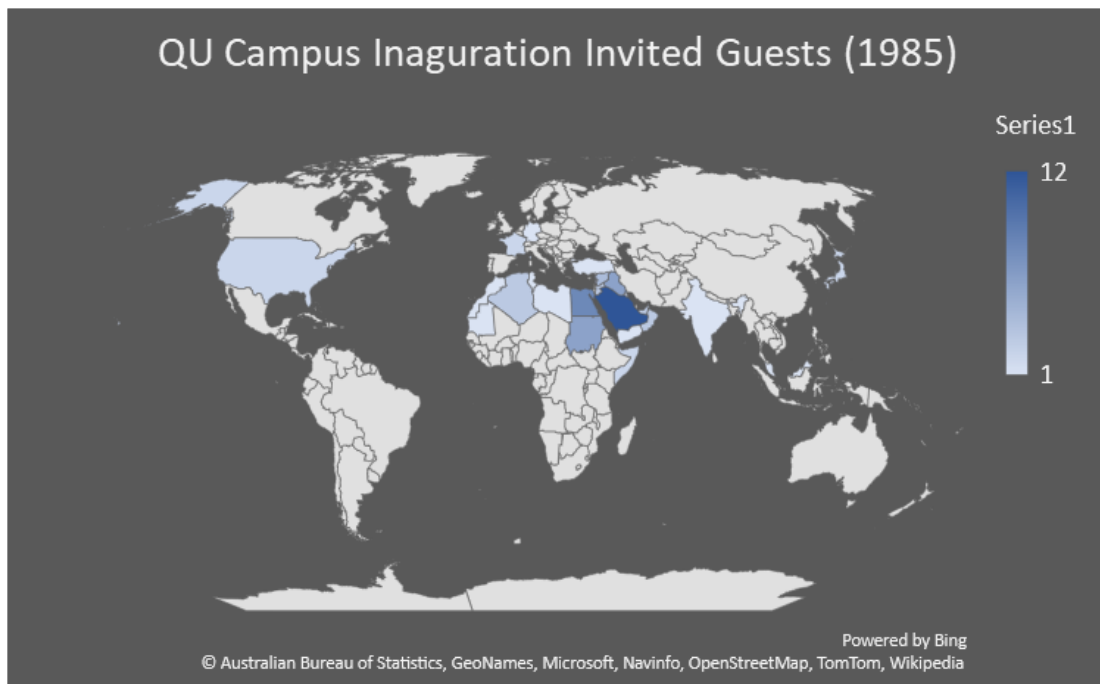

Figure 1: Geographic Spread of QU's Inauguration Attendees. Source: QU Cultural Affairs Department (1986)

QU's overwhelming direction toward pan-Islamist, pan-Arab, and pan-Gulf associations is evident, as well as the notable presence

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Mohammed V University). It is of course notable that all the attendees that are listed are men and there is not a single woman represented either in the attendees list or panels.

of Pan-African institutions. According to Al-Kubaisi, the university's reputation rose via its membership in these international associations, primarily due to the connections Dr. Kazem secured[6] (Al-Kubaisi, 1997). In the University Council minutes, much attention is paid to membership in these associations, attending their conferences, and incorporating their recommendations within QU[7]. As a young university, getting recognition from such bodies was akin to accreditation and allowed Qatar University students to get admission abroad (Interview with Al-Kubaisi). Unsurprisingly, however, UNESCO featured prominently as the most represented international organization at the inauguration. Thus, QU was an international project from its inception. Yet, the internationalism of this era was undoubtedly particular. This was notable in the speeches of Amadou Mahtar M'bow, the president of UNESCO at the time of the inauguration.

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[6] Dr. Kazem also had leadership roles in many of them, including board membership at the Arab League Educational, Cultural and Scientific Organization (ALECSO) and the newly established Gulf University's board in Bahrain.

[7] For example, in the "decisions of the university council" volumes, in the second session of the academic year 1980/81, subject 21 reads: "Informing the council [...] of the decision of the council of association of Arab universities, which took place in the University of Tunis between 16-19/1/1405 Hijri. Bringing attention to what's mentioned in the second paragraph of the memo from the Islamic university of al-Madina al-Munawara, to Arab universities, to work on incorporating it based on their internal systems." (Decisions of University Council, 1980/81, p. 8)

Figure 2: M'Bow with Kazem in the background at the inauguration symposium Higher Education and International Co-operation. Source: QU Digital Hub

M'Bow's speech at the inauguration picks up on similar themes as iterated by the Emir, focusing on mobility and continuity in knowledge generation. M'Bow began by outlining the role of mobility in knowledge-seeking anchored in the foundations of Islam and, by extension, the role Islamic and Arabic universities played in this endeavor. When talking about universities "in Cordoba, Fez or Tunis, in Cairo, in Damascus, in Baghdad or Tombouctou," he would note, "these universities brought together numerous scholars who (…) maintained constant contacts with one another despite the constraints of distance and difficulty of communication" (M'bow, 1986, p. 41-42). The forging of trans-spatial connections was coupled with a forging of trans-temporal connections, as intellectual curiosity led to an engagement with the work of remote predecessors, including Greeks, Byzantines, Indians, and Chinese (M'bow, 1986). Although these scholars

worked in solitude, "they fashioned firm bonds of mutual co-operation" and built a community that shared the same faith and ideals of solidarity of the *umma* (M'bow, 1986, p. 42). Thus, "over the centuries, the Islamic universities functioned (...) as active centers for new discoveries and new inventions," creating the conditions necessary for the emergence of "a vast network of intellectual exchanges (...), which inspired a religious, philosophical, and scientific movement whose influence extended beyond the Islamic Arab world" (M'bow, 1986, p. 42).

Turning to the twentieth century, M'bow invites his audience to consider the political upheavals that subsequently shook the Arab and Islamic world, including "the repeated assaults to which that world was subject", leaving it deeply divided in "the form of a number of separate entities which were often isolated from one another," M'bow continued (1986 p. 42-43). He specified that the situation began to change rapidly in the post-World War era. The handful of modern universities in the Arab world sprouted to more than a hundred, with the university community exceeding a million souls and doubling every eight years, a phenomenon similar to that in Asia, Latin America, and Africa, M'bow said (1986 p. 43).

Throughout his speech, M'bow emphasized the primacy of international cooperation in all fields, facilitated by communication born from scientific and technological progress. Of particular interest to him was international cooperation for intellectual activities. Such cooperation, he declared, enables a

university to "contribute to general progress and to the strengthening of solidarity among nations, without calling into question what goes to make up the raison d'être of each people, namely its own distinctiveness, its sense of independence and its liberty" (1986 p. 44). This approach to cooperation, M'bow stresses, was the purpose of establishing the United Nations system after the Second World War. Especially in developing countries that face rapid change, "it is in this connection that the universities have a decisive role to play, by strengthening the cultural personality of each nation and also by increasing co-operation between all nations" (1986 p. 44).

Research that advances such culturally strengthening knowledge can "be stimulated by the free and widespread exchange of ideas and by comparing and contrasting different experiences and methods, or in other terms, by providing contacts between researchers and teachers on as constant a basis as possible" (M'bow, 1986, p. 45). Inter-university cooperation and interdisciplinary approaches in such a spirit may make it possible for each university to "diversify its activities" and even complement the activities of institutions working in related fields. Thus, for M'bow, strengthening international cooperation among intellectuals across geographic boundaries and in conversation with communities experiencing similar struggles encourages solidarity. Many of the panels in the inauguration would speak from this vantage point, and much of the cooperation the UNESCO offered QU would be couched in similar terms.

El-Kafrawi: The Campus as a symbol of Kazem's vision

Figure 3: Kazem (left) and El-Kafrawi (right) at the inauguration (QU Digital Hub).

These themes of strengthening cooperation and openness to society were taken up by the campus architect Kamal El-Kafrawi in his speech[8]. Specifically, at the inauguration of the building in 1985, El-Kafrawi (1986) explained the general philosophy of spatial design, one that is at once inward facing and outward facing. He declared:

> *The originality of the university form is that it creates a new image in the eyes of the country without disguising the past. It makes reference both subtly and openly to traditional building forms, providing a sense of cultural continuity for all those involved with it. (p. 74)*

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[8] El-Kafrawi was a graduate of the College of Fine Arts in Cairo; he worked as a teaching assistant there following his graduation. His other significant project had been his contribution to restoring old Warsaw in Poland. In 1961, he settled in Paris and obtained a diploma from the Ecole des Beaux Arts, where he then taught from 1969–1975 (Taylor, 1984). In 1975 he became a UNESCO consultant in Cultural and Educational Facilities (El-Kafarawi, 1990). He would move to Qatar early 1981 as part of his research process and eventually settle there until the completion of the campus project in 1985 (Architects' Records, n.d.).

This balance of cultural continuity with modernization was a constant theme in his talks and writings about the building. His speeches illustrate a deep discomfort with the way Western architecture, and more broadly Western ways of understanding knowledge and its purpose were being adopted readily and uncritically in the Arab and developing world. His speech for the opening of the new building began thus:

> *The absurdity of imposing Western architecture on traditional societies has reached great heights in the Arabic Islamic societies in general and the Gulf States in particular. An architectural heritage that has survived centuries, because of geometric, technical and constructive principles that work for the society, is being sadly distorted under the guise of modernisation. Traditional buildings are being abandoned as it is believed that they reflect underdevelopment and poverty. (…)The main reason for the failure of these modern buildings is that they are not defined in advance with the Islamic Arab conceptions of space and order. (El-Kafrawi, 1986, p. 74)*

Thus, El-Kafrawi's reconceptualization of modern architecture as an intentional creative and political labor of incorporating modern technology without estranging communities can be read as a call for an otherwise modernization. His insistence on cultural continuity, preserving the past, and foregrounding Islamic heritage in interactions with the West overlap with Dr. Kazem's vision for modern education. At almost every occasion, Kazem invites his audience to (re)imagine an expansive modern way of living that is not necessarily Western but in line with local traditions and values. An otherwise modern way of living where we do not become

"strangers to our lives" (El-Kafrawi, 1986, p. 7-8). For Kazem, modern life, and by extension modern education, must stem from the cultural experiences and localized standpoints rooted in the society they are intended for.

Like El-Kafrawi, the intimate connection between architecture and knowledge creation is a thread that runs through Kazem's writings. Kazem speaks with the warmth of a biodynamic flow from the university buildings through the activities that occur there—and ties the concept of this flow to local and international flows of ideas:

> *This is the true substance of this celebration, that gained, from the diversity of thought of people attending and their backgrounds, means to bring together the authentic, and contemporary, and the local, and international, at the same time. (Kazem, 1986, p. 12)*

For Kazem, the key was to be open to the West but to use local identity and historical depth as a launching pad for local-international conversations. Here we can continue to link Kazem's ideology with El-Kafrawi's application. Kazem's insistence on the university as open to its society is also reflected in the design of the campus. El-Kafrawi explains, "The building orientation is essentially inward-looking, following Islamic tradition, and responds to the strong heat and the winds common to the area" (El-Kafrawi, 1986, p. 77). At the same time, there is a circular road around the campus to allow access to visitors, by vehicles, which is separated from the pedestrian inward campus for students and faculty (El-Kafrawi, 1986). In other words, the design makes

physical and explicit this simultaneous inward and outward focus that Kazem defines as modernization with respect for tradition.

Conclusion

In this paper, I argue that the QU has been portrayed as an international project from the onset, although one motivated by Third-Worldist, Islamic, and Arab notions of solidarity and, equally importantly, one critical of Western hegemony. Reviewing the four opening speeches at the inauguration of QU's permanent buildings in 1986 offers a view of how QU was defined by the different parties involved and their vision for building cooperation and international relations with other institutions. For UNESCO under M'bow's leadership, QU was a project of education and knowledge-building based on Third-Worldist ideals; for the Emir, it was a state-building project with a pan-Arabist outlook; for El-Kafrawi and Dr. Kazem, it was a revisioning of Islamic and Arabic models and a realigning of them with the modern world. Kazem, M'bow, and El-Kafrawi had a shared vision for QU as a Third-Worldist national university with strong ties with other Arab, Islamic, and developing world institutions, which was backed by the Emir's state-building vision. Thus, the story of Qatar University offers a more plural understanding of what internationalization can mean in different contexts.

By the end of the first decade of the 21st century, there was almost no visible trace of such visions of "internationality" at the university. After spending a decade at the helm of the University,

President Sheikha Al-Misnad (in office from 2003–2015) would reflect in 2013, "When I got my position as president in 2003…The university was very traditional, like a typical Arab university, treated as [a] government department…We started actually from zero, it would [have] been easier if we [were] asked to build a new university, rather change one which does exist, so it was really very difficult to have to start from zero" (Dalhousie University, 2013, 00:32:38-00:33:21). The international visions that shaped the founding of the university not only disappeared, but were actively erased and replaced with new ones, although—as the quote hints—their memory and aftereffects could not be destroyed. They continued to linger and haunt the university to this day. As for QU's flagship building, it would become engulfed by new post-modernist glass buildings scattered across the campus as the university continued to expand.

As part of this reform effort, the change in the language of instruction and the removal of all the Arabic journal publications created an immense epistemic break. It is a clean sweep on a level of what de Sousa Santos (2014) refers to as epistemicide—"the murder of knowledge" (p. 92). Under these conditions, the new, more competitive IoHE began. But amid such an erasure, the past is erased, and so is the ability to imagine a future. Ferreday and Kuntsman (2011) explain that "the future may be both haunted and haunting: whether through how the past casts a shadow over (im)possible futures; or through horrors that are imagined as 'inevitable'; or through our hopes and dreams for difference, for change" (p. 4). It is not simply an erasure that killed knowledge,

but it also meant that for researchers and policy makers writing from or on QU, there was a void. However, the scattered archives and fragments of images that are alternatingly vague and vivid reveal how internationalization was pictured[9], enabling us to envision a different and more inclusive form of internationalization than the one practiced today.

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[9] Gordon (2008) describes haunting as "those singular yet repetitive instances when home becomes unfamiliar, when your bearings on the world lose direction, when the over and done with comes alive and when what's been in your blind spot comes into view" (cited in Rhee, p. 15–16).

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