Alma Maldonado-Maldonado
Roberta Malee Bassett   *Editors*

The Forefront of International Higher Education

A Festschrift in Honor of Philip G. Altbach

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Editors

Alma Maldonado-Maldonado
Departamento de Investigaciones
  Educativas (DIE)
Centro de Investigaciones Avanzadas
  (CINVESTAV)
Colonia Granjas Coapa
Distrito Federal, Mexico

Roberta Malee Bassett
The World Bank, Europe and Central
  Asia Region
Washington, DC, USA

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Introduction

Alma Maldonado-Maldonado and Roberta Malee Bassett

> *(O)ne person can be a change catalyst, a "transformer" in any situation, any organization. Such an individual is yeast that can leaven an entire loaf. It requires vision, initiative, patience, respect, persistence, courage, and faith to be a transforming leader.*
>
> Stephen R. Covey (1992)

A. Maldonado-Maldonado (✉)
Departamento de Investigaciones Educativas (DIE), Centro de Investigaciones
Avanzadas (CINVESTAV), Calzada de los Tenorios 235,
Colonia Granjas Coapa, Mexico D.F., 14330 Mexico City, Mexico
e-mail: almaldo2@gmail.com

R.M. Bassett
The World Bank, Europe and Central Asia Region,
1818 H Street, NW, MSN: MC7-715, Washington, DC 20433, USA
e-mail: rbassett@worldbank.org

This book is a celebration of a man's life and career. In early 2011, Phil Altbach told us that he was transitioning toward retirement. We say transitioning because retirement does not appear to be a fixed idea for Phil. Instead, it is a mere redistribution of his efforts as they span between teaching, research, consulting, and service to the field of international higher education. His imminent retirement, however he was defining it, drove us to envision a volume that would showcase Phil as the scholar, mentor, and peer that he is for colleagues around the world. The level of loyalty that Phil engenders from his broad circle of friends was evident throughout the planning of this volume.

Since the chapters to come will examine Phil's myriad contributions to an astonishing breadth of areas of higher education policy and practice, we will use this chapter to discuss the life of our friend and mentor.

Phil grew up in Chicago and spent his formative years there, attending primary, secondary, and tertiary education there and meeting his lifelong work and life partner, his wife Edith Hoshino Altbach, there. It was at the University of Chicago where Phil completed, at age 25, his PhD in Comparative Education, with his thesis "Students, Politics, and Higher Education in a Developing Society: The Case of Bombay, India," which also launched a lifelong connection with and commitment to India, a defining element of his academic work.

From the University of Chicago, Phil went on to serve as a postdoctoral fellow at Harvard University from 1965 to 1967. His subsequent move in 1967 to the University of Wisconsin–Madison marked his first academic job, and he remained in the academic staff at Madison until 1975, when he moved east to the State University of New York at Buffalo where he was professor from 1975 to 1994. Then, in 1994, Phil moved to Boston College, where he founded the Center for International Higher Education, the first and, arguably, best known international higher education research center in the United States.

We can talk in several ways about Philip Altbach's career. Quantitatively, he has authored and coauthored 21 books, edited and coedited 23 books, written 16 book chapters, and published more than 50 articles. He has written 92 articles in his influential newsletter *International Higher Education* and 32 blog posts in *The World View*, and his works have been translated into more than a dozen languages. Finally, he has served as an editor of eight (8) journals and book series. But, discussing Phil's career quantitatively misses the real essence of Phil's contribution to the field of international higher education. Qualitatively, Phil's reach in this field is almost unparalleled. We believe it is fair to say that in his 47 years in this field, Philip Altbach has been everywhere in the world of international and comparative education and higher education, and no scholar or practitioner in this field has been untouched by his contributions.

Phil has both officially and unofficially mentored three generations of higher education scholars from every region of the globe. For the two of us, he has been our biggest fan and advocate, harshest and most useful critic, and great, great friend. We could not have asked for more as we embarked on our careers, and we know full well how lucky we are to be on "team Phil." Our collaborators in this book feel the same way.

Therefore, this book seeks to honor Philip G. Altbach by asking an array of higher education scholars and practitioners, all of whom have either directly worked with Phil or have utilized his research and who have enjoyed serving either

as collaborators in projects, as former students, or as scholars whose work has been influenced by Altbach's contributions. The result is what follows. A remarkably diverse group of 29 scholars discuss in 22 chapters the issues that Philip Altbach has studied through his storied career. Moreover, we purposefully included Phil's first PhD student, Patti McGill Peterson (now a presidential advisor at the American Council on Education), and his likely last one, current Boston College student, David Stanfield. Having including both in the book could work as a metaphor, but we prefer to think it is more as an indication of the affection and appreciation, as well as lifelong connection, that Phil's students have for him.

The organization of the chapters is as follows: The first chapter was written by the man himself. Phil had originally written this a piece for Michael Paulsen's Higher Education Handbook (also soon to be published by Springer) as a reflection on his career over the past forty-plus years. He shared this with us in April 2013, on the occasion of a high profile symposium in honor of his career. We knew immediately that his chapter would be a perfect complement to the contents of this Festschrift, so we received permissions from Dr. Paulsen and Spring to include it here, as the ultimate introduction to Phil and his work.

The following 12 chapters present some of the main issues that Phil has dedicated his life to exploring: the academic profession, internationalization of higher education, academic mobility, and, more recently, linking academic research to policy practice.

The subsequent group of nine chapters are divided into two groups: one on regional- and country-based approaches and the other on worldwide views. Phil has always been a strong proponent of both comparative studies and promoting specific country- and regional-based studies. And, finally, the book concludes with an epilogue that celebrates the trajectory of Phil Altbach as a professor and dissertation adviser, a dimension of his career that may be less visible than his published work but has had no less of an impact on the field of international higher education.

One of the main challenges of putting together a book like this one has been limiting the selection of contributors from the breadth of possible authors around the world. Not only was there no shortage of individuals willing to contribute, we had to make very painful choices in order to contain the scope and size of the volume. Indeed, page limitations were the only barriers to extending this work beyond what follows. We express our heartfelt thanks to those whose chapters follow and our equally heartfelt gratitude and apologies to those who sincerely wished to contribute but were unable to be included in this work.

Finally, we would like to thank all the authors for their contribution to this Festschrift. A special thanks goes to Yoka Janssen and Anne Marie Keur (at Springer) for their support to this project and, especially, Edith Altbach, for years of constant kindnesses and for providing us with the pictures included in this book.

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Chapter 1
The Complexity of Higher Education: A Career in Academics and Activism

Philip G. Altbach

Organizing a discussion of a career—and the ideas that have shaped it—that has covered more than a half century and taken a variety of unanticipated twists and turns is not a simple task. This essay is organized in two parts. The first discusses the elements of a career that has taken place entirely in the world of academe, but which was shaped in part by the social and political movements of the 1960s in America and the world. The second part focuses mainly on the ideas and concerns that have animated my work over time. These aspects are, of course, intertwined. Commitments have shaped ideas and actions, experience contributed to ideas and perspectives. Thus, this is not an autobiography in the traditional sense; the experience of a rather typical academic hardly warrants that. Rather, it is a consideration of ideas swirling in the social and academic environment of the times and how these, as well as somewhat random circumstance, shaped a career.

Origins and Formation

I was born in the shadow of the University of Chicago, grew up in its neighborhood, and was entirely educated after secondary school at that same institution—highly unusual for an American. Further, this institution was and remains a rather unusual academic institution, with its commitment to the ideal of liberal education at the undergraduate level and to research throughout. That institution has shaped my perspective on intellectual life and the role of higher education in society.

P.G. Altbach (✉)
Monan University Professor, Center for International Higher Education,
Boston College, Chestnut Hill, MA 02467, USA
e-mail: altbach@bc.edu

I am also the product of Chicago's South Side and particularly the neighborhood of Hyde Park that surrounds the University of Chicago. Growing up in the 1950s, it was possible to bicycle from Hyde Park to downtown along the lakefront. Later, urban blight in parts of the South Side made life rather more problematical. Even then, the area was highly diverse, with a growing African American population as well as many other ethnic groups. For primary and secondary education, I am a graduate of the Chicago Public Schools, which are now much maligned but then were still a rather good public school system. The primary school I attended was next to the Illinois Central Railroad and with a clattering street car out in front, making for constant motion and not a little bit of noise. At the same time, the school provided regular trips to a matinee of Chicago's symphony orchestra, cultivating in me an affection for classical music that remains to this day, as well as a solid if rather traditional grounding in basic school subjects.

Hyde Park High School, which I attended for 2 years before moving further south in the city, was then a remarkable school. By then, at least 80 % of the students were African American, and the school was rigidly tracked. The academic track was largely white and Asian. The heritage and many of the teachers remained from the days when the school was one of the best in the city. Hyde Park High School provided an outstanding education, at least for those in the academic track—as well as numerous lessons, mostly quite positive, in multiethnic relations. My final 2 years of secondary education took place at South Shore High School—then perhaps equally divided between Jews and Catholics—also an excellent school. While mostly white and relatively homogenous in terms of social class, there was no tracking there.

During the height of the anticommunist "witch hunts" of the mid-1950s, a group of South Shore students, encouraged by several teachers, gravitated toward political liberalism, the emerging civil rights movement, and nascent radicalism. We were welcomed by the local Unitarian-Universalist Church and soon became their youth group, even though only one of our members had any connection to the church. From that base, the group sponsored talks by local civil rights leaders and joined in some of the activities of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). We also made occasional forays downtown to the recently established Second City theater.

By taking several advanced placement courses and an innovative summer literature program, offered by the Chicago Public Schools at the University of Chicago, I graduated a semester early from high school. Having been accepted for midyear admission to the University of Chicago—I recall applying only to the U of C and to the University of Illinois as a "safety school"—I matriculated at Chicago in January 1959. In those days, the University of Chicago had a good reputation, but was not all that difficult to gain entry, since most of the applicants were self-selected. Students interested in the university's serious academic atmosphere and its well-known general education curriculum were attracted. Among my motivations for studying, there was the appeal of the active political culture that I had already experienced as a high school student. I entered the groves of academe in 1959 and never left and have had a career of more than a half century in a variety of higher education settings.

The University of Chicago, still well known for its rigorous general education program, was soon to end its famous "Hutchins College"—what might be described as general education on steroids. The first 2 years were a rigidly prescribed series of arts and science courses, specifically designed for all undergraduates. Many were a year-long, three-quarter (Chicago, then as now, functioned on a quarter rather than a semester system) sequence, for which an examination was given at the end of the academic year for the course. Most of the courses were a combination of lectures, given by some of the most eminent scholars in the country, and small group discussions led not by teaching assistants but by regular members of the faculty. Textbooks were typically compilations of primary source materials. For example, the social science courses featured books by de Tocqueville, Freud, Marx, Weber, and others rather than traditional textbooks. Mathematics included the history of the topic—a course in which I did not excel. At least, the readings were English translations rather than the original French or German! Papers submitted were based on original sources and were rigorously evaluated by the instructor. Without question, this intellectual underpinning, the way in which courses were taught, provided a valuable academic base and rigorous evaluation excellent training in critical thinking and clarity of written expression.

Having no clear vocational commitment, I was able to take courses of interest during the last 2 years of undergraduate study. These included comparative religion, a wonderful year-long sequence in South Asian civilization, a much less excellent Chinese civilization sequence, and modern literature. I ended up with concentrations in sociology and history and no particular expertise in anything.

Politics

One of the attractions of the University of Chicago was its active, mainly leftist, political culture. Even in the apolitical 1950s, and unlike most American universities at the time, there was an array of social action and political organizations on campus, from communists (a few) to conservatives (despite Professor Milton Friedman and others—even fewer). I gravitated to the small but active youth affiliate of the Socialist Party and also to the Quakers. The socialists provided a short course on interpretations of the Russian Revolution, the role of the labor movement in social change, and the argument that both the Soviet Union and the United States were culpable in the then raging Cold War. The Quakers brought ideas of pacifism and a principled opposition to nuclear testing, then a "hot button" (no pun intended) issue, and a commitment to nonviolent social action.

American politics were, at the end of the 1950s, in transition from the political apathy that characterized the immediate post-World War II period. The Cold War was at its height. Anticommunist hysteria, fueled by Senator Joseph McCarthy and numerous "witch hunts" of "subversives" in government, the entertainment industry, and in education, along with general apathy, characterized the political scene. Chicago's South Side, along with such places as California's Bay Area, Manhattan's Upper West Side, and some college towns across the country, was

somewhat immune to these trends. Political debate and activism remained part of the environment.

By the end of the 1950s, social issues such as an emerging civil rights movement (especially salient on the increasingly African American South Side), a revival of interest in civil liberties in an effort to blunt McCarthyite repression, and especially a growing consciousness of the dangers of nuclear war in an increasing volatile world contributed to a modest revival of student activism (DeBenedetti 1990).

In this context, the Student Peace Union (SPU) was established in 1959 by the University of Chicago students in order to bring together the nascent antinuclear groups emerging on campuses, especially in the Midwest. The organization quickly grew to be the largest left-oriented national student organization in the United States, with affiliated groups on more than 100 college campuses. I was elected the SPU's national chairman and served in that capacity from 1959 to 1963. I was chosen mainly because I was happy to wear a necktie and "respectable" clothes at a time when beards and sandals were the norm in the student movement. My job was to work with other organizations and to serve as the "public face" of the SPU. In this role, I had the opportunity to organize a series of fund-raising concerts with such luminaries as Joan Baez, Bob Dylan, and Pete Seeger—most were in fact not luminaries at the time, but rather emerging young talents. I also worked with the group's advisory board and donors—respected people on the left of the American political spectrum such as Socialist party candidate Norman Thomas, civil rights leader Bayard Rustin, Nobel prizewinning chemist Linus Pauling, philosopher Bertrand Russell, Harvard sociologist David Riesman, and many others. I also spent a lot of time fund-raising—convincing wealthy liberals to donate funds to an emerging student movement. The political and organizational experience of the student movement provided many very useful skills.

In 1960, the SPU was invited to send two representatives to a major rally of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND) in London. I was selected and at age 19 and a second-year undergraduate, I went overseas for the first time. In London, the two SPU representatives participated in several antinuclear marches and a large rally at Royal Albert Hall. Unlike in the United States, the antinuclear weapons movement was at the time a significant political force in the United Kingdom—trying unsuccessfully to keep nuclear weapons off British soil. While in England, I was impressed by the ubiquitous symbol used by CND, now known in the United States as the "peace symbol." I carried a pocketful of peace symbol pins back with me and, after considerable debate, convinced the SPU to adopt and widely disseminate it (Miles 2006: 116). Soon afterward, the symbol came to be used universally, as perhaps the most widely recognized sign of peace anywhere. Without doubt, introducing and popularizing the peace symbol in the United States was one of my more significant accomplishments—at the time it seemed just another small aspect of work in the student movement.

The SPU had collected some 10,000 signatures on a petition asking for an end to nuclear weapons testing to the leaders of the United States and the Soviet Union, scheduled to meet in May in Paris. We set out from London to Paris with our petitions, intending to deliver them to the summit, only to learn that the meeting was

abruptly canceled by the Soviets in the aftermath of shooting down an American U-2 spy plane in Soviet airspace. We left half of the petitions at the Soviet embassy and the other half at the American embassy in Paris—no doubt to be tossed into the garbage in both places. Two peace activists were left with nothing to do but to enjoy a first visit to Paris.

As perhaps the largest campus-based antiwar organization in the United States at the time, the SPU national office kept track of perhaps 100 campus chapters and thousands of members. The group issued a bulletin highlighting political events as well as the organization's own activities. While the SPU had no clear ideological perspective, keeping the organization and its membership focused on the central issues of antinuclear weapons and opposition to American military forays was not an easy task. The organization's insistence on placing responsibility for the Cold War and its conflicts on both sides differentiated it from some other organizations that tended to lay blame only on the United States and of course from the general public, which viewed international relations through anticommunist rhetoric of the Cold War.

The SPU was one of the first American organizations to recognize the dangers of American involvement in Vietnam and called for the withdrawal of US advisors several years prior to Vietnam becoming a major political issue in the United States and before the escalation of American involvement. However, political events—including the Cuban missile crisis, The Freedom Rides and the growth and radicalization of the civil rights movement, and the beginning of the major student movements of the 1960s—overtook the SPU. Thus, by 1964 the SPU lost much of its energy and soon ceded leadership to the Students for a Democratic Society and other more militant groups focusing on a wider range of issues (Altbach 1997d; Gitlin 1993).

Student activism also provided several other opportunities for international involvement. In 1963, the SPU hosted a delegation from Japan's ultraradical national student union, the Zengakuren. Based on interviews, I published an article introducing Western audiences to the Japanese student movement (Altbach 1963b). Later, I was invited to Japan to look more carefully into the Japanese student movement and, through this and other efforts, brought the growing student activist movement in other countries to the attention of American students.

The SPU was also invited by the Independent Research Service—headed by Gloria Steinem, later a pioneering feminist and founder of *MS* magazine—to participate in several communist youth and student conferences in Europe. Following a much internal discussion, it was decided that I would participate in a youth forum in Italy and, in 1964, a larger conference in Moscow. Representing the SPU in Italy—Gail P. Kelly, then the general secretary of the SPU and later my student at the University of Wisconsin and a faculty colleague at the State University of New York at Buffalo, and I—presented an "independent left" perspective, much to the dismay of our Soviet hosts. In 1968 when *Ramparts* magazine exposed that the Central Intelligence Agency had funded a number of liberal and left publications and organizations, we discovered that the Independent Research Service was indeed a conduit for CIA activity.

My involvement in student activism also earned a Federal Bureau of Investigation dossier. In the 1980s, I requested, under the Freedom of Information Act, any files that the FBI kept concerning me; and much to my amazement, a file of papers, perhaps an inch thick, was provided. The US government was spending its scarce resources, trying to keep track of my activities during the 1960s. They seem to have decided that I was not a subversive influence, although much of the file was redacted.

By the time I entered graduate school at the University of Chicago, my direct involvement in student activism largely ended. I learned a great deal from my experiences in the student movement. I was immersed in the central political events of the day and kept abreast of foreign policy and the Cold War, developing countries, and nuclear issues. Student politics inevitably created a need to explain global events in a broader perspective. The SPU attempted, with only limited success, to draw attention to the central issues of war and peace, something that required a sophisticated argument. All of this was excellent training for an academic career. The organization sponsored a variety of events and demonstrations, including one of the earliest student-led marches on Washington that focused on nuclear war and weapons testing. Coordinating a national demonstration that attracted more than 10,000 students to the nation's capital cultivated skills in organization. Writing newspaper articles and speaking to diverse groups were also excellent "on-the-job" training.

Graduate School

By the time I graduated from college in 1962, I had decided a career in education was as a good way to make a contribution to society and started work on a master's degree in educational administration at the University of Chicago. Staying at Chicago seemed a good choice—the department of education was well regarded and I was able to remain somewhat involved with campus politics. I thought that I could provide educational leadership as an administrator or researcher. My master's degree work focused on education policy, and I wrote a master's thesis concerning James B. Conant, an influential policymaker and former Harvard president (Altbach 1963a). I realized, however, that this career path required work experience in order to make a significant contribution, and as a newly minted 22-year-old master's graduate, I had few opportunities to acquire it. By this point I had discovered I was not especially interested in the field of educational administration; however, I was quite interested in a course I had taken on comparative education.

Quite coincidentally, the Comparative Education Center happened to be at the opposite end of the corridor from educational administration in Judd Hall and was one of the best such centers in the United States at the time. I was admitted to the doctoral program in comparative education. Further, my wife was completing work on a master of arts in teaching at Chicago, and in any case I could not have imagined

studying anywhere else. Because I had taken many of the required courses in education, I had the freedom to choose courses broadly in the social sciences and in development studies. The key comparative educators in the department, C. Arnold Anderson and Philip Foster, offered a variety of courses on the role of education in socioeconomic development globally, with a special focus on developing societies. I was also able to obtain a fellowship funded by the Ford Foundation to support my doctoral study.

I was particularly interested in courses taught by Edward Shils, in Chicago's well-known interdisciplinary Committee on Social Thought. Shils, a polymath sociologist who had translated the work of German sociologist Max Weber into English, focused on higher education and the role of intellectuals in society. For many years, I maintained an active relationship with him. When I was in Chicago, even after his retirement from active teaching, I visited him—I recall one dinner when he brought me along to meet Nobel laureate and author, Saul Bellow, a good friend of Shils at a rather modest Chinese restaurant. The scene, and the conversation, was reminiscent of one of Bellow's novels. On another occasion, Shils, who spent half the year as a fellow of King's College Cambridge, England, brought me to a dinner at high table at Kings—where I chanced to sit next to E. M. Forster, author of *A Passage to India,* then in his mid-90s, and still quite articulate. After Shils passed away in 1995, I edited a volume of his writings on higher education (Altbach 1997a).

Professor Shils proved to have the greatest influence on my academic interests and dissertation. Through his courses, I became aware of the importance of universities in modern societies, the main interest and focus of my subsequent career. Shils had done research in India and wrote a pioneering study of the role of Indian intellectuals in society. As a result of his courses, I decided to focus my doctoral dissertation on higher education. My experience in student politics and earlier interest in India pointed me toward student activism in India. A grant available from the University of Michigan, which at the time supervised a collaboration with the University of Chicago and the University of Bombay, provided funding for a year of research. My topic focused on the history of student politics in Bombay, tracing the history of activism from the struggle for Indian independence through the 1960s.

I became convinced that higher education in general and the role of universities in particular are central to the process of social and economic development—and that universities are central cultural and research institutions in all societies. Work in India made it clear that higher education is a complicated and a many-faceted phenomenon in developing countries—worthy of study and understanding. I have kept up an interest in the manifold roles of universities, trying to understand and illustrate aspects of higher education. In fact, my entire academic career has engaged with different aspects of higher education—the role of students in politics, knowledge networks and scholarly communication, the academic profession, the role of research universities, and others. Underlying this concern has been a special interest in developing countries and a commitment to highlighting the special circumstances and problems they face.

During the period from the 1970s to the end of the twentieth century, many experts and policymakers, led by the World Bank and UNESCO, argued that the best "payoff" for development was investment in primary education and literacy training. I continued to argue for the centrality of higher education in the development process, pointing out that universities educate society's leaders, produce research, and are central intellectual institutions. I was involved as a senior consultant, at the end of the 1990s, to one of the first influential reports that attempted to shift the balance back to higher education—*Higher Education in Developing Countries: Peril and Promise* (Task Force on Higher Education and Society 2000). The report, released with great fanfare by the World Bank president, proved to be influential in restoring higher education to prominence in the thinking of major policy organizations in governments around the world.

The importance of higher education was greatly enhanced at the end of the twentieth century, no doubt stimulated by globalization, the advent of the Internet, and especially the emergence of the knowledge-based economy even in developing countries. These realities required highly educated personnel as well as linkages among institutions and countries. Further, the recognition by a growing number of people worldwide that higher education was a key to social mobility has stimulated the expansion of enrollments everywhere and the advent of massification of higher education (Altbach 1999). Postsecondary education has since then been central both to the lives and careers of young people around the world and to policymakers and the economy as well.

While for much of my career as an international higher education researcher, my interest in universities was not widely shared nor considered very important—universities were thought of as peripheral institutions for elites in most countries. Although universities shared common historical roots, there were relatively few international links among universities. However, in the twenty-first century, higher education has been recognized as a key part of the knowledge economy of the era, and academic institutions worldwide have been internationalized. Without question, there has been a sea change in thinking about the role of higher education in the emerging global knowledge society.

Encounters with India

My first significant experience outside of the United States was my sojourn to India to collect data for my doctoral dissertation. I landed in Bombay in 1964, with precious little knowledge of the details of my topic but with a reasonable grasp of Indian society and politics, due to my academic training. Since there was no information available on the student movement, I was researching an entirely blank slate. My research on student activism was the first study of that topic done anywhere in India. I was able to affiliate with the Department of Sociology at the University of Bombay and benefited from excellent mentors there—including Professor A. R. Desai. I started by delving into historical sources, including

reading the back issues of the *Bombay Chronicle*, huge bound volumes of which were fetched for me from the Maharashtra State Archives, located behind Elphinstone College—and literally tossed to the ground by staff members, amidst great clouds of dust. Much more importantly, I was able to interview many of the alumni of the student movement who had been active during the independence struggle in Bombay. I found nuggets of Bombay's activist history, such as the 1946 naval mutiny that started among Indian sailors on British ships in the Bombay harbor, and spread elsewhere in India, and was supported by the students (Altbach 1965). The mutiny helped to convince the British that their position in India was untenable, and they granted independence in 1947.

My interests moved beyond the role of students in the independence movement and into student organizations in the 1960s in Bombay, and I decided to include other contemporary groups in my dissertation. I interviewed student leaders from left to right, visited many of the colleges to examine student activities, and got a sense of higher education in the 1960s. Much to my amazement, doors were always open to a young graduate student from the United States interested in themes seldom studied by scholars. I attended the national conference of the Hindu nationalist Akhil Bharatiya Vidyarthi Parishad in Nagpur and numerous other meetings of groups from all parts of the political spectrum.

Indian students were active in the struggle for independence and were often considerably more militant than Mahatma Gandhi's nonviolent movement. After independence, students continued a tradition of activism—but generally without the sense of national purpose that characterized the independence movement. Student activism often moved to the campus, politicizing the colleges and universities and focusing on local conditions. In Bombay, activism ceased to be a major force, although from time to time students were enlisted in off-campus political movements. Political factions—from Communist groups to right-wing Hindu nationalists—continued to be present among students.

While living in Bombay in 1964, I met Sachin Chowdhury, the founding editor of the *Economic Weekly*—later the *Economic and Political Weekly*—resulting in a 40-year relationship with that distinguished publication. I wrote brief news stories and editorials, summarizing stories from the *Economist, Time,* and other international publications that were of interest to an Indian audience. This exercise gave me invaluable training in writing succinctly and on deadline—skills that have proved invaluable over time.

I returned to Bombay in 1968 as a Fulbright Research Professor, again affiliated to the University of Bombay's sociology department. This time, my research focus was on higher education; and I researched the culture of the University of Bombay and its affiliated colleges, spending time on several of the colleges and again benefiting immensely from the cooperation of many academic colleagues. I was impressed at the time by the diversity of Indian higher education, the complexity of the system, and the importance attached to higher education by Indians. My research resulted in a short book, *The University in Transition: An Indian Case Study* (Altbach 1972). In addition, I edited several books relating to student political activism, including *Turmoil and Transition: Higher Education and Student Politics in India* (Altbach 1968c).

My research highlighted the complex relationships between the mainly under-graduate colleges and the University of Bombay and the often ignored variations among college cultures. The culture of Indian colleges is at the heart of the reality of higher education since the vast majority of students (and staff) are affiliated with India's more than, by 2013, 34,000 colleges (Altbach 1970a).

While in Bombay, due in part to my work at *Economic and Political Weekly* and also writing occasionally for *The Times of India,* as well as due to my contacts with several Indian publishers, I became interested in the Indian publishing industry and how it worked. This research resulted in *Publishing in India: An Analysis,* published by Oxford University Press in Delhi in 1975 (Altbach 1975a). I also wrote a case study of publishing in the Marathi language (Altbach 1979). I think that this book was the first in-depth study of the Indian publishing industry, at the time one of the world's larger publishers of books in English.

My work on Indian higher education was immensely strengthened by colleagues in India and particularly by my collaboration with Suma Chitnis and Amrik Singh, both later distinguished vice chancellors and researchers on higher education. In 1979, with Suma Chitnis, I coedited *The Indian Academic Profession* (Chitnis and Altbach 1979). Chitnis and I also coedited *Higher Education Reform in India: Experience and Perspectives,* in 1993, based on research funded by the World Bank (Chitnis and Altbach 1993). I coedited with Amrik Singh *The Higher Learning in India,* one of the first full-scale analyses of higher education, published in 1974 (Singh and Altbach 1974).

Between 1964 and the 1970s, I visited India almost annually. By the 1980s, my academic interests were less focused on India; and I was able to travel there less frequently, although I kept writing occasionally for the *Economic and Political Weekly* and other publications. In 2010, at the invitation of the Government of Kerala, I returned to India, specifically to Kerala, and, for several weeks of intensive lecturing throughout the state, and was introduced to the rich culture of southern India—a sharp contrast to the regions with which I was more familiar.

I suspect that I may be the only American researcher who has kept up a fairly steady interest in Indian higher education for half a century; few non-Indian scholars have a continuing interest in this topic. During the past several decades, I have contributed numerous articles to journals and magazines in India and the West, concerning Indian higher education. I have been particularly gratified to be able to contribute to the continuing debates about Indian higher education, through many op-ed articles in *The Hindu,* one of India's major national newspapers.

Over the years I have watched Indian postsecondary education expand tremendously, although I have been dismayed to see that the quality of the system as a whole has not improved—and perhaps has even deteriorated. I have been impressed by a few parts of the system, including some distinguished colleges that have managed, against all odds, to keep high standards of quality and of course the Indian Institutes of Technology and related specialized institutions. I have written that India's higher education system is "Tiny at the Top"—referring to India's very small quality sector but a very large and rather poor-quality university and college system (Altbach 2006). India's more than 600 universities and the 34,000 colleges that are

affiliated to them are in desperate need of reform and upgrading. Until this happens, quality will remain modest to deficient. The proliferation of "deemed" universities—institutions, often private, given university status by acts of state or occasionally central government fiat—has, by and large, weakened the system as a whole.

I have valued my involvement with India over almost a half century and hope that I have contributed to a broader understanding of the problems and possibilities of Indian higher education (Agarwal 2012). Since I first arrived in India in 1964, I have found the country endlessly fascinating. Its complex culture, diverse ethnic and religious population, and perplexing societal and educational realities are the source of great interest. Indians may be uniquely open to letting curious foreigners have access to debates and data, and I have had the pleasure of making many good Indian friends and colleagues over the years. I have also had the unusual privilege of participating in some of the debates about higher education policy in India.

Students and Politics

No doubt, influenced by my experience in the American student movement and my research on Indian student activism, I pursued research on student politics—arguing that students, particularly in developing countries, in the mid-twentieth century were and, to some extent even now, are a potent political and educational force in many societies (Altbach 1966, 1970e; Lipset and Altbach 1967). In the aftermath of the global student activism of the 1960s and 1970s, there was considerable interest in understanding the nature of student movements and their role both in society and on campus (Altbach 1984, 1989a). It is clear that student activism has had more impact on society, including causing regime change, in developing countries than in the industrialized nations, although students on occasion have contributed to political change in the West. Not surprisingly, most of the research conducted about student political activism was published in the aftermath of the activist movements of the 1960s and 1970s. Much less analysis has appeared recently, although students remain a potent political force in many countries.

The history of student political activism remains largely unexplored, but is nonetheless of considerable importance (Altbach 1970d). Students, for example, were involved in the 1848 revolutions in Europe and the rise of nationalism (Altbach 1969), including to some extent in the rise of fascism and Nazism in Europe. The involvement of students in the struggle for Indian independence from the 1920s to independence in 1947 influenced student involvement in more recent decades (Altbach 1968b). Similarly, students were involved in independence movements in other Asian societies (Altbach 1970e). While students have never overthrown governments in Western countries as they have done in the developing world, students have been involved in political activism, and the history of that activism helped to shape the movements of the 1960s and beyond (Altbach 1973, 1997c).

Research on a peripheral aspect of the student movements of the period, the international student organizations that were enmeshed in Cold War politics, showed

how student groups interacted across borders and how they were influenced by Cold War machinations (Altbach 1970c; Altbach and Uphoff 1973). While there was a good deal of international communication among student political organizations during the heyday of student activism, the fact is that student movements were national in character, with little direct involvement from abroad. Ideas did spread across borders, but only in the broadest sense. The specific international student organizations, such as the Soviet-dominated International Union of Students and the pro-Western International Student Conference (ISC), had little influence on the struggles going on at the time. Both were, in fact, funded and largely influenced by the Soviet Union and the United States, respectively. The ISC, along with the US National Student Association, was exposed in 1967 for being funded by the Central Intelligence Agency and soon collapsed (Stern 1967).

I have come to believe that understanding the role of student movements at several key junctures in the development of higher education is central. As noted, the role of students in struggles for independence and against colonialism in the developing world was significant, and that involvement gave students a sense of power and legitimacy that lasted to the postindependence period. Students in many developing countries functioned as key political players—and in some cases where the ruling authorities were weak—managed to topple regimes, but never were able to take power themselves (Altbach 984). In contrast, despite the powerful student movements in Europe and North America, students were never able to force governmental change, although they did influence policy in some area, including in higher education. In Germany, for example, students influenced reforms that institutionalized for a time aspects of student involvement in university governance. After the 1970s, students in the developed world were no longer involved much in activist politics. In some developing countries, students remained sporadically involved in activism.

Research and Teaching and Building Centers and Programs

I have had the good fortune to spend an academic career now approaching a half century, studying, researching, and teaching about aspects of higher education, mostly in an international perspective. While I have served as a department chair and in several other administrative roles, I have not held a position of senior leadership. I will describe briefly the progression of my career in part to illustrate a time, at least in the United States, when academic positions were relatively plentiful and mobility fairly easy.

My academic activities have always been grounded in research and graduate education—I have never taught undergraduates. I have been a doctoral supervisor for 88 students at 3 universities and have been on many master's and doctoral committees at the universities where I have worked as well as at several others. Former doctoral students have gone on to academic positions, in more than 20 countries, and many other key posts—including as ministers in several governments, staff members in a variety of nongovernmental organizations, staff members at the World Bank, African Development Bank, Asian Development Bank, UNESCO, and other agencies.

I have always enjoyed working with graduate students and attempted to let them develop their own research foci, rather than try to shape their thinking or methodology. I have never been skilled in building academic theories, and perhaps as a result, I have always encouraged students to pursue detailed research and be guided by results.

While completing my dissertation in Chicago in 1965, I was invited by Professor Seymour Martin Lipset at Harvard University to join his research team as a postdoctoral researcher studying student political activism, mainly in developing countries. This research was, of course, directly related to my own interests, and I was delighted to accept this opportunity. I arrived in Cambridge, Massachusetts, and had appointments in Harvard's Center for International Affairs and as a lecturer in the Graduate School of Education, where I taught a course on education and development. Marty Lipset, one of the world's most prominent sociologists, was a wonderful mentor. I learned from him the value of collecting a wide range of data and then trying to make sense of it without preconception. I enjoyed working with his team of doctoral students as well. I completed my dissertation and worked with Lipset on several books, including *Students in Revolt* (Lipset and Altbach 1967), and several bibliographies (Altbach 1970b, d).

Having completed my dissertation, I moved into the academic job market. American higher education was in its period of great expansion, and jobs were not difficult to find. Offers from two excellent midwestern universities materialized, and I joined the faculty of the School of Education at the University of Wisconsin–Madison in the fall of 1966 as an assistant professor. I was also appointed in the Department of Indian Studies and had an opportunity to teach courses both on comparative education and on South Asian education. Madison was building its comparative education program at the time. I was promoted to associate professor with tenure in 1968 and, at the age of 27, was one of the youngest tenured professors on the campus at the time. While at Wisconsin, I coedited *Academic Supermarkets,* a book about the university's challenges during the 1960s from a moderately critical perspective (Altbach et al. 1971). The book was widely ignored on campus, but I later met the chancellor while we were both in Malaysia, and he asked me why I had edited such a critical volume. Thank goodness for tenure.

In 1974, an offer to join the faculty of the State University of New York at Buffalo as a full professor with appointments in higher education and in social foundations of education lured me to Buffalo. I held a joint appointment in the School of Information and Library Studies and taught a course on international publishing. The position was a presidential professorship, and I was encouraged to build up the graduate program in comparative education and establish a Comparative Education Center. With Gail P. Kelly, and later Lois Weis and Sheila Slaughter, all of whom had studied with me at the University of Wisconsin, and other colleagues, we built exciting programs in comparative and higher education. The comparative education program and the center attached to it became one of the strongest such programs in the United States during the 19 years I was on the Buffalo faculty. I became the editor of the *Comparative Education Review,* the major journal in the field, in 1978 and served in that role for a decade. At the end of my editorship, the center became the secretariat of the Comparative and International Education Society, with Gail P. Kelly as the CIES general secretary.

I moved to Boston College in 1994 to join the university's higher education program. Soon after arrival, I was appointed to the newly created Monan University Chair, a position I have held until my retirement in 2013. I proposed to President J. Donald Monan, SJ, that we establish a Center for International Higher Education (CIHE) in 1995, and the university agreed and provided support with additional funding from the Monan Chair. CIHE also benefited from 15 years of steady support from the Ford Foundation that ultimately totaled more than $1 million. Additional support for specific research projects and other programs has come from the Carnegie Corporation of New York, Rockefeller Foundation, MacArthur Foundation, Toyota Foundation, and others.

The research projects undertaken by the center dealt with a range of issues of interest to the center and our funders. Typically, a group of researchers were brought together to focus on a specific theme. The produced essays, which were discussed at a working editorial conference, were then revised and published as a book. Some of the research topics resulted in books: the rise of private higher education in global perspective (Altbach 2000), the academic profession in developing and middle-income countries (Altbach 2003), the emergence of Asian universities as key global academic institutions (Altbach and Umakoshi 2004), leadership for developing country universities (Altbach 2011), and several volumes concerning research universities in developing and emerging economies (Altbach and Balán 2007; Altbach and Salmi 2011).

The center has been closely tied to Boston College's master's and doctoral program in higher education administration and has greatly benefited from the colleagueship of faculty in the program and also from outstanding doctoral students who have served as graduate assistants over the years. One of these students, James J. F. Forest, introduced me to the Internet in 1995, and through his efforts and additional expertise by many others, the center has had a robust website and other Internet resources ever since. Roberta Malee Bassett and Liz Reisberg served as managing editors of the *Review of Higher Education*, which I edited between 1996 and 2004. Damtew Teferra assisted with the Bellagio Publishing Network and initiated the International Network for Higher Education in Africa. He also obtained funding for the pioneering *African Higher Education: An International Reference Handbook* (Teferra and Altbach 2002).

Sensing in 1995 they emergence of an international consciousness in higher education, I established a quarterly publication, *International Higher Education,* to provide a forum for analysis and information concerning the rapidly expanding arena of international higher education. *IHE,* which recently published its 70th issue, has proved to be a valuable source of analysis worldwide. The concept of publishing short but authoritative articles by key experts has been successful. Busy experts are prepared to write short articles, and our audience of higher education leaders, government and organizational officials, and the research community finds short analytical articles useful. *IHE* now appears in Chinese, Russian, Spanish, and Portuguese. Discussions are in progress to expand to Arabic and Vietnamese. It is distributed in English as part of the *Deutsche Universitätszeitung,* the major publication for the German higher education community. *IHE* is distributed in paper and electronic editions.

The Shaping of Fields of Study

Two new academic fields—comparative education and higher education—and especially the international aspects of higher education have been of concern to me throughout my career (Altbach and Kelly 1986a). By editing prominent journals in these fields, *Comparative Education Review* and the *Review of Higher Education,* I have contributed to their development. I have also helped to create standard textbooks in both fields. In the field of comparative education, three volumes were widely cited for a period of time. These are *Comparative Education* (Altbach et al. 1982), *New Approaches to Comparative Education* (Altbach and Kelly 1986b), and *Emergent Issues in Education: Comparative Perspectives* (Arnove et al. 1992). These volumes were used in many courses on comparative education and helped to shape debates, at a time when the field of comparative education was rapidly expanding, and the debate about whether the field was a "discipline" or a multidisciplinary field of study was actively discussed. The multidisciplinary advocates, with whom I was affiliated, prevailed (Altbach 1991b).

Even the field of higher education studies, although better established than comparative education, was relatively new. Coediting *American Higher Education in the 21st Century: Social, Political, and Economic Challenges* provided an opportunity to contribute to thinking about American higher education (Altbach et al. 2011). That book, now in its fifth edition (two with Prometheus Books and three with Johns Hopkins University Press), is the standard text in many courses on American higher education. The opportunity to edit the *Review of Higher Education* permitted me to contribute to shaping a key journal.

I have had the opportunity to be involved in the development of the "subfield" of international higher education just as the international dimension of university education became more central due to the impact of globalization and importance of the knowledge economy. Coediting *Higher Education Research at the Turn of the New Century: Structures, Issues, and Trends,* which surveyed key trends in the field, provided a benchmark for the field's development at the time (Sadlak and Altbach 1997). Two volumes of my essays on comparative higher education themes also made a contribution to the development of the field (Altbach 1998, 2007c). My involvement as North American editor of *Higher Education,* the pioneering international research journal in the field, between 1975 and 1996, permitted further involvement with an emerging field. Editing several book series on international higher education between 1977 and the present—from 1977 to 1984 with Praeger Publishers, 1985 to 1994 with Pergamon, and from 2005 to the present with Sense Publishers—provided an opportunity to contribute key work on global higher education.

Globalization and all of its ramifications contributed to the remarkable growth of the field during my professional lifetime. In 1970, I prepared *Higher Education in Developing Countries: A Select Bibliography* for the Harvard Center for International Affairs—it included just 1,600 entries (Altbach 1970b). The research literature dramatically expanded soon after that. Also in the 1970s, I served as secretary for

several conferences organized by the International Council for Educational Development (ICED), an early effort chaired by James Perkins to bring together senior university and policy leaders to think about the international implications of higher education policy and practice. The ICED found, for example, that there was little knowledge available about higher education systems and commissioned a series of short books on higher education in a dozen or so countries. Annual ICED conferences also produced several volumes focusing on higher education in a comparative framework (Altbach 1975b). In 1977, the first comprehensive encyclopedia on international higher education, in ten volumes, was published (Knowles 1977). At the time that UNESCO, the World Bank, and other international agencies were beginning to take an interest in postsecondary education, my book *International Higher Education: An Encyclopedia* provided an additional contribution (Altbach 1991a).

Since 1995, the Boston College Center for International Higher Education (CIHE) has played a role in expanding the knowledge base of international higher education through its conferences, books, and especially through *International Higher Education.* The center's website has also been a source of information and research on higher education, with a special focus on developing countries. Through articles in *IHE* and with the research that the center has sponsored over the past two decades, key issues have been illustrated.

Globally, the field has dramatically expanded. Two publications, the *International Directory of Higher Education Research Institutions* (Altbach 1981a) and *Higher Education: A Worldwide Inventory of Centers and Programs* (Altbach et al. 2007), traced the status of the field at two different times and illustrate how the field has grown and how it has developed in many parts of the world. The expansion of research and policy centers and institutes focusing on higher education in the past several decades has been unprecedented, indicating the importance of higher education in the era of massification and the knowledge economy. We also traced the development of degree programs aimed at training practitioners and researchers in higher education. Here, growth has been spotty—with most of the programs existing in the United States and in China—although expanding significantly in other parts of the world as it becomes clear that academic institutions need professional managers. As a contribution to the professionalization of academic administration and training academic leaders, I edited *Leadership for World-Class Universities: Challenges for Developing Countries* (Altbach 2011). The focus of this book is on perspectives needed for academic leadership—such as governance, strategic planning, fund-raising, financial management, and others.

Circulation and Distribution of Knowledge

Academics and researchers create knowledge through research and analysis. They seldom consider the complexities of knowledge distribution. I have been interested, both as a practical matter and as an important intellectual theme, in issues relating to knowledge circulation and distribution throughout my career. Both editing and

publishing—and efforts to understand how these complex phenomena take place in the modern world—are central.

I was interested in these issues even as a student. I was on the staff of the *Chicago Maroon,* the student newspaper at the University of Chicago, which provided valuable experience in writing and editing. I also worked at the *Economic and Political Weekly* in India, again providing useful editorial training. As a student, I wrote for a variety of publications on issues relating to student politics and movements (Altbach 1963c).

A commitment to scholarly journals led me to editorial positions, to several of the top journals in my fields of expertise. I served as associate editor of the *Comparative Education Review,* generally acknowledged as the premier journal in its field, for several years in the 1970s, while on the faculty at the University of Wisconsin. In 1978, I later became the editor of the journal and served in that capacity for a decade. During that period, I convinced the board of the Comparative and International Education Society (CIES) to move the *Review* to the University of Chicago Press, which provided professional publishing services, an arrangement that has been beneficial to both the journal and CIES for more than 40 years. The services of a professional publisher permitted the journal to transition easily to the digital age and provided valuable technical and financial services. While at Boston College, I served as editor of the *Review of Higher Education* (*RHE*), one of the top three higher education journals in the United States, from 1996 to 2004. Again, I brought the journal from a self-published entity into a relationship with the Johns Hopkins University Press, which now publishes the journal, again enhancing the journal's professionalism. *RHE* was an original participant in Project MUSE, Hopkins' pioneering electronic platform, which increased both the impact of the journal and its income as well. I was also one of the founding editors of *Educational Policy* in 1985, along with colleagues at the State University of New York at Buffalo. *EP,* now published by SAGE, is an ISI-listed publication.

The publication of books in emerging fields, such as comparative education and higher education, is also quite important for legitimizing the field and providing an outlet for original scholarship and analysis. While there has been a revolution in knowledge transmission as a result of the digital age, books and monographs remain central to the knowledge production process, although produced and distributed now in different ways. Starting the early 1970s and continuing through 2013, I have served as editor of a number of book series that I have created for several publishers. The first of these was a book series on comparative education for Praeger Publishers, at the time managed by its founder, the legendary Frederick A. Praeger, one of the pioneers of scholarly publishing in the United States. I continued with that series after Praeger Publishers was absorbed by Greenwood Press, which itself became part of Elsevier in a series of acquisitions that characterized publishing in the latter twentieth century. Soon after coming to the State University of New York at Buffalo, I established "Frontiers in Education" at the SUNY Press. That series published more than 40 volumes until SUNY Press closed it down in the 1990s. In an effort to provide visibility for some of the best doctoral dissertations, I established "Studies in Higher Education: Dissertation Series" with RoutledgeFalmer Publishers. This series was later expanded to include nondissertation research-based volumes—40

dissertations were published over a decade. Most recently, "Global Perspectives on Higher Education" was started with SENSE Publishers. In all, some 200 books were produced in these various series. These volumes helped to build the research literature in international higher education and comparative education and provided outlets for scholarship that might not have existed otherwise as these fields were becoming legitimized as ones for analysis and as the research base expanded rapidly. Books and journals, particularly when appearing with respected publishers and in recognized journals, are central to the development of fields of study, particularly when these fields are new and multidisciplinary.

Another effort to contribute to the development of the field of higher education studies was editing two reference handbooks. Both are two volume compendiums of key themes and chapters dealing with regions and countries. The purpose of these volumes was to bring together key analysis and research. The first, *International Higher Education: An Encyclopedia,* was published in 1991 and contributed to the development of the field of higher education studies (Altbach 1991a). The second, *International Handbook of Higher Education,* coedited with James J. F. Forest, was published in 2006 (Forest and Altbach 2006).

Translations

Almost by definition, research and publication concerning international higher education will be of global interest. Thus, publication in the field deserves worldwide circulation in languages other than English. Although English is today's main international language of scientific communication, it is not the only language, and many professionals and researchers in higher education do not have adequate fluency in English to access this scholarship. Many scholars prefer to read material in their own language. Assuming that the academic world is a monolingual English environment is not the case, even in a globalized environment.

I have paid careful attention to the translation and publication of my work into other languages and have had reasonable success in securing translated editions. *International Higher Education* appears in five languages. Many of the books I have written or edited have appeared in other languages including Spanish, French, Russian, Indonesian, Turkish, Japanese, and Arabic. Eighteen of my books have been translated into Chinese, several by Peking University Press and other leading Chinese publishers. The China Ocean University Press published a series of my books. Perhaps as a result of these translated editions, several master's and doctoral dissertations have been written about my work in China.

In most cases, the translations were undertaken on a commercial basis by publishers. In other instances, agencies such as the World Bank or UNESCO have sponsored the translations. It is not always easy to arrange for translated editions. Western publishers, and particularly the large multinational firms, sometimes do not respond to requests for translations and in some instances ask for unrealistic fees for translation rights. Generally, both publishers and authors either do not consider

translations important or measure the value of other language editions in purely commercial terms. The fact is that in a globalized world, the academic community needs to seriously consider knowledge dissemination in multiple languages.

Academic Journalism

Most academics eschew writing for popular audiences and, indeed, criticize colleagues who do as "popularizers." Indeed, there is often a price to be paid for interacting with the media. I have always thought that academics have a responsibility to communicate their ideas to a wider audience and to participate in public debate, a point emphasized by Ernest Boyer in *Scholarship Reconsidered* (Boyer 1997). By translating academic knowledge and research into a language easily understood by a wider audience and disseminating ideas and perspective in places with a wider circulation, it is possible to contribute to policy debates and intellectual life. Having been trained to write in a journalistic style for the *Economic and Political Weekly* and for publications and newspapers during my student movement days, I was able to write brief articles that make a point. For most of my career, I have contributed opinion pieces, book reviews, and other analysis for newspapers and magazines worldwide. For almost two decades, I have contributed op-ed articles to *The Hindu,* one of India's main national newspapers, with a circulation in the millions. While in Buffalo, I wrote frequently for *The Buffalo News*. I have also published regularly in a Mexico City newspaper, *Milenio,* and for a time in *The Japan Times,* Japan's main English-language daily. I have also contributed articles to such publications as the *South China Morning Post* (Hong Kong), *Clarin* (Buenos Aires), *Vedomosti* (Moscow), and others.

I also contribute regularly to the higher education press, globally. I write regularly for *Times Higher Education* (London) and serve on their editorial board. I also contribute to *University World News,* an Internet-based weekly news source, and other publications.

In 2010, the Center for International Higher Education, at the initiative of Liz Reisberg, started a blog for *Inside Higher Education,* the online US-based daily news publication. The "World View" blog features the work of a network of internationally recognized bloggers from around the world, who write on current international higher education issues. I contribute regularly to the blog. Our effort is to bring analysis of contemporary themes to a wide audience through the Internet.

The Analysis of Publishing and Knowledge Distribution

I realized early on that the publishing industry is intertwined with higher education and the process of knowledge distribution. Without publishers, knowledge cannot reach an audience. In the age of the Internet, traditional publishing has been significantly changed, but the business of knowledge processing and distribution remains

of great importance. I was first introduced to the complexities of publishing when my doctoral dissertation, *Student Politics in Bombay* (Altbach 1968a), was published in India by the leading social science publisher of the day, Asia Publishing House. I was able to participate in the publishing process in the Indian context.

Publishers, journal editors, and others are key parts of knowledge networks everywhere. They are gatekeepers of knowledge and decide, through their publishing choices, what becomes "legitimate knowledge." Understanding the nature of publishing, editing, and knowledge distribution has significant implications for higher education and for scientific development (Altbach and Hoshino 1995). Publishers and journals in the developed countries traditionally controlled the key knowledge networks globally—with the gatekeepers in the top universities and prestigious publishing houses especially powerful. Researchers in developing countries are at a special disadvantage in this unequal relationship. *The Knowledge Context: Comparative Perspectives on the Distribution of Knowledge* provides an overview of many of the key issues (Altbach 1987).

Knowledge networks became increasingly complex in the latter years of the twentieth century, when multinational firms, such as Elsevier and Springer, purchased or established large numbers of journals and often raised prices for them. The advent of the digital age made things even more complicated and introduced new means of journal and book production and distribution, as well as possibilities for "open access" scholarship of many different kinds. The traditional publishers, with some difficulty, were able to cope with the new technologies. In addition, many new players have joined the system, creating journals and publishing books without regard to quality in order to earn profits.

Some of these new "publishers" have established hundreds of new journals and often charge authors to publish their articles with no review process. These publications are not taken seriously by the academic community, but may confuse potential authors. Similarly, some book publishers publish doctoral dissertations and other works without regard to the quality of the product, do not provide editing or evaluation, and hope that a few unsuspecting libraries may purchase the volume. Digital technology and "print on demand" facilitate innovation, but technological advance does not always work to the benefit of the scientific community. Knowledge networks are increasingly confused.

India was, and remains, one of the largest publishers of books in English in the world, yet Indian publishers, even now, are not part of the global knowledge network. Further, many multinational publishers operate in India. Over the past several decades, India has become a center for editing and book and journal preparation, including copyediting, computer-based composing, and many of the "back-office" elements of publishing. My book, *Publishing in India: An Analysis* (Altbach 1975a), was the first full-scale discussion of Indian publishing.

Some of the largest and most prestigious publishers in India were, and remain, branches of large multinational firms, although with considerable autonomy. Indian-owned publishers tend, with a few notable exceptions, to be small and have problems sustaining themselves in a competitive marketplace. Publishing in Indian languages tends to lag behind English-language publishing, to the detriment of possibilities for

new journals and other printed products. As literacy increased and a middle class emerged that supported regional languages, a market for books and other publications in these languages emerged. India, with its large internal market, has a more vibrant publishing industry than most developing countries.

In an effort to assist publishing in Africa in particular and in developing countries generally, the Bellagio Publishing Network was established with the assistance of the Rockefeller Foundation. For a decade in the 1990s, I directed the Network that, in collaboration with the African Books Collective, published more than a dozen volumes of research and commentary on publishing and book distribution in Africa and the developing world. The purpose of these volumes was to assist publishers and others involved in book development to improve practice and understand the complexities of global publishing realities. Volumes dealing with copyright, feminist publishing, African publishing, journal publishing, and others appeared in "Bellagio Studies in Publishing." One of the key books in this series was *Publishing and Development in the Third World* (Altbach 1992). Our guide to publishing and development was also among the useful books published (Altbach and Teferra 1998). We also published *Bellagio Publishing Newsletter* quarterly, highlighting information and analysis concerning publishing issues in the context of developing countries.

Linking the practical aspects of publishing and knowledge distribution, such as the nurturing of journals in developing countries, is quite important. Research and analysis concerning publishing, knowledge distribution, and related themes, particularly as they affect higher education, is quite limited (Altbach 1985c). Now, in the digital age, understanding how journals and other aspects of knowledge distribution work is even more complex—and perhaps even more important in a globalized world.

Neocolonialism and Centers and Peripheries

Stemming from the more ideologically based scholarship of the 1960s, the realities of the Cold War, and research on higher education in developing countries, in the 1970s (Altbach 1971). I wrote about the complex relationships between the developing countries of the Third World (as it was called then) and the industrialized nations. An influential article, "Servitude of the Mind? Education, Dependency, and Neocolonialism," was published in 1977 (Altbach 1977), which argued that educational relations and by implication other intellectual and political relations between the developing and industrialized nations were highly unequal and that these inequalities were the result of "natural" imbalances in wealth and academic strength on the one hand and of specific policies by the rich countries to maintain their influence—neocolonialism. Research on publishing and knowledge distribution in India contributed to this line of analysis—relating the various book and publishing programs financed by the Cold War powers in India, with the aim of influencing opinion and perspectives, as well as other education initiatives. This article was one of the first that sought to tie natural inequalities to specific national policies and also to the politics of the Cold War. A broader analysis was provided in our edited volume,

Education and the Colonial Experience (Altbach and Kelly 1984), and the earlier *Education and Colonialism,* both of which had some influence on the debates at the time (Altbach and Kelly 1978).

By linking center-periphery realities with specific policies of governments, it was possible to analyze the various forces influencing higher education and knowledge communication realities in developing countries. While center-periphery analysis was by no means a new tool, applying it to higher education and knowledge communication was original (Altbach 1981b, 1985a; Shils 1975). The larger-developed nations—especially those that use English—tend to be most influential in terms of their academic institutions, the production of scientific knowledge in all fields, and editing and publishing influential journals. These countries host the large majority of international students. Their academic institutions tend to be the most influential. In the twenty-first century, they dominate the Internet. Countries at the periphery tend to gravitate to one or more centers. Their universities are less influential and in recent decades do not score at the top of the global rankings of academic institutions (Altbach 2012). By applying the insights of the center periphery, it is possible to analyze the inequalities that are evident in global higher education.

Centrality is based on a variety of factors. Among them are language—using world languages in higher education and publishing, especially English is of significance—the size of the academic system, a history of academic influence (the former colonial powers are at a considerable advantage), wealth and well-developed academic infrastructures, and others.

In the postcolonial world, it is possible to overcome peripherality. Japan, in the years following World War II, has built a powerful and influential academic system, which does not use English. But it struggles with ways to be recognized globally. More recently, China has made considerable strides to join the front ranks of the top global academic systems (Altbach 2009). Even small countries, such as Singapore, have joined the ranks of mature academic systems. Nonetheless, they are still part of the international knowledge system, in which the major and largely English-using academic "powers" dominate.

Dependency, which takes its analytical roots from Marxist thought, argues that higher education institutions in developing countries are structurally dependent on the former colonial powers and other developed nations because of the realities of global capitalism and the specific policies of the governments and multinational corporations of these countries. Developing countries find it difficult to break with these structures.

During the Cold War, the policies of the major protagonists (the United States and the Soviet Union) included many initiatives aimed at influencing higher education, intellectual life, publishing, and other aspects of culture and education. The "battle for hearts and minds" was very much part of the agenda. Further, in the period immediately following the end of colonialism, many of the former colonial powers were seen as trying to maintain their influence over their former colonies. The term neocolonialism has been used to define the many initiatives that governments have used to gain, maintain, or enhance their influence abroad. While the term is mainly used as a critique of policies, careful analysis of specific instances may yield a more balanced evaluation.

There are many examples of programs that may be referred to as neocolonialism by some analysts but as "foreign assistance" by others. Programs to translate university textbooks for developing countries, for example, can be evaluated in different ways (Altbach 1985b). The main scholarship programs sponsored by the American Fulbright Program, the German DAAD, the British Council, and many others can also be analyzed in different ways. The Confucius Institutes, sponsored by the Chinese government, can be seen as "soft power diplomacy" or as efforts at neocolonialism.

With the end of the Cold War, governmental efforts to influence education and culture in other countries have slowed, but commercial interests have become the key elements. Multinational corporations in the knowledge business, such as publishers and information technology firms, play a key role in influencing developing and peripheral countries. Countries and academic institutions seek to expand their number of international students in large part to earn income from these students, but at the same time international student flows have cultural and educational implications.

If anything, globalization and information technology have led to increased international higher education relationships of many different kinds. What was once a matter of government policy and an aspect of the political struggles of the Cold War has become a much more complex phenomenon that is central to the realities of the twenty-first century.

Global Trends: Massification, Systems, and the Knowledge Economy

I have argued that the driving force and dominating reality of contemporary higher education is massification—the dramatic expansion of enrollments that began in Europe in the 1960s and has since spread worldwide (Altbach 1999; Altbach et al. 2009). Only North America was educating more than 30 % of its age cohort in the mid-twentieth century. Enrollments expanded dramatically, reaching 200 million by 2012. Huge inequalities in access continue—with much of Africa enrolling under 10 % of the age group, while most of the industrialized countries educate 60 % or more of their young people. The two largest higher education systems in the world, China and India, respectively, enrolled 22 and 13 % of the age group in 2012, and both have plans to expand access significantly (Altbach 2009).

The implications of massification are fundamental. Among them is the rise of the private sector. Private higher education is the fastest-growing part of postsecondary education, increasing inequalities in academic systems as the bottom of the system seeks to provide access while the top is increasingly selective; and a likely overall deterioration of standards at the bottom, severe fiscal constraints, stress on the academic profession, and many others (Altbach 1999). All countries are affected by massification, although they move through the process from elite to mass and then to universal access to higher education at different rates and with somewhat different implications (Trow 2006).

Massification has also contributed to growing inequalities in academic systems worldwide. Mass access at the bottom of the system has resulted in a proliferation of relatively modest or poor-quality postsecondary institutions. At the same time, the demands of an increasingly sophisticated global knowledge economy have created increasingly selective and high-quality universities at the top of the system.

One of the results of massification has been the growth of the private sector, much of it for-profit, globally. Indeed, private higher education is the fastest-growing part of higher education in the world. Parts of the world that were at one time dominated by public universities now have a majority of their students in private institutions—including most of Latin America, Indonesia, and some others. Much of the new private sector is for-profit. Most private postsecondary institutions are "demand absorbing" and of relatively low quality, although there is a small but growing sector of high-quality private universities (Altbach 2000). This emerging sector requires careful quality assurance systems, and many developing countries have only limited capacity to supervise the private sector.

The advent of the knowledge economy has also created a demand for internationally linked high-quality research universities—a phenomenon discussed in the next section. As seemingly contradictory trends, for mass access at the bottom and elite institutions at the top, has led in many countries to the creation of academic systems having differentiated institutions with specific mission and foci. Indeed, such differentiation is necessary for a country to serve the increasingly diverse student population.

At the same time that massification was transforming higher education, through massive increases in enrollments and the manifold challenges that entailed, a global knowledge economy emerged that placed emphasis on the "top" of the higher education system—universities and other institutions with the infrastructures and capabilities to deal with a globalized economy and the research and training needs of highly qualified professionals. These elite institutions often hire staff from an international labor market and educate students from many countries.

Massification and the global knowledge economy necessitated the differentiation of academic institutions and in many countries the creation of academic systems with institutions serving different missions and societal needs (Altbach 1999; Task Force on Higher Education and Society 2000). In many countries, there were typically binary academic systems, with nonuniversity and mainly vocational institutions in one category, and universities, all of which had a significant research mission, in another. In a mass higher education environment and in more complex economies, more kinds of academic institutions were needed to serve different purposes—a differentiated academic system. Such systems necessarily include a small number of research universities at the top but also larger numbers of universities focusing on teaching and perhaps more vocational in orientation, nonuniversity postsecondary institutions, and specialized schools as well. An example of such a system is the public higher education arrangement in California, but there are many other examples. Despite the logic of such systems, it has been quite difficult for many countries to create them. Historical traditions, competing interests, dispersed policy authority, and other factors present significant obstacles.

Research Universities and Development

Universities, through their research, teaching, and service, have long been responsible for development as well as education for centuries. Universities in developing countries and emerging economies play key roles in national development (Altbach 1989b). *Scientific Development and Higher Education: The Case of Newly Industrializing Nations* was an early effort to analyze the role that universities can play in emerging research cultures. Cases from South Korea, Malaysia, Singapore, and Taiwan were presented in an effort to understand how research cultures in universities can be created (Altbach et al. 1989).

Research universities stand at the pinnacle of any academic system. Since the research university was developed by Wilhelm von Humboldt at the beginning of the nineteenth century in Germany, the institution has continued to evolve. The American version added the idea of service to society to the original Humboldtian model. They are the main producers of knowledge and link most directly to international knowledge networks. These institutions educate most of the academic profession, and produce most of the research, including both basic and applied. Although research universities constitute only a small part of most contemporary academic systems, they are of great importance (Altbach and Salmi 2011; Salmi 2009). The role of these key institutions consists of special importance in developing and emerging economies—and often poorly understood as well (Altbach and Balán 2007). I have argued that most countries require at least one research university—particularly developing countries—in order to participate in the global knowledge economy, to bring relevant research to the nation, and to educate the "best and brightest" in the home country (Altbach 2007b).

Building and sustaining research universities are complex. They require larger expenditures than teaching-focused institutions. Their academic staff must be highly qualified and internationally linked. Students must also be carefully selected. These institutions will inevitably do a significant part of their work in English—the global academic medium—even if they do not offer teaching in English (Altbach 2007a). Creating "world-class" research universities is not an easy task in any country and is particularly daunting in developing and emerging economies. Among the challenges are creating an appropriate academic culture, sustained financial support, effective governance, and others (Salmi 2009).

Globalization and Internationalization

Universities have always been international institutions. In the medieval period, Latin was the common language of instruction and scholarship among European universities. Both students and professors came from many countries. The contemporary period has seen the expansion of the international nature of higher education in unprecedented ways. Further, globalization has brought the international role of

universities to prominence and has greatly expanded the scope of campus internationalization. The traditional mobility of students has expanded to include widespread faculty mobility and the creation of a global academic profession. Branch campuses, cross-border initiatives, and twinning arrangements have greatly expanded the institutional reach of institutions (Altbach 2007c; Altbach and Knight 2007; Altbach and Teichler 2001). Student and faculty mobility was and, to some extent, remains the core of international academic relations (Altbach 1986; Altbach et al. 1985). Push and pull factors relating to global student mobility were identified in an effort to explain why students chose to study abroad—and what the consequences of the experience meant. Themes such as the "brain drain" and the common choices of students to link study abroad to migration are central to understanding what is by the twenty-first century a common phenomenon.

An element of globalization has been the establishment of international rankings of universities (Altbach 2012). The two major somewhat reliable rankings, the Academic Ranking of World Universities at the Shanghai Jiao Tong University and the *Times Higher Education* rankings, focus mainly or exclusively on research productivity and ignore other key parts of the work of universities. Further, because of their methodologies, they privilege academic institutions in the developed world. Few developing country or emerging economy universities are high in the rankings. Yet, the rankings play a significant role in determining which universities are most prestigious and at the "center" of the academic universe.

My perspective on globalization and internationalization is to analyze this phenomenon, at least in part, from the perspectives of the developing world, and to point the inherent inequalities evident in many aspects of international academic relations (Altbach 2004). This analysis is directly related to linking globalization to center-periphery relationships and even to elements of dependency. Developing countries not only lack the funds necessary to compete at the top levels of science, but their universities generally lack the required infrastructure. The academic profession may not have the required training. In short, the global "playing field" is far from equal. Many authors simply point to the positive aspects of international academic relations—a wider perspective is needed.

The Academic Profession

Without a well-educated and committed academic profession, quality is impossible in higher education. Analyzing the academic profession has been a continuing research interest, in part because of the centrality of the professoriate. I have had a special focus on developing countries. Massification has contributed to the expansion and also to the deterioration of working conditions for the professoriate in much of the world and particularly in many developing countries (Altbach 2003). Yet, as we found in the first international study of the attitudes of academics in 14 countries, undertaken by the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching in 1995, academics in most countries remained fairly positive about their profession (Altbach 1997b). We later looked at academic salaries, contracts, and careers

in 28 countries in *Paying the Professoriate* (Altbach et al. 2012). That research found significant variations in salary levels among the case study countries and glaring inequalities both within nations and among them. Clearly, countries at the bottom of the salary rankings will have a difficult time building top-quality research universities. Research on the academic profession in China and India found significant variations in the world's two largest academic systems, although surprisingly academic salaries are higher in India than in China (Altbach and Jayaram 2006).

As with higher education trends, generally, the academic profession has become more differentiated. A small elite in almost every country is part of a global academic labor market. These academics produce most of the published research, hold doctoral degrees (in much of the world the majority of academics do not have doctorates), and tend to be globally mobile. While it is increasingly difficult to attract the "best and brightest" to the academic profession in all countries, working conditions and salaries tend to be better for this small elite, although even among this group there has been a deterioration. For much of the profession globally, salaries and conditions of work leave much to be desired. Academics are increasingly employed part time and have little or no security of tenure.

Almost everywhere, academics have lost power and authority in the management of postsecondary institutions. Universities have become large bureaucracies, and the sense of academic community that existed in many institutions has been weakened. The concept of shared governance, which had traditionally been widely accepted among the better American colleges and universities, has been weakened in many of them, and power has shifted to administrators. The European tradition of domination by senior professors was weakened during the student revolts of the 1960s and no longer seems to be effective in the era of massification. Politics has intervened in academic affairs in some developing countries (Altbach 2003). The twentieth century saw the professionalization of the academic profession and the rise of faculty power. The twenty-first century, despite the increased importance of the academic profession in delivering higher education to the masses and at the same time functioning key players in the global knowledge economy, seems to be marked by a weakening of the professorial role.

Conclusion

For more than a half century, I have been fascinated by the academic enterprise. I was convinced early on that postsecondary education is not only an interesting field of research but is a central part of modern society. Based on my graduate training as well as on experience, I took on specific elements of higher education for research and study over time. Students, the academic profession, the role of the university in society, the process of knowledge creation and transmission, and the research university have been at the core of my research foci over time. I was especially interested in these phenomena in the context of developing countries—seeking to illustrate the inequalities that exist in global higher education (Altbach 1989b).

Key developing countries that had been peripheral in global higher education, most notably China and India, became major parts of the global higher education system (Altbach 2009). The BRIC countries have taken their places as key academic powers globally (Altbach et al. 2013).

Globalization caught up with me at the end of the twentieth century, when many of the themes that I had been researching, such as global student and faculty mobility, suddenly hit the front pages of newspapers and, in keeping with the rise of the Internet, the subject of websites. The perspective of center-periphery analysis lent itself well to understanding higher education globalization. International higher education moved from the concerns of a few specialists to a topic of wide interest and of growing policy relevance. *International Higher Education* and the various research projects and books, with which I have been associated over time, have illustrated some of the key issues facing higher education in a globalized world and have attracted more interest as a result of the centrality of the global higher education involvement.

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Part I
Academic Profession

Chapter 2
Academe: A Profession Like No Other

James J.F. Forest

Philip Altbach has studied the academic profession for over 50 years, beginning with his 1963 master's thesis at the University of Chicago, "James B. Conant as Educator and Policy Maker." In addition to publishing scores of books, reports, articles, and op-ed pieces examining various aspects of this profession, he also inspired countless others to join its ranks and study it as well. Further, through his commitment to excellence in research, teaching, and service, he has modeled for us the best of what an academic can be. Thus, it is fitting that a *Festschrift* in his honor includes a discussion about a topic that he has always considered of utmost importance, having once referred to the academic profession as "the heart of any academic enterprise" and suggesting that "the future of the university lies in the hands of the professoriate" (Altbach 2004).

Of course, many of his colleagues have concurred with Altbach's sentiments about the profession, noting that it is through the work of academics—developing and disseminating knowledge—faculty ensure that their colleges and universities contribute to the social good (Meyer 2012). However, the wealth of scholarly literature on the academic profession creates a daunting challenge for anyone tasked with writing a brief yet meaningful book chapter on this topic. While recognizing that there is far more than can be addressed here, this essay will examine the following topics: (1) the history and contemporary nature of faculty roles, responsibilities, and rewards; (2) research on the academic profession; and (3) key changes and challenges facing the professoriate. Altbach's contributions to the study of these topics will also be highlighted throughout the essay.

J.J.F. Forest (✉)
Security Studies Program, School of Criminology and Justice Studies,
University of Massachusetts at Lowell, 870 Broadway St.,
Lowell, MA 01854, USA
e-mail: james_forest@uml.edu; jjfforest@gmail.com

A Brief History and Contemporary Trends

To begin with, there are literally hundreds of books and articles one can turn to as sources for studying the history and contemporary nature of faculty roles, responsibilities, and rewards. But as a way of synthesizing this research, a review of one man's journey through the academic profession can yield many valuable insights. For example, imagine the life of a professor in a different era—if Philip Altbach had been an academic during the twelfth century, when the first European universities were being founded, he would have enjoyed being part of a "community of masters and students" in Bologna, Salerno, or Paris, where "academics formed guild-like associations of medieval masters with a growing feeling of shared beliefs and mutuality across institutions" (Enders 2006). However, he would not have had the kind of academic freedom that is familiar to many faculty today. During these early centuries, church and civil authorities placed restrictions on the academic community in terms of teaching, research, and public expression (Altbach 2000b).

If instead he had lived during the eighteenth or nineteenth centuries, he would have seen innovations like the establishment of new disciplines, departmentalization of knowledge, and new kinds of scientific inquiry (Enders 2006). Constraints on academic freedom were also loosened during this era, with the rise of the Humboldtian university model in Germany bringing with it the ideas of Lehrfreiheit and Lernfreiheit—freedom to teach and to learn (Altbach 2000b). In contrast, had Philip been a member of the American professoriate during the 1950s, he would have seen how a climate of anti-communist hysteria led some government authorities to challenge academic freedom, and in some cases—especially in public universities in California and New York—a number of professors were forced to resign (Altbach 2000b). Or, if he had been a professor in Latin America during the 1960s and 1970s, he would have witnessed large numbers of professors and students being jailed, forced into exile, or even killed by repressive military regimes.

An individual's experience in the academic profession is framed by contexts of time and place. As Christine Musselin (2007) notes, the life and work of an academic has changed significantly throughout history: "There is clearly no ideal, universal, and stable state of the academic profession. Like all social bodies, this profession is a living entity, adaptive and responsive to external changes." And, as described later in this essay, there is every reason to believe this profession will continue to change throughout the foreseeable future.

The academic profession that Altbach entered in the mid-1960s has been largely defined by the trilogy of research, teaching, and service. These components of the academic role have shown remarkable durability since the end of World War II (Finkelstein 1997). Faculty of that era also wielded more power than their predecessors. For several centuries faculty had served at the pleasure of their board of trustees (Metzger 1973) and could be dismissed at any time, but the late 1800s and early 1900s saw the rise of a new institutionalized career path and the growing power of entities like the American Association of University Professors, which in 1940 issued a statement calling for a system of permanent faculty tenure (Finkelstein

1997; van Alstyne 1995). By the time Altbach joined the profession, this contemporary tenure system was well established, as were faculty governance structures and an increasing role for faculty to influence institutional decision-making.

For every member of this profession, however, the type of institution at which they work has a major impact on their roles, responsibilities, and rewards (Blackburn and Lawrence 1995; Finkelstein 1984; Fulton and Trow 1974; Ruscio 1987). The most dramatic institutional contrasts are seen between various segments of a country's higher education system and particularly between research universities and community colleges. At the former, where Altbach chose to work, faculty typically deal with pressures (and incentives) to publish in top-ranked journals and attract external funding, in addition to teaching (presumably) high-caliber courses at the undergraduate, master's, and doctoral degree levels. Meanwhile, if Altbach had chosen instead to work at community colleges—which enroll over half of America's 20 million undergraduates, many of them first-generation students with jobs and dependents—his work would have centered around teaching undergraduate courses, sometimes in significantly larger classrooms than his counterparts at other institutions, and he may have only rarely engaged in academic research.

Because of Altbach's choice to join a university and become an active research scholar, he quickly became acquainted with the old mantra of "publish or perish" and began working to build an international reputation through peer-reviewed scholarly journals (sometimes referred to as the "coin of the realm" in academe), books, academic conferences, and research grants. Over the course of his career, he published over 90 refereed journal articles, over 70 books, a dozen special issues of journals, and dozens of book chapters, among many other kinds of publications. Altbach also established a research center on comparative education at the State University of New York at Buffalo, which he directed in 1977–1994, and then founded the Center for International Higher Education at Boston College in 1994, which he continues to lead today. A significant focus of these research efforts has been to promote a comparative and international view of the academic profession, encouraging faculty in one country to learn from faculty in other countries. The need to view academe as a global profession is described in greater detail later in this essay.

Of course, like almost all his colleagues worldwide, Altbach developed and taught many courses, embracing this critical role of the academic as teacher and mentor of others. In truth, the academic profession worldwide is mainly a teaching profession (Enders 2006), as discussed later in this essay. A professor's use of time in the classroom is considered throughout the academic profession to be under the full authority of the instructor, with little or no interference by the institution. Faculty also rely on their institutional administration for things that can impact their teaching activities, such as physical space (the size and layout of the classroom, the chairs, lighting, sound, climate, and so forth) and tools (chalkboard, overhead projector and screen, Internet connectivity, etc.). As a result, faculty necessarily enter into a partnership with their employing institutions in order to ensure an effective learning experience for their students. Simpson (1990) describes a form of faculty "institution-dependency," noting that "academic professionals, unlike other

professional groups, are very dependent on the institutions they serve for development of their careers. Doctors, lawyers, and the clergy, for example, are not bound to hospitals, the system of courts, or to churches alone to meet their career goals. Professors, however, cannot profess without the benefit of the college or university." Throughout his career, Altbach was fortunate to work at several well-resourced institutions, where the facilities were reasonably good and did not have a negative impact on his teaching effectiveness. Unfortunately, the same cannot be said for the plight of millions of academics worldwide who struggle daily to foster learning in less hospitable environments.

And finally, like most members of the professoriate, Philip engaged in various kinds of service to his institution, community, discipline, and broader society. At the institutional level, faculty work on curriculum development initiatives, personnel (search, hiring, and promotion) committees, faculty senates, and much more. In some cases, like Philip's, faculty are asked to serve a term as their department chair (he did this twice). Some academics are also heavily engaged in their local community, participating in capacity-building initiatives, leading workshops, consulting, and supervising experiential and service learning programs for their students. Often, faculty are called upon to offer expert advice to political decision-makers at local, state, and national levels, and some embrace the role of "public intellectuals," writing op-ed pieces, providing interviews for journalists, and even testifying at Congressional hearings. Philip seemingly reveled in this public intellectual role, publishing scores of op-eds in newspapers like *The Boston Globe*, *The Japan Times*, *The Christian Science Monitor*, *The Times of India*, and *South China Morning Post* (Hong Kong).

Meanwhile, service to the discipline is also common throughout the academic profession and may include journal editing, peer-reviewing articles, and participating in conference programs and special events. Here, Altbach is well known among his colleagues for his editorship of scholarly journals including *Higher Education* (1974–1995), *Comparative Education Review* (1978–1988), *Educational Policy* (1986–2004), the *Review of Higher Education* (1996–2004), the *International Journal of Educational Development* (1989–1994), and of course the globally circulated *International Higher Education,* which he founded in 1995 and continues editing today. Because of his research productivity and his contributions to the discipline, Altbach is a recipient of the Howard R. Bowen Distinguished Career Award from the Association for the Study of Higher Education (2008) and the Lifetime Contribution Award from the Comparative and International Education Society (2010), among other prestigious awards bestowed by his colleagues.

Through his life's work, Altbach demonstrated how faculty worldwide contribute to the production and transfer of knowledge at the global, disciplinary, and individual levels. Some have referred to the academic profession as a "calling," with special responsibilities to society (Altbach 2000a; Hermanowicz 1998; Shils 1983). Furniss (1981) describes the academic profession as a "one life, one career" professional, and others have observed how faculty are conditioned to believe they are committing themselves for a lifetime to a discipline (Simpson 1990). It is also a very important profession for society—Jurgen Enders recently suggested that

"faculty are the heart and soul of higher education and research" (Enders 2006) while the British social historian Harold Perkin described the academic profession as "the profession that educates the other professions" (Perkin 1969). Because of the unique kind of work they do, academics have traditionally been granted a great deal of autonomy—freedom to control the use of their time (Altbach 2000a)—and the opportunity to do interesting work and develop a prominent reputation among one's colleagues (Enders 2006). There is a good deal of respect accorded to members of the academic profession, with most sociological studies of occupational prestige indicating that academics rank among the highly esteemed groups in society (Altbach 2000a), and this phenomenon has been heavily researched over the past few decades, by Altbach and his contemporaries (cf. Altbach 1997a, b, 2000a, b, 2009; Boyer et al. 1994; Kehm and Teichler 2012).

Research on the Academic Profession: A Brief Overview

Generally speaking, research on the academic profession can be organized into certain categories, the largest of which includes what Finkelstein (1984) termed "demographic portraits"—studies of the socioeconomic backgrounds, disciplinary affiliations, work preferences and habits, and research interests of faculty (cf. Boyer 1990, 1996; Bayer 1973; Bechler and Trowler 2001; Braxton and Hargens 1996; Finkelstein et al. 1998; Ladd and Lipset 1973, 1975; Ladd 1976; Light 1974; Murray et al. 1990; Noll and Rossi 1966; Nora and Olivas 1988; O'Meara et al. 2009; Schuster and Finkelstein 2008). Some demographic portrait studies have contributed to our understanding of how academics influence the shape of postindustrial societies (cf. Lipset 1979), while others have identified common themes among academics throughout the world (cf. Boyer et al. 1994; Altbach et al. 1994; Altbach and Lewis 1995; Altbach 1997a, b; Forest 2001; Kogan and Teichler 2007; Kehm and Teichler 2012). Major organizations like the American Association of University Professors (AAUP), the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching (CFAT), the National Center for Educational Statistics (NCES), and the National Center on Postsecondary Teaching, Learning, and Assessment (NCPTLA) have played significant roles in promoting and facilitating this kind of research.

An academic's experiences are significantly influenced by the kind of institution at which they are employed, with (for example) research universities offering different responsibilities and rewards than community colleges (Gumport 1991; Clark 1997; Forest 2001). Altbach used a framework of "centers and peripheries" to conceptualize how academic work experiences vary according to differences across types of institutions. Within a given country, research universities often dominate the landscape while community colleges and trade schools (though larger in numbers of institutions and enrollments) are all too often unheralded and under-resourced. Viewed in the broadest sense, "the powerful universities and academic systems—the centers—have always dominated the production and distribution of knowledge. Small and weaker institutions and systems with fewer resources and

lower academic standards—the peripheries—have tended to be dependent on them" (Altbach 2006). Thus, an academic's experiences in the profession are significantly affected by where they are employed (Fulton 1996).

Altbach's framework of centers and peripheries helps understand the complex nature of academic work (Altbach 1981, 1998a, 2002), particularly when looking at global patterns of influence within a specific discipline. For example, the experiences of a political scientist working in Bangladesh will differ significantly from those of a political scientist in the UK or the USA. One result of this differentiation is that some academics from particular countries will go find work in other countries with better salaries and working conditions than are available at home (Altbach 2006).

Overall, researchers have identified how a multiplicity of cultures shape faculty identities—the culture of the profession, the culture of the disciplines, the culture of the institution and department (Tierney 1988), and the cultures of institution types (Austin 1990). Other studies have incorporated themes of individual and group identity and the role of professional socialization (cf. Van Maanen 1976).

More recent studies have explored the dichotomy of academic commitments (to institution or academic field) further, with scholars noting that faculty are both locals and cosmopolitans (Gouldner 1957; Forest 2001), combining loyalty to their institutions and to their professional disciplines. This is obviously unique—it is difficult to think of other professions in which the same kind of contrasting loyalties must be navigated on a daily basis. Some faculty prefer to teach rather than conduct research, and as a result they typically spend somewhat more time on local or campus-related activities (teaching, service, and administration) than do those who prefer research over teaching (Altbach and Lewis 1995). Similarly, teaching-oriented faculty worldwide are significantly different from their research-oriented colleagues in their views about the assessment of teaching, about the conditions under which they work, about their academic disciplines and the profession, and about the international dimensions of higher education (Forest 2001).

In sum, there is a significant body of research that reveals how members of the contemporary academic profession have multiple identity frameworks that define the kind of work they do, the resources at their disposal, and the kinds of intrinsic and extrinsic rewards that may result from this work. For virtually his entire career, Altbach has encouraged us to adopt an international and comparative perspective toward these issues, noting that cross-national studies of the academic profession are increasingly useful for "recognizing both the common challenges facing the academy worldwide and the increasing international connections of the professoriate" (Altbach and Lewis 1995). Exploring the impact of these "common challenges," and what should be done about them, has also been a central theme in Altbach's scholarship.

Challenges Facing the Modern Professoriate

A considerable amount of scholarship has been published in recent years describing the many changes and challenges faced by members of the academic profession (cf. Altbach 2006, 2008, 2009; Brennan 2006, 2007; Schuster and Finkelstein 2008;

Slaughter and Rhoades 2004; Cummings and Finkelstein 2012; Gappa 2001; Gappa et al. 2007; Hermanowicz 2011). In a March 1980 article "The Crisis of the Professoriate," Altbach described how the expansion of higher education systems coupled with pressures for reform and accountability "have endangered the traditional professorial role." Nearly two decades later, he observed that "(t)he academic profession faces significant challenges everywhere … the privatization of public higher education and the expansion of private academic institutions in many countries have changed the configuration of academe. Questions about the relevance of much academic research have been linked to demands that professors teach more. The traditional high status of the professoriate has been diminished by unrelenting criticism in the media and elsewhere" (Altbach 1997b). Meanwhile, Enders (2006) points to an academic profession that seems to have lost some of its political standing and bargaining power within society, and Musselin (2007) identifies a loss of control that is widely felt by the academic community.

Further, one of the most important influences on the academic profession worldwide today is the continuing expansion—or "massification" (Trow 1972)—of higher education systems (Scott 1995; Altbach 2008). The forces of expansion have brought many changes to higher education institutions, and these in turn have had a dramatic impact on the working conditions for faculty. Meanwhile, an equally alarming trend in recent decades has been the declining proportion of full-time tenure-track jobs available to academics. Institutions are responding to the dual pressures of expansion and funding constraints by hiring more part-time and contingent faculty to teach undergraduate courses (Musselin 2007). About two-thirds of the academic staff in the USA are either part-time faculty or full-time faculty who are not eligible for tenure and often hired on annual or short-term contracts (Altbach 2008). Recent graduates of even the most prestigious doctoral programs have found themselves coddling together part-time appointments at two or three institutions, becoming a "taxi cab" or "freeway flyer" instructor, racing from one classroom to another across town—a phenomenon that has been well known in Latin America for decades, but is now increasingly prevalent in Europe and the USA as well (Enders 2006). Part-time faculty are often hired to teach one or two courses with absolutely no job security or benefits; they are not well paid and typically have no incentive or responsibilities to engage in research, develop curriculum, advise and mentor students, participate in academic governance, or do any of the other things that regular faculty have traditionally done (Gappa and Leslie 1995; Altbach 2008). This, in turn, means that the shrinking numbers of full-time tenured or tenure-track faculty share an ever-increasing proportion of the responsibilities of a traditional professoriate.

At the same time, funding constraints have also led to more bureaucratic and administrative structures (Altbach et al. 2012), and institutions worldwide are placing new demands on faculty to do more with less. New mechanisms have been established for faculty assessment and accountability, in part driven by legislative or trustee mandates and local populations growing more and more disenchanted with rising tuition and fees. Tenure and other mechanisms protecting the autonomy of faculty have eroded; in Britain, tenure was abolished as part of a major university

reform (Altbach 2006), and in places like Malaysia, Singapore, Burma, Iran, China, Vietnam, and Cuba, there are various kinds of restrictions placed on the activities of the professoriate. Intervention by university leaders in the academic decisions of the professoriate, in particular with regard to matching curricular offerings with market demands, has become commonplace throughout higher education (Musselin 2007).

Not only are assessment and control changing, but incentives and rewards are used to shape the kinds of things academics do. For example, as colleges and universities become more entrepreneurial in a postindustrial economy, they focus on knowledge less as a public good than as a commodity to be capitalized on in profit-oriented activities, and this leads them to develop, market, and sell research products, educational services, and consumer goods in the private marketplace (Slaughter and Leslie 1997; Slaughter and Rhoades 2004, 2009). As a result, faculty have become increasingly involved in new occupationally focused degree programs, online educational services, and technology transfer partnerships with the private sector.

Underscoring these and other modern challenges is a clash of cultures—a faculty culture of professional collegiality and a managerial culture attuned to market economics (Rice and Finkelstein 2002). In the former, activities are organized around securing grants and producing high-caliber research; rigorous systems of peer review and tenure; an emphasis on graduate (particularly doctoral) education and professional socialization; and a commitment of time and effort within the disciplines. In the latter, the main concerns are over cost-effectiveness, accountability, efficiency, and productivity, with an overarching commitment of time and effort toward securing the future of the institution (Rice and Finkelstein 2002). Not only do these competing cultures impact a faculty member's working conditions, but the evaluation of their teaching, research, and service differs considerably depending on which of these is dominant at their employing institution.

Other kinds of external forces have also impacted the working conditions for academic professionals. For example, various forms of information technology have found their way into college and university classrooms and facilitate an increasing array of online degree programs and courses. The global spread of these technologies has also enabled new forms of cross-national academic collaboration. At the same time, the amount of information available at one's fingertips has led to a reducing market for scholarly journals and presses, creating new challenges for junior faculty to find suitable outlets for publishing their research. Concerns have been raised over the intellectual property rights of materials (lecture slides, commentary, audio and video clips, and so forth) that have been made available online. And at some institutions there are ongoing debates over whether publishing in one of the new online academic journals—even those that are peer reviewed—should count toward a person's tenure and promotion qualifications.

This discussion would surely be incomplete without some mention of how globalization has impacted the professoriate. Given the centrality of the knowledge economy to twenty-first-century development (Altbach 1998b), a university education is being increasingly seen as a product that can be marketed globally. As a result, while recognizing that academic freedom and autonomy are clearly

important, faculty are facing pressures to internationalize their curriculum, their courses, their research, and their professional networks. They must ensure that today's students are well prepared to succeed in a globally interdependent world, and that their research contributes meaningfully to internationally networked academic disciplines.

Meanwhile, in many countries the rise in global mobility of graduate students and faculty has led to a brain drain phenomenon through which promising young academics from developing countries are lured to wealthier, industrialized (and usually Western) countries instead of staying home and contributing to the desperate developmental needs of their home countries. These and other critical issues related to the impact of globalization on the academic profession are examined in chapters by Martin Finkelstein, Laura Rumbley and Liz Reisburg, and Alma Maldonado. But the important point to recognize here is that the traditional roles of faculty have changed in several ways, some of which are a result of globalization, and this, in turn, reinforces the importance of incorporating an international and comparative lens when studying the academic profession.

Concluding Thoughts

In much of the world, half or more of the professoriate is getting close to retirement (Altbach 2009). On Monday, May 14, 2012, Altbach delivered his final class lecture before retiring from the full-time faculty at Boston College. During his 47 years of teaching, Philip Altbach demonstrated how one academic with the right mix of personal and professional attributes can produce an array of positive impacts on the lives of countless others. He inspired thousands of students like me to go forth and make our own contributions to the world as members of this academic profession. Beyond what we learned in his courses, he taught us that this is a profession of service, requiring perseverance, curiosity, an ability to collaborate with others, and a strong work ethic.

He encouraged and enabled others to join him in studying higher education and the academic profession from an international and comparative perspective. However, this research has also highlighted the increasing changes in the working conditions of faculty, including massive expansion of higher education systems, coupled with funding constraints, growing calls for assessment and accountability of professors, and an increasingly bureaucratic institutional culture in which faculty are expected to do more with fewer resources. Other prominent changes and challenges include a perceived deterioration of professional autonomy, the rise of market-driven degree programs, the impact of information technology on teaching and research, and the globalization of educational and knowledge networks. We are seeing a decline in professional socialization and autonomy, especially for new members of the professoriate (who are less likely to be full-time, tenure-track), and diminishing faculty power to shape the higher education enterprise. The decrease in most countries in the status of academics in terms of income, prestige, or social

position (Henkel 2000) has paralleled a diminished sense of community among the professoriate. Because these trends are global and enduring, there is every reason to believe we will see many more changes in the professoriate throughout the foreseeable future.

But despite these challenges, it is still a great profession that brings special opportunities to make a lasting impact on this world. Members of the professoriate are encouraged and enabled to develop new knowledge, integrate the knowledge of others, develop the intellectual capacity of future generations, and much more. Perhaps for this reason, this is the only profession in which we see *Festschriften* or anything remotely like these celebratory publications honoring a respected scholar during his or her lifetime. For those of us who are now following in the footsteps of Philip Altbach, and for those whom we will inspire to follow us in the future, we have an important responsibility to keep in mind. The opportunity we have to make a lasting impact on the lives of others, year after year, is clearly a special gift that should never be squandered or taken for granted. While research grants and prestigious publications are certainly valuable in their own right, it is through the intellectual development of future generations that academics truly make significant contributions to this world. This surely is a unique profession, one like no other.

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Chapter 3
How Does National Context Shape Academic Work and Careers? The Prospects for Some Empirical Answers

Martin Finkelstein

Introduction and Purpose

Over the past year, I have been drawing on data from the Changing Academic Profession survey of 2007–2008 to undertake comparative analyses of, among other things, faculty roles in academic governance across 19 nations spanning five continents. In doing so, I have dutifully sought to maximize the comparability among survey items and response options, to "clean" and reclean the data file to eliminate "bad" data. I have done all I could to ensure the cleanest, most credible juxtaposition of frequency distributions on any given item between the USA and, say, Germany (and other Continental European nations) or Mexico (and other Latin American nations) or China. I have exulted in the precision of a statement that, say, 65.2 % of German faculty compared to only 34.7 % of US faculty reported exercising broad influence in decisions on university budget and administrator selection—knowing full well that my 65 and 34 % were "solid as a rock." Not content to stop there, I dutifully followed the principle of *disaggregation*—drilling down my comparisons to *junior staff* in both the USA and Germany or, even better, junior staff in the *physical sciences and engineering*—ensuring, so I thought, that apples would indeed be compared to apples, and oranges to oranges.

As I wrote for largely American audiences on international differences, audiences not always fully versed in some of nuances of varying national higher education systems, I became progressively distressed by the *context-neutral* story I was telling. While I was urged to stick with the data (that's what the audience is

M. Finkelstein (✉)
Higher Education Program, Department of Educational Leadership,
Management and Policy, Seton Hall University, 418 Jubilee Hall,
7079 Orange, NJ, USA
e-mail: martin.finkelstein@shu.edu

interested in), I was never able to properly contextualize the story the data revealed. A datum meant one thing in the context of the German higher education system and quite another in the context of the US system. It was impossible to understand the meaning without understanding the structure of both systems. Not only was I not comparing apples to apples, I was comparing apples to broccoli, maybe even to ground beef. How, in the context of severe publication word limits and a voracious appetite for data ("the facts, please, only the facts"), could I take account of the contextual character of various national systems in a way that would allow me to draw comparisons *between* truly comparable systems and be wary of trampling across non-comparable contexts? Could I find a way to identify the most significant respects in which national systems of higher education differ, especially as those factors affect academic work and empirically derive some kind of taxonomy of national contexts that could enter into the data analyses—something beyond basic geographical entities (Europe, Asia, Africa, North America, Latin America)?

That this "nuanced" and intellectually challenging problem presented itself at all was, of course, a testament to the pioneering work of Philip Altbach some two decades earlier in building the infrastructure for the empirical study of the academic profession in comparative perspective. Ignoring the first law of academic success—never do anything, especially anything "big," for the first time[1]—it was he who conceived the First International Survey of the Academic Profession, persuaded Ernest Boyer and the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching to sponsor it, and shepherded a strong-willed team of international experts to a successful conclusion. It was upon that secure foundation that the leaders of the Changing Academic Profession survey of 2007–2008—the immediate occasion for my dilemma—built (many indeed were second-generation alumni of the 1992 Altbach/Boyer enterprise). And he is still pushing at the boundaries—expanding our empirical understanding of the global academic profession now to academic compensation (Altbach et al. 2012).

Within the context of these opportunities for empirical analysis that Philip brought us, I enlisted the assistance of two colleagues who, together with Philip, have shaped out understanding of the international academic profession. In *The Higher Education System* (1983), Burton Clark identified multiple dimensions along which it was possible to compare how national higher education systems organize knowledge and authority, providing a clear view of the systematic variation in institutional contexts within which academic work and careers were pursued.[2] How much specialization of knowledge (or general education) did national systems support? To what extent did universities support research? Were clusters of knowledge workers organized by individual chairs (hierarchically) or by collegial

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[1] Robert Menges, Professor of Education, Northwestern University, December 1995.

[2] A decade earlier, Joseph Ben-David had begun that exercise in his *Centers of Learning: Britain, France, Germany, United States* (1977) as had Sir Eric Ashby yet a decade before that in his Universities: British, Indian, African (1966).

units of peers? Were professors employed by institutions that periodically determined their remuneration and individual conditions of work? Or were they employed by national government that determined working conditions outside the purview of employing institutions? Did professorial power shape the work of government policy agencies? Or were professors largely powerless outside their employing institutions? All of these factors clearly shape the incentive and opportunity structure of academic careers and, as such, I would argue, shape fundamentally the character of academic work and careers: the actual behavior as well as the felt experience of being an academic as much, in their own way, as discipline and institutional type, the typical markers we use in disaggregating our data.

Clark himself did not explicitly apply his analysis of differences in the organization of national systems to an examination of how those differences shape academic work and careers attitudinally and behaviorally—except in passing. Another member of the troika, Christine Musselin, in her *The Market for Academics* (2010), supplied a systematic analysis in English of the dimensions along which national systems (in this case, limited to France, Germany, and the United States) work to shape the character of academic careers. Focusing specifically within the context of the hiring process, Musselin identified several dimensions of inter-nation differences: the principle of selection for the first academic job and for first promotion (competitive tournament vs. meeting criteria), access to permanent appointments (again, competitive tournament vs. meeting criteria), ratio of permanent to nonpermanent appointments, authority relations between colleagues (collegial vs. hierarchical), length of time to permanent appointment (short vs. long), and prospects of same (remote vs. likely). From among these dimensions of differences, Musselin was able to identify three national models of academic career dynamics in which national differences shaped likelihood of mobility, incentives for research and publication, career attractiveness, and typical career trajectories.

While Musselin's analysis clearly constituted a pioneering effort, her focus was limited to academic career progression in three countries, two of which are in some ways (as we shall argue later) quite similar. What we are seeking to do in this paper is to build upon the more-focused analysis of Musselin and the more encompassing earlier analysis of Clark and even Ben-David (1977) and (1) identify a more encompassing set of dimensions along which national systems structure academic work and careers, independent of discipline and institutional type; (2) based on that analysis, suggest a broader range of coherent "models" of the academic profession that emerge across national settings; and (3) test preliminarily the heuristic value of the models and their durability. The goal is to encompass an enormous amount of diversity in a relatively few categories that, nonetheless, are conceptually and operationally meaningful and something more than purely simplistic. Whenever one seeks to develop global generalizations, one runs high risks—the major one being leaving realities, including more nuanced differences on the ground, far behind (glossing over important inter-nation differences). We are choosing to court that risk now as a first step in moving this kind of analysis forward.

The Dimensions Along Which National Systems Shape Academic Work and Careers

Building on the work of Clark and Musselin, we have identified the following dimensions along which nations shape academic work and careers within their borders. The first such set of factors focuses on basic career structure—provisions for entry and career progression. Most importantly, these include:

1. Selection for entry: competitive tournament vs. meeting requirements (including academic pedigree) vs. sponsorship
2. Promotion: competitive tournament vs. meeting requirements vs. sponsorship
3. Promotion: predictability (likelihood of promotion)
4. Promotion: mobility required—Yes? No?
5. Promotion: length of time before first promotion opportunity (long-short)
6. Reward: by regulation or performance

The second set of factors focuses on the context of work. Most importantly, these include:

7. Employer: university, government, and discipline (who hires and sets conditions of employment)
8. University-based disciplinary organization: hierarchical (chair) vs. collegial (department)
9. Scope of role: teaching, research, or both
10. Faculty influence on policy inside institution (especially vis-à-vis internal administration)
11. Faculty influence outside the institution (on system policy): high vs. low/none
12. Autonomy of the system (institution?) from central government
13. Marketization: the promotion of competitive market mechanisms

Models Based on the 13 Dimensions

In order to develop models based on these dimensions in systematic fashion, one would need to build a comprehensive database on national systems across the globe, including accurate information on all or most of the 13 dimensions we have identified. Moreover, one would need to develop criteria and rules to allow one to place national systems in one or another category along each of the dimensions. This study seeks modestly to begin identifying some plausible cross-national models of the academic profession based on a "quick and dirty" assessment of perhaps a dozen major national systems. What might such a preliminary analysis yield?

We have identified—for the moment—at least five models of types of academic professionals only very loosely tied to specific national contexts as follows:

1. A national or regional government-anchored model, exemplified to varying degrees by several Continental European nations including Germany, France, and Italy

2. An institutionally anchored model exemplified to varying degrees by Canada, the USA, and the UK
3. Part-time professional model, exemplified primarily by the Latin American countries, including Mexico
4. A communal or community-anchored model, represented primarily by China
5. A hybrid l model that includes more than one element of models 1–4, typically reflected in systems highly differentiated by institutional types, exemplified perhaps by Japan

Let me proceed to a brief description/vignette of each of these structural models followed by a brief overview of current developments as they affect the "durability" of the model.

The State-Centered Model

The state-centered model is distinguished by at least two features that shape what it means to be an academic. In the first place, there are distinctive features of the career structure. Academic staff are not employees of the institution at which they work; rather, they are in varying ways employees of government. Operationally that means that academic staff are not hired by their institution (alone), nor promoted, nor rewarded by the institution. They look rather to the central government. Using a banking analogy, the institution serves as the temporary branch at which they are performing their teller responsibilities. It is hardly the center of their career, but rather a temporary weigh station in what is largely a disciplinary and/or civil service career. Their career trajectory resides in their discipline. If they are to seek promotion, they will need to wait until a position is available—most likely at another institution. In that case, they will need to compete for that position in much the same way that they competed for their initial appointment. It may or it may not happen; and the timing is entirely out of the individual academic staff members' (and, for that matter, the employing institution's) control. All in all, it is a very unpredictable career track and one to which the institution has little to contribute directly.

A second distinguishing feature, not unrelated to the first, concerns faculty authority at the institutional level. In the absence of a well-developed and powerful institutional administration, faculty have considerable control over academic matters (and even budgetary matters) that are not dictated by the central government. And faculty (at least senior faculty) frequently have considerable influence at the central government level (Burton Clark's notion of oligarchic integration). Academic authority tends to be organized hierarchically: so it may be only some segment of the faculty that is very much "in charge." This makes for a very marked differentiation between junior and senior academic staff and a distinctive set of internal authority relationships.

In terms of faculty role, there remains some considerable variation in the state-centered model as, for example, between France, where teaching and research tend to be separated (although that may be changing), and Germany, where they tend to

be integrated. In both Germany and France, however, current higher education system reforms are clearly aimed at tweaking the traditional state-centered model in at least two major respects. First, individual universities have sought and been granted a larger role in the hiring process, including the right of refusal of particular candidates. To the extent that central administrations have not been significantly strengthened—as they have in some of the Asian universities established on the state-centered model—it is not clear to what extent this increased institutional role in hiring has extended to remuneration and conditions of employment, i.e., actually recasting the individual academic staff member-institutional relationship. In Germany, at least, the past few years have seen the establishment of the Junior Professor rank—an effort to establish a larger number of relatively permanent appointments, expanding the early career opportunity structure and defining an initial step in a "true" career ladder beyond temporary roles.

The Institutionally Anchored Model

The institutionally anchored model is, in some respects, the polar opposite of the state-centered model. The individual university serves as the framework within which academic careers are pursued. Academics are hired by institutions, and their material rewards and promotion prospects are in the hands of their hiring universities, mediated to be sure by the review of their disciplinary peers within the individual university. While the competition for initial probationary appointments that can lead to permanent appointments is fierce, promotion proceeds along a predictable time clock, and success depends on the individual meeting certain institutionally set and administered criteria. There is both more predictability and a clearer path to seniority than in the state-centered model that has historically characterized Continental Europe and parts of Asia.

In terms of internal authority relationships, the model has two distinguishing characteristics that stem directly from the corporate form of academic governance. The disciplines are organized laterally (horizontally) into academic departments that function collegially rather than hierarchically. Thus, even though there is a system of academic ranks, within their academic units, academic staff, whether junior or senior, tend to be treated as equals—a very different experience from the Continental European universities. That being said, the well-developed presence of central administration in the individual universities provides a serious limitation to the exercise of faculty power at the institutional level, and at the level of public policy, faculty oligarchs are largely absent from the scene. All in all, this results in a much less powerful faculty role—both internally and externally.

Among categories of higher education systems, North America, and especially the United States, allows market forces the greatest sway by at once channeling federal student aid directly to students who then as consumers "shop" among institutions of higher education and distribute their presence reflected in enrollment figures on the most "attractive" departments, academic programs, and institutions. Similarly, federal research funding is allocated competitively to institutions through

government agencies such as the Department of Defense, the National Science Foundation, and the National Institute of Health, stimulating competition among faculty and also among institution for those faculty who are successful in federal grant competitions. Operating in a market competing on a daily basis for student enrollments and research funding provides a very different work context from one which is impervious to enrollment trends and research grant competition—although, as we shall see, competition is increasingly entering the state-centered model.

In North America, but especially in the United States, we have, however, witnessed something of an "unraveling" of the highly structured and predictable academic career track over the past two decades. A growing core of "contingent" academic staff, both part- and full-time, whose careers are neither predictable nor institutionally anchored has emerged. Indeed, the majority of "new hires" over the past 20 years have included these contingents—rather than full-time tenure-eligible academic staff. Moreover, the majority of these contingent workers perform highly specialized functions—usually teaching only—undermining what has been the distinctive integration of the academic role in the USA to include institutional service and research, as well as teaching. The traditional model remains, however, the ideological prototype.

The Part-Time Professional Model

Historically, some higher education systems have been characterized by centralized control by government ministries, weak institutional administrations, and a largely part-time faculty. With their focus on professional education for the first degree in business, engineering, law, and the health professions, the academic profession in Latin America has been largely a cadre of professionals who teach part-time at the university as almost a professional credential or certification of the incumbent's professional cachet. For all practical purposes, this has meant the absence of a traditional set of full-time academic professionals. Rather, academic appointments are ancillary to full-time careers outside the university. Thus, there has been little concern (at least until now, as we will discuss later) about career trajectory within the institution or for that matter within the discipline. Faculty have not been substantially involved in university governance.

More recently, in Mexico, we have seen two major developments over the past decade. First, there is the establishment of a set of national institutions focusing on the research function, the research institutes, as well as graduate education units at UNAM and the major universities. Moreover, the central government more than a decade ago established the National Researcher Network, an initiative to identify and support an expanding cadre of productive researchers across the system. Between these two major initiatives, the Mexican central government has established a significant and growing cadre of research-oriented, full-time academics which now constitute fully one-quarter of the Mexican faculty—up from just 10 % as late as 1990. While the center of system gravity is shifting, the traditional model endures.

The Communitarian Model

What I have labeled the communitarian model draws on my observations of the academic marketplace and academic careers in China. The Chinese have a concept of "danwei," or organization as "community" in which members live and work. Historically, in the context of the Cultural Revolution, initial academic appointments are based on the sponsorship of current members who are likely related to new appointees by social or family ties. The university is a place of residence, family and community life, leisure, and commercial activity—as well as work. Careers within the "university as danwei" are based as much on meeting unwritten rules of community—as well as specifically academic—obligations. Inbreeding is valued over mobility and disciplinary obligations are secondary to community ones. Within the community, the Confucian ideal of "harmony" structures social and professional life.

Most recently, we see the emergence in China of an elite, "world-class" university sector, including some 200 universities that through the 985 and 211 programs stand as a counterpoint to the 3,800 other institutions in a highly diverse system. In support of that initiative, the central government has launched a program to "repatriate" Chinese-born scholars now employed in top foreign universities. This elite sector appears to operate more on the globally competitive, Western models rather than the traditional "danwei."

The Hybrid Model

The peculiar case of Japan represents something of a hybrid model, largely differentiated by public vs. private sector (Clark 1987). Japan's public sector has operated historically on the state-centered model, while the private sector has operated more nearly on the institutionally anchored model. At the national universities, academic staff have historically operated as faculties with minimal direction from central campus administration. Budgets are allocated directly from the Ministry to individual faculties based on precedent rather than enrollment or research productivity. The private sector operates as the "demand-absorbing" sector of massification. While the Ministry sets enrollment targets, individual institutions shape faculty appointments and working conditions at will.

In Japan, over the past decade, the government has "corporatized" the 99 national universities, establishing lay boards of trustees and strengthening campus central administrative functions (rather than continuing to negotiate with individual faculties outside central administration's purview). Moreover, it has established a faculty contract system to replace the tenure system and has created incentives for individual faculties to adopt the new contract system "voluntarily." At the same time as it has stabilized or reduced system appropriations, it has targeted those appropriations increasingly into Center of Excellence at the national universities—in effect, a move to promote performance through competition.

What Is Heuristic About These Models?

While there is no pretense here that the models we have identified above exhaust the taxonomic universe of differences among national contexts for academic careers or that they will survive intact a more systematic empirical effort to delimit categories from global data sources on the profile elements we identified earlier, nonetheless, as rough approximations, they allow us to address certain preliminary questions about the utility of such a taxonomy. What do they tell us about how "where you practice" shapes the nature and experience of academic work and careers "on the ground"—independent of an incumbent's academic discipline and institutional type? In order to answer that question, we must begin with a brief review of what we know about how academic discipline and institutional type shape academic careers. In the first place, at least based on the North American literature, we have learned that both institutional type and discipline shape the type of appointment (tenureable vs. contract, full vs. part-time), compensation and other rewards (probability of promotion), and thus career predictability and prospects; work role-wise, they both shape orientation to research vs. teaching, the actual balance between teaching and research effort in the workload of academic staff (teaching load and research hours), research and publication productivity, and even influence in university governance.

Research university faculty, for example, are more likely to be on tenure-track or permanent appointments, more likely to face competitive pressures in promotion and tenure (about half gain tenure vs. three-quarters at other 4-year institutions—although at elite universities in the USA, one-half may shrink to one-quarter), more oriented to research, spend more time doing it, publish more, and historically have exerted greater influence in university governance. Similarly, academic staff in the natural sciences are more likely to be full-time in tenure-eligible positions, to spend more time on research, to publish more than faculty in the social sciences and humanities, and to collaborate more internationally.

What does national context add by way of predictability of systematic variation in work and career orientation? While I have not yet undertaken systematic analyses of the differences demonstrated by academic staff on a variety of work and career variables that are associated with national context type—controlling for institutional type and discipline—there are nonetheless a few suggestive empirical findings that would seem to support the formative role of national context. In a recent study of academic governance employing data from the Changing Academic Profession study, Cummings and Finkelstein (2011) found predictable differences in the scope of faculty influence on university decision making: academic staff in state-centered systems reported influence that was at once stronger and extended to broader arenas including budget, new programs, and administrator selection than faculty in the institutionally anchored systems. These differences were not primarily (visibly) attributable to differences in the mix of institutional types and academic fields among nations in the comparison, but to structural differences in the associated higher education systems. The difference is one in the extent to which faculty

experience being "masters of their fate" as opposed to corporate employees subject to institutional administrative action.

The systemic differences in relationship to one's institutional affiliation are reflected in systematic differences in institutional loyalty. Loyalty was lowest among the academic staff of state-centered systems in Continental Europe—as might be predicted based on the lack of institutional anchorage to academic careers.[3] Academics in institutionally anchored systems, such as the USA and Canada, expressed the highest level of career satisfaction among the developed countries while at the same time showing no difference in overall job satisfaction. This premium of career over job satisfaction reflected, we argued, the greater predictability of academic careers in North America—a key element in the attractiveness of, and satisfaction with, academic careers in North America.[4]

In sum, there are at least two key career- and work-shaping outcomes of national context: the autonomy of academic staff as government employees in the workplace or the extent to which they are subject to local strictures and supervision by powerful campus administration is clearly one very significant desideratum of how a faculty member functions on a daily basis. Offsetting that local independence may be the nature of the work group: collegial vs. hierarchical. To the extent that supervision of campus administrators is "replaced" by the authority of the chaired professor, there may be less independence than operating in a unit of peers, irrespective of rank. Second, and beyond immediate work situation, is the larger structure and predictability of the academic career. The notion of a regularized, relatively brief probation leading to permanent employment provides a certain coherence, predictability, and even security that we would argue is quite attractive. These appear to be key differences among national contexts in shaping academic work and careers.

Beyond the place of the institution in academic work life and the predictability of career trajectories, there is at least one additional variable within national context; and that is the role of markets. Clark (1987) stressed the systematic differences between national higher education systems in the extent to which markets were used as a mode of system integration. We have already suggested how markets operate decisively in North America, especially in the USA, and increasingly so in Europe.

Conclusion

If, then, this preliminary effort to propose a taxonomy of national contexts shaping academic work has heuristic value, are such national contexts sufficiently durable (like academic disciplines and institutional types/missions) to permit sustained empirical study over time? Or, are these models or categories that we have

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[3] Although institutional loyalty dropped the most in the Anglo-Saxon countries between 1992 and 2007, recent differences have been attenuated.

[4] Differentials in compensation may also account for some of that difference (see Altbach et al. 2012), although compensation would as likely affect job as career satisfaction.

established "moving targets" that change with each new wave of national higher education reform? Or, have these national contexts already begun adapting to global pressures and morphing into some patchwork of global uniformity? At this moment, while I am sensitive to the winds of change, I come down more on the side of durability than transience.

This paper began with the notion that the organization of national systems of higher education—as much as institutional type and academic field—shapes academic work and careers, and it argued that we need to develop some more systematic understanding of the operation of such national contexts, especially as nations confront ever-escalating pressures of globalization. Based on the work of Burton Clark and Christine Musselin, we identified some 13 dimensions along which national systems differ which impact directly on how academic work and careers are pursued. Based on these dimensions, we identified in preliminary fashion a taxonomy of national contexts, including five "models" that we argued contribute to the shape of academic work and career, independent of the shaping power of institutional type and academic field. We argued that those shaping influences were indeed fundamental and provide an important lens through which to enhance our comparative understanding of academic work and careers. They focus on the role of the employing institution, market forces, and the structure and predictability of the career. While new developments suggest that such models of national context are changing, i.e., we can discern some evidence of movement towards a few common elements of a "globalized" model of academic work, nonetheless they retain some durability and consistency.

The above analyses have suggested at least two next steps for further research. First is the matter of refining and systematizing the taxonomy of national contexts. Glenn Jones of the University of Toronto has suggested the need to develop a database of national system profiles based at a minimum on the 13 elements we identified earlier as dimensions along which national systems vary. That would permit the more systematic empirical identification of a taxonomy of national contexts. Second, that more refined taxonomy of national contexts will allow us to develop multivariate models that can test the extent to which national context, in addition to and independent of institutional type and academic field, shapes the nature of academic work and the academic profession, which brings us full circle back to Philip Altbach. Phil did not, of course, directly bring multivariate analysis to bear on enhancing our understanding of the academic profession worldwide himself. What he did do, however, is open the academic professions across the globe to systematic empirical study—the benchmark International Survey of the Academic Profession and, more recently, the international survey of academic compensation. Altbach gave us the capacity to collect empirical data and provide the infrastructure for such multivariate analysis. Without his earlier work bringing the stories of national faculties, especially in developing countries, to light and without the series of infrastructure projects he led, this paper and the new directions it charts would simply not be open to us.[5]

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[5] But he cannot, of course, be held responsible for how I have proceeded here!

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Chapter 4
Academic Drift in Brazilian Education

Simon Schwartzman

As an expert on international higher education, Philip Altbach has a strong sense about how the higher education landscape is changing everywhere, in terms of the way the institutions are supported, the kinds of students they get, the contents of education being provided, the working conditions of the academic profession, and, more deeply, the academic and professional culture and values that prevail within the institutions. In the introductory chapter to *The Changing Academic Workplace—Comparative Perspectives*, Altbach writes: "change is taking place, but from the perspective of the academic profession it is almost entirely negative—deterioration of salaries and working conditions, increased bureaucratization, and decreased professional autonomy. Academics worldwide, when asked how they feel about their work, are pessimistic." He recognizes that "it may well be that changing circumstances—including the growing importance of accountability and assessment—are a necessary concomitant to academic institutions that can effectively serve a diversified and mass academic system," but finds that it is a paradox that "at a the time when there is universal agreement concerning the importance of higher education for the future of knowledge-based societies, the academic profession finds itself in a beleaguered state" (Altbach 2000, p. 24).

These changes in the working conditions and moods of academics are just one aspect of a much broader process of institutional differentiation in higher systems that include both universities that retain the main features of the idealized Humboldtian model (academic freedom, commitment to research, emphasis on

S. Schwartzman (✉)
Institute of Labour and Society(IETS), Rua Antonio Vieira 17 apt 1201,
22010-100 Rio de Janeiro, Brazil
e-mail: simon@schwartzman.org.br

merit, self-regulation), in one extreme, and teaching-only, low-cost, for-profit institutions providing standardized courses and academic certifications at the other, with very different kinds of arrangements in between. There are many good reasons for this differentiation, including the variety of students (in terms of their age, previous education, income levels, and need to work, as well as ethnic, linguistic, and religious particularities in many places) and the different education providers that have grown to respond to these students—public and private institutions of all kinds, publicly supported or depending on the fees coming from students and the provision of services to survive. There is always a hierarchy of resources and prestige among these different institutions, often reinforced by the formal and informal rankings developed by governments and private institutions, creating a pressure on those at the bottom to emulate the institutional and academic models of those at the top, while, at the same time, they tend to move further and further apart in terms of their different clienteles and sources of support.

Academic Drift, Differentiation, and Positional Goods in Education

The term *academic drift* is used in scholarly literature about higher education to describe the tendency of educational institutions to raise their status by imitating the curricula and organizational models of their more prestigious counterparts, thereby pressing to reduce diversity within educational systems. The expression "mission drift" is also used in the same sense, and there is a growing literature dealing with this situation of growing differentiation and a longing for similarity and homogeneity (Clark 1978; Dill and Teixeira 2000; Huisman 2000; Kogan 1997; Neave 1979, 2000; Rhoades 1990).

There are good reasons to consider this diversity as an asset, rather than as a necessary evil, as explained by Van Vught (2008). First, differentiated educational systems offer better access to education for students with different personal histories and types of academic training and offer realistic opportunities for success for most of them. Second, diversified systems favor socioeconomic mobility by offering a number of alternatives for entry and transfer in education programs; this creates a broader range of opportunities and allows for more flexible patterns of study. Third, diversified systems respond better to the needs of the labor market, producing human capital with a number of different skill sets. Fourth, this diversity meets the need for social recognition of social groups that would be excluded by unified academic systems bound to the academic and achievement patterns of the most educated sectors of society (which also tend to be the wealthiest). Fifth, differentiated systems allow for the combination of elite education and education with a broader mission, offering education services to a heterogeneous public and responding to the multiple demands of the labor market. Without differentiation, unified systems end up having to reduce their quality standards when they offer education at a mass level, which prevents the development and maintenance of institutions of

excellence. Sixth, differentiated systems are more efficient, because the objectives of each institution or sector are more closely tailored to the needs of their students. Finally, diversified systems offer more opportunities for experimenting and innovating, which can take place in specific institutions or sectors requiring major changes to the system as a whole.

If there are truly so many benefits to differentiation, how can one explain the academic drift that leads educational systems to uniformity? Part of the explanation has to do with the fact that the value of education does not depend solely on what it produces in terms of knowledge and qualifications, which are recognized by individuals and by the labor market as goods in and of themselves; it also depends on people's relative position on a scale of prestige and reputation. This scale is maintained and fostered by people and institutions that hold the highest positions within them—positions that everyone else tries to emulate.

The assertion that education is a "positional" good, generally attributed to a 1977 text by Fred Hirsch (1977), is a counterpoint to the theories of human capital that predominate in the economic literature on education (see Brown 2003). For Hirsch, education has both an absolute dimension, the human capital—whose value increases with good students, good teachers, good facilities, and so on—and a relative dimension, whose value depends on place a person holds in relation to the others in the education ladder. This relative dimension means that education equality is, by definition, an illusion. The same goes for the labor market, in which people's opportunities for quality jobs increase when their skill levels are raised, but distributes the people looking for work along a hierarchy of jobs, with different working conditions, salaries, and social positions.

The absolute dimension refers to the performance requirements of individuals, organizations, and societies and is expressed in the ways through which schools, businesses, and government seek to fulfill their objectives by improving teaching quality, productivity, and developing the economy. The relative, or positional dimension, on the other hand, has to do with how individuals, universities, and companies place themselves within an implicit or explicit hierarchy of prestige, seeking to maximize their reputation, a good that is inherently scarce in this kind of competitive environment. Institutions that succeed are able to recruit the best students, place them in the best positions within the labor market, and attract more public and private investment. This trend for talent and resources to be concentrated at the top in scientific research was called "The Matthew Effect" by Robert K. Merton in 1968, whereby "giving to he who has will lead to him having it in abundance; but giving to he who does not have, will lead to him ending up with even less." The same effect can be observed in education, particularly in higher education (Merton 1968).

The main thesis is that the absolute and relative dimensions of education can enter into tension with one another, producing high costs and inefficiencies, particularly when the positional dimension predominates. The dispute for positions of prestige can bring benefits when it acts as an incentive to compete for better quality and higher performance. However, it can also lead to great inefficiency when people become overqualified or have irrelevant qualifications, because they compare themselves to one another, with little awareness of the external demands of the labor

market. Also, resources can become overly concentrated at the top of the hierarchy, and people can lose themselves in the process of competing for the highest positions, without looking for more realistic objectives that can be obtained with differentiated systems. In order to avoid the negative effects of academic drift, actors that do belong to the established academic hierarchies, but who are still interested in the different products and results of education, need to exercise their influence and open up spaces for alternatives.

Academic Drift and the Crisis of Quality in Education in Brazil[1]

Brazil's case is peculiar both in the sense that public education started very late, and that, differently from most countries in Europe and also Latin America, it never established different educational paths in basic, secondary, and higher education. All students have to get the same primary degree at age 14 and need to get the same secondary school degree at 17. There is some room for vocational education at the secondary school level, but it does not lead to a full degree except when done in addition to the standard curriculum. The quality of the school system is very uneven, many students come from families with no or very little previous formal education, and the consequence is that learning results are very low on average, and with adolescence a large number of students drop out of school without completing their degree.

   The most recent evaluations of the Brazilian education carried out by the Ministry of Education (through the nationwide standardized test known as *Prova Brasil*)[2] and the OECD through PISA, the Program for International Student Assessment, given to 15-year-old students in OECD and other countries (OECD 2009) show that less than 20 % of Brazilian young people at age 15 obtain minimally acceptable skill levels in language (measured through reading comprehension) and only 6 % of them in mathematics. Students reach high school with limitations and disadvantages related to their socioeconomic origins that have accumulated over the years. This is not peculiar to Brazil, but is worse than in most countries with similar levels of economic development.

   Summarizing the large amount of literature written about this issue, Flávio Cunha and James Heckman write that "any analysis of human development needs to consider three well-established observations about ability. The first is that ability

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[1] This section is based, in part, on two previous articles (Schwartzman 2010a, c).

[2] The Prova Brasil consists of tests of Portuguese language and mathematics administered to fifth and ninth graders in all public, urban schools above a certain size all over the country. It is carried out in conjunction with the Basic Education Evaluation System (known by its Portuguese acronym SAEB), a sample-based assessment given to students in the last year of high school. The results of Prova Brasil and SAEB are combined with student enrollment data to obtain the Basic Education Development Index (known by its Portuguese acronym IDEB).

makes all the difference. A large number of empirical studies show that cognitive ability is an important determinant of salary, education level, delinquency, and success in a number of aspects of economic and religious life […]. The second observation, established more recently, is that abilities are multiple by nature. Noncognitive abilities (perseverance, motivation, inter-temporal preferences, risk aversion, self-esteem, self-control, preference of leisure activities) have direct effects on salary (controlling for education level), the ability to stay in school, teen pregnancy, smoking, delinquency, performance in skills tests, and a number of other aspects of social and economic life […]. The third observation is that the "nature versus nurture" dyad is obsolete. One's genes and environment cannot be viewed in isolation from linear models that identify variances in each model" (Cunha and Heckman 2007).

The evidence gathered by Cunha and Heckman about the importance of early childhood education has been cited in Brazil and used to justify the expansion of early childhood education that has taken place in recent years. Still, the evidence they present about what happens to the large number of young people who did not benefit from this expansion has not been taken into consideration. This evidence indicates, first off, that intellectual development—as measured in IQ tests that evaluate cognitive capacity—can be stimulated in children up until they reach 10 years of age, but after that, this development ceases. Second, the evidence indicates that the later any work is done to compensate for deficits in initial formation, the more expensive and less effective that work will be. The third result shown by the evidence is that late intervention can offer important results if oriented toward noncognitive abilities, but classroom remediation programs designed to combat early cognitive deficits have a poor track record.

This evidence calls into question the merits of uniform secondary school education in Brazil, as well as the existing compensatory education programs for youth and adults (known by their Portuguese acronym EJA) designed to help those who dropped out of school to acquire, in an accelerated fashion, the abilities and general knowledge generally taught at younger ages. These handicaps, which are strongly correlated to economic, familial, cultural, and ethnic variants, are a central issue in discussions of educational policy in the United States, where the major debate is whether to treat everyone as equals (and allowing existing differences to surface on their own) or to acknowledge differences and treat them as such (see, e.g., Coleman 1990; Gottfredson 2005; Paige and Witty 2010).

The way this issue should be addressed at the secondary level is well known, if far from simple to implement: a range of alternatives should be opened up to offer different courses so that students can find their own individual paths to education that suit both their acquired abilities and their own interests. This issue is less relevant in small, wealthy, and relatively homogeneous countries where practically all students receive good quality education from the onset and can reach secondary education with a broad-based, egalitarian education; but it is the rule in almost all other countries. In most of them, this differentiation is between a more academic and conventional secondary education, on one hand, and vocational education, on

the other. In countries like Australia and Germany, for example, the majority of students follow the latter path.

The steps necessary to change this situation—which would not require any immediate expense—include ending the insistence upon the currently burdensome, uniform compulsory high school curriculum, allowing vocational education to develop independently, offering access to higher education when appropriate, and discontinuing the National Assessment of Secondary Education (ENEM), discussed below, in its current version, which has become a major point of access to higher education. This access should cease to depend on general qualifications, but rather on abilities that are specific to each type of formation, which can be assessed separately. As it becomes more widely available, higher education needs to diversify too, creating multiple paths to long-term or short-term formation, whether more academic or more vocational.

The insistence in Brazil on maintaining a secondary school system with so much ambition, dysfunction, and inefficiency is part of a more general vision that permeates all of the country's social policies, which assumes that everyone should have access to all desirable rights and benefits (in this case, those of academic education and its corresponding preparation for future university courses), even if in practice this means exclusion and restriction for the majority.

In the past, Brazilian legislation allowed for a variety of tracks within high school education—scientific and classical, which would offer preparation for academic careers in the natural sciences and/or the humanities, and industrial, agricultural, commercial, and pedagogical education, among others, which would prepare students directly for the labor market. As time went on, these differences gradually died out, and the 1996 Education Law revoked them almost completely. Instead, this law created a long, detailed list of what all Brazilian students needed to study, from Portuguese and mathematics to history, physics, chemistry, biology, physical education, and many others, some of which were introduced later by special legislation, including philosophy, sociology, the arts, music, Afro-Brazilian and indigenous culture, and the rights of children and adolescents. Curricular content such as road safety education, the rights of the elderly, and the environment is also listed as obligatory, and there are several hundred other bills currently under discussion in Congress that propose other contents (Tupinambás 2010) (curiously, there are no requirements for learning statistics nor law).

Today, the regular secondary school curriculum requires students to take about 14 different subjects, which means close to 3,000 h of study over a period of 3 years. The result is that, in most schools, subjects are taught in a flat, bureaucratic, and superficial way, without the possibility of actual educational depth. Given that it is impossible for students to take vocational courses in lieu of academic ones, and given that those who successfully complete the requirements of the academic course load are natural candidates for higher education anyway, it is no wonder that so few students follow such a path. According to the Ministry of Education's 2009 Student Census, there were 9.8 million high school students throughout the country, but only 850,000 of them were taking regular technical courses—an extremely small proportion when compared to other countries.

Dysfunctional Aspects of the National Assessment of Secondary Education (ENEM)

This tendency toward uniformity is made all the more problematic by the National Assessment of Secondary Education (ENEM), which the federal government has sought to use as the main mechanism for access to higher education, also as a measurement of the quality of secondary education in the country and also as a criteria in affirmative action programs, combining goals which may be in conflict with each other (Oliveira 2010).

Created in the 1990s, the ENEM was initially conceived to measure the abilities of Brazilian students who finished high school through "one single, multidisciplinary exam, with a writing component and 63 objective questions based on a set of five skills and 21 abilities not be divided into disciplines, as are the majority of other exams" (Castro and Tiezzi 2005). In 2009, the Ministry of Education negotiated with the federal universities to try to make it into a university placement exam, and it became a true marathon, with 200 questions to be answered over the course of 2 days.

The new ENEM seeks to evaluate students in four main areas of ability (language, mathematics, natural sciences, and human sciences) (Instituto Nacional de Estudos e Pesquisas Educacionais Anísio Teixeira 2012) without offering space for options, and it thus obliges students and high schools to cover the entire encyclopedic curriculum. Since it was created in such a hurried way, the ENEM has experienced serious implementation problems, and the content of the exams has also been criticized. Under pressure from the Ministry of Education, most Brazilian federal universities do admit students based in part on their performance on the ENEM, but the more prestigious universities, which offer their own exams, do not weigh the ENEM results very heavily.

A better alternative would be for high school students to have a larger number of educational options to choose from, from vocational and technical training to scientific or humanistic education, and thus be evaluated and certified in whichever professional or academic areas they choose. Higher education institutions, meanwhile, could take the results of these evaluations or certifications into account, as long as the quality of the certification agencies was certified as well. A broad, differentiated system of evaluation such as this one would not have to be administered by the Ministry of Education. The Ministry could limit itself to certifying the certification agencies, which could be private, as they are in many countries, or public and administrated by state governments, professional associations, and/or educational companies. Exams like the American SAT could continue to be used in combination with other exams and certifications. A system such as this one would require a new vision for the nature and role of high school education in Brazilian society.

Academic Drift in Vocational Education

In the 1980s, the federal government created a series of Federal Professional and Technical Education Centers—about one per state—from older apprenticeship and trade schools. The idea was for these centers (known by their Portuguese acronym

CEFETs) to offer technical and professional education to high school-age students. As federal entities, the CEFETs received substantially more financial and human resources than state and municipal schools. Admission to them was granted through selection exams, and they became a path for well-qualified students to prestigious university courses in technical careers. With that, the CEFETs ceased to fulfill their initial function, which was to educate high school-age students in vocational skills and thus prepare them for the labor market.

The federal government sought to reverse this situation in the 1990s, separating the technical and academic aspects of the CEFETs so that students could choose between them. The technical curriculum would not offer a path to higher education and instead would be a platform for those who were seeking a more immediate insertion into the labor market. This policy met with strong resistance from students and teachers at the CEFETs, especially the latter, who aspired to a career that was just as prestigious as that of professors at federal universities. This policy was finally eliminated by the administration of Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva: Law No. 11,892, which passed on December 30, 2008, consolidated close to 100 educational institutions of different levels to create 38 Federal Institutes of Professional, Scientific, and Technological Education.

According to the website of the Ministry of Education, there are 38 federal institutes in all the states, offering an integrated high school curriculum, higher-level courses in technology, and bachelor's degrees (*licenciaturas*). For all intents and purposes, the new federal institutes are comparable to the federal universities, including the new jobs for rectors and administrators created for them. The difference is that they can also continue to offer high school-level technical courses as well as conventional technical education, as well as other kinds of training and professional certifications.

The creation of a series of institutions of higher education focused on short-term professional training, aimed at inserting people into the labor market as quickly as possible, would be an important step forward for Brazil, where most higher education careers last 4 years or more. Brazilian law allows for shorter courses—which it calls "technological courses"—but these are not often chosen, because they are considered less prestigious and less likely to lead to job placement. According to the higher education census of 2008, 5.155 million students were enrolled in higher education courses, of which only 412,000 were taking technological courses. Of those, 84 % were enrolled in private institutions. Enrollment in such courses is on the rise, but the numbers are still very low. At the CEFETs, meanwhile, only 40,000 students were enrolled at the higher education level.

It is unlikely that the recently created federal institutes and similar institutions will substantially alter this situation. An earlier example at the University of São Paulo (USP) is an indication of what can happen. In 2004 the university established a satellite campus in a low-income area on the outskirts of São Paulo ("Zona Leste"), offering short-term vocational education unavailable at the main USP campus in Butantã. But some years after these courses were established, USP-Leste is beginning to look more and more like the main campus of the USP, amidst pressure from students and professors seeking the same benefits of prestige and reputation offered

by the traditional courses of study available in the university main campus. Meanwhile, the Paula Souza Center, which also belongs to São Paulo state, has had a much more promising experience in the area of technical and professional education. This indicates that it is not a good idea to try to bring courses requiring such different institutional cultures and requirements under the same roof.

Academic Drift in Higher Education

Brazilian higher education has expanded considerably over the past decade, with 6.148 million students currently enrolled, and 330,000 more enrolled in graduate studies, according to the 2009 National Household Sample Survey (PNAD). There is a simple explanation for this growth trend: the major advantages that students who obtain a higher education diploma have in the labor market—especially in the public sector.

In the private sector, the mean income of those who have completed a higher education course of study is 4.2 times higher than that of those who have not. In the public sector, the mean income of those who have completed a higher education course of study is 2.5 times higher than that of those who have not, because the public sector salaries for those without higher education diplomas are already relatively high.

The other advantage of having obtained a higher education diploma is that one's income level continues to rise throughout one's career; the incomes of those who only finish high school grow at a much smaller rate. This helps to explain why short-term higher education courses, which are known in Brazil as "sequential" or "technological" courses, practically never developed. The Luis Inácio Lula a Silva administration's educational policies (2003–2010) for higher education basically consisted of encouraging access to public universities through quota systems, whether via *Prouni*, the purchase of spaces in the private sector via tax exemptions; via *Reuni*, a financial incentive for federal universities to open up more spaces; or via the creation of new federal universities outright. Between 2002 and 2008, according to data from the Ministry of Education's higher education census, overall enrollment in higher education courses increased by 46 %—a 57 % increase in private institutions and a 21 % increase in public institutions. These numbers make it clear that the main reason for the recent growth in higher education was the response of the private sector to the growing demand, rather than the policies of social inclusion of the national government.

The idea that quality higher education should take place in the context of a university, and be associated with research, is established in the Brazilian Constitution of 1988. The 1996 Education Law acknowledges that universities are only one part of a larger system of higher education, enjoying a type of autonomy unavailable to other types of institutions. It also stipulates that they must follow certain criteria for intellectual production and have a sizeable proportion of full-time professors with doctorates. However, this law does not say what the specific functions and the desirable attributes the nonuniversity institutions should have.

In practice, Brazilian higher education has already become increasingly differentiated—contrary to the single model ordained by the constitution—with a small number of institutions that function like conventional universities and the majority of institutions (both public and private) dedicated almost exclusively to teaching. Today, the legislation acknowledges the existence of universities, institutes of higher education, and isolated educational centers, but this acknowledgment does not translate into differentiated curricula and quality assessment systems. Public institutions created in accordance by law are established as universities from the onset, while private institutions need to be approved as such by the Ministry of Education—a process that can be easy or hard, depending on when it takes place. Whether an institution is a formal university or not says very little about the kind of work it does, and in fact, quality graduate research and teaching take place mostly in selected institutions in the southeast areas of the country, in the states of São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro, Minas Gerais, Paraná, and Santa Catarina.

This would not be a problem in and of itself—the massification of higher education and the expansion of private, business-oriented, or philanthropic higher education institutions led to major differences among institutions in all countries. The problem lies in the fact that despite this undeniable differentiation, it is not acknowledged or legitimated. This leads to a situation of academic drift with serious consequences for the country.

All the federal universities are considered equal in terms of the pay scale of professors—most of whom are career public functionaries with full-time, exclusive contracts, whether or not they do research or participate in academic extension activities that justify such contracts. This situation means that Brazilian public higher education is extremely expensive, in terms of cost per student. This phenomenon is exacerbated by the fact that by law, all public institutions have to be free of tuition. Meanwhile, the existence of a centralized assessment system based on the standards of public institutions prevents the differentiated treatment of the students who study in private institutions. These students tend to be older; they tend to work during the day, and most tend not to have received a quality high school education that would prepare them for more academically rigorous university courses.

Academic Drift at the Graduate Level

With close to 11,000 PhDs and 32,000 academic articles published every year in internationally indexed journals (Brazilian Ministry of Science and Technology 2010), Brazil has the largest graduate education system in Latin America and one of the largest in the developing world. Despite its many virtues, the system suffers from problems of academic drift that resemble those that exist at the secondary and higher education levels, which lead to a system largely closed in on itself, with PhDs that tend to be hired by the very institutions that train them. This system also makes less than the desirable impact on technological development, knowledge

transfers to the productive sector, and contributions to the implementation of public policy (Schwartzman 2008b).

In most countries, master's programs are short and focused on the labor market; in Brazil, academic master's programs are the norm, which people study to become professors. While the number of scientific publications has increased in recent years, they tend to have a low impact as measured by the amount of times they are cited, and they are published more than anything so that they can count toward the evaluation of academics and graduate programs carried out by the Coordination of Higher Education Manpower Enhancement (CAPES), an agency within the Ministry of Education. The production of patents is very small, and activities of technical assistance and technology transfer are not considered in these assessments.

Not a single Brazilian university can be found among the top 100 universities in the different international rankings (except the University of Sao Paulo, which appeared in the 61–70 group in reputation, but only in the 178th place in the overall ranking of the 2011–2012 Times Higher Education assessment). There is no doubt that the absence of any Brazilian universities in the top 100 is indicative, at least in part, of the provincial nature of Brazilian higher and graduate education. Brazil's universities admit few foreign students and find it difficult to hire foreign professors, and this hinders the attraction of talented human capital. Following the logic of academic drift, one would expect that all the Brazilian universities would try to emulate the patterns and achievements of the most prestigious international institutions. But one of the consequences of the academic drift, as noted in the beginning, is the weight of uniformity and conformity, which limits the ability of the best institutions to reach for excellence.

Conclusion

The problems related to academic drift are only part of a broad, multifaceted array of issues in Brazilian education; still, academic drift strongly limits what can and should be done to improve education quality at all levels. Throughout the world, countries are looking for solutions that can help them to manage the massification of education at all levels, addressing matters such as the roles of academic formation and vocational training, remedial and continuing education, models of organization and differentiation of higher education, internationalization, the role of the state and the private sector in providing education, and the links between academic and technological research. In the area of higher education, European countries are currently working on a broad reform movement known as the Bologna Process (European Commission 2012), which seeks to establish internationally accepted quality measurements—allowing for the mobility of students and professionals—and create a more flexible system of study. This system would include an initial 3-year course of general or vocational education, followed by a 1–2-year professional courses, and then a third level of advanced studies lasting

3–4 years. This would allow for the combination of general, vocational, professional, and high-level scientific and technical training.

Brazil may be an extreme case, but the issues related to expansion, differentiation, and the pressures for academic drift in higher education appear everywhere and are very difficult to confront. It is clear that the prevailing institutional model of academic higher education, with its central features of institutional autonomy, a strong academic profession, and collegial education, as described in the work of Altbach and others, may survive in a few places, but surrounded by a host of new institutions and players making use of large-scale, sophisticated information technologies and strongly motivated by market and other practical concerns. The question that remains is whether these new institutions will be able to preserve and convey to the new generations of students the central functions and values of classic higher education, such as the ability and freedom to think independently, to innovate, and to seek the truth, however elusive it might be.

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Part II
Internationalization of Higher Education

Chapter 5
Is Internationalisation of Higher Education Having an Identity Crisis?

Jane Knight

Complexity and Changes

Internationalisation of higher education matters. No longer is it an ad hoc or marginalised part of the higher education landscape. University strategic plans, national policy statements, international declarations and academic articles all indicate the centrality of internationalisation in the world of higher education. Not only has internationalisation transformed higher education, it has dramatically changed itself. But, one can question whether the change is for the better or worse (Altbach and Knight 2007).

The international dimension of higher education has been active for centuries through academic cooperation among universities and the mobility of scholars and knowledge around the world. The fact that 'universe' is the root concept for university is clear evidence of its internationality. But the priorities and strategies of internationalisation have twisted and turned over the years in response to the environment in which it operates. There is little doubt that the current age of globalisation has had a profound impact on higher education and especially the process of internationalisation (Altbach 2006; Scott 2005). The debate continues about whether internationalisation is an agent or a reactor to globalisation; the truth is that it is probably both, but which is stronger (Knight 2008)? Deliberate efforts have been made to distinguish between the different but linked processes of internationalisation and globalisation of higher education (Knight and de Wit 1999; Dixon 2007), but there is an active and ongoing debate about whether the end of internationalisation is nigh because it has been co-opted by the 'dark' side of the globalisation agenda (Brandenburg and de Wit 2011).

J. Knight (✉)
Ontario Institute for Studies in Education (OISE), University of Toronto,
62 Wellesley Street West- Suite 1906, Toronto, ON, Canada M5S 2X3
e-mail: janeknight@sympatico.ca

This discussion does not support such a premise but admits that internationalisation has become a catch-all phrase used to describe anything and everything remotely linked to the global, intercultural or international dimensions of higher education and is thus losing its way. After several decades of recognition and intense development, there are unintended consequences leading to the question of whether internationalisation is having a midlife or identity crisis.

An immediate response to this identity crisis is to redefine, reconceptualise or even develop a new term for internationalisation. While reflection and discourse is both necessary and healthy, do new words actually solve the problem? Central to this discussion is not how one defines internationalisation but rather what are the fundamental values underpinning it. The critical question is whether internationalisation has evolved from what has been traditionally considered a process based on the values of cooperation, partnership, exchange, mutual benefits and capacity building to one that is increasingly characterised by competition, commercialisation, self-interest and status building. Have the values related to economic, political and status-related rationales trumped the importance and values related to academic and social-cultural purposes and benefits of higher education internationalisation?

The purpose of this chapter is to address the question of identity crisis by exploring unintended consequences and prevalent myths and truths related to internationalisation. The first part discusses the meaning of internationalisation and stresses that it is a process, albeit a process of change. The second part looks at several new developments in the form of unintended consequences which have been occurring over the past two decades. This is followed by an examination of some current misconceptions or myths about internationalisation and also some fundamental truths or guiding principles. The conclusions emphasise the importance of further attention being paid to core values underpinning and guiding the phenomenon of internationalisation while still recognising that internationalisation is not an end unto itself and that it must be firmly embedded in local contexts of needs and priorities.

Interpreting Internationalisation

Internationalisation is not a new term nor is the continuing debate about its meaning. Internationalisation has been used for years in political science and governmental relations, but its popularity in the education sector has soared only since the early 1980s. Prior to this time, 'international education' and 'international cooperation' were favoured terms and still are in some countries.

The challenge in any definition of internationalisation is the need for it to be generic enough to apply to many different countries, cultures and education systems. This is no easy task. While it is not the intention to develop a universal definition, it is imperative that it can be used in a broad range of contexts and for comparative purposes across countries and regions of the world. A definition needs to avoid being an instrument that standardises or homogenises the internationalisation process around the world by specifying the rationales, benefits, outcomes,

actors, activities and stakeholders of internationalisation. These vary enormously across regions, nations and from institution to institution. What is critical is that the international dimension relates to all aspects of higher education and the role that it plays in society.

Worth noting is that the suffix 'isation' denotes internationalisation as a process usually implying change. It is equally important that internationalisation is not described as an 'ism' or ideology as in internationalism. Nor is it an 'ality' as in internationality or the condition of being international. It is firmly rooted as a process which further distinguishes it from the notion of international education per se.

For the purposes of this discussion, internationalisation of higher education is defined in a rather neutral way clearly aimed at the heart of academia: 'the process of integrating an international, intercultural or global dimension into the purpose, functions (primarily teaching/learning, research, service) or delivery of higher education' (Knight 2004). This applies at all levels of education endeavour—from the local level of institutions to the global level of international bodies. The strength of this definition is that it is not prescriptive and focuses on education objectives and functions; however, the weakness now evident is that traditional values associated with internationalisation such as partnership, collaboration, mutual benefit and exchange are not articulated—only assumed. Including these values in a definition is possible, but it could raise new risks of being too prescriptive. Instead, the discourse and practice of internationalisation need to be reoriented to values (Knight 2011a) and especially academic values as supported by the International Association of Universities (IAU) international ad hoc expert group on rethinking internationalisation (IAU 2012).

A significant development in the conceptualisation of internationalisation has been the introduction of the terms 'internationalisation at home' and 'cross-border education' (Nilsson 2003) now seen as the two pillars of internationalisation. As a result of a heightened emphasis on student, programme and provider mobility, the 'at home' concept has been developed to give greater prominence to the development of intercultural understanding and skills, teaching/learning, research, extracurricular activities and relationships with local cultural community groups. These two pillars are closely linked and interdependent. Cross-border education has significant implications for campus-based internationalisation and vice versa. Interestingly, many of the new developments and unintended consequences of internationalisation seem to be associated with the cross-border aspects and activities.

New Developments and Unintended Consequences

Given that internationalisation is understood as a process, the purpose of this section is to examine some of the changes and more specifically unintended consequences that have evolved over the last two decades. Recent national and worldwide surveys of university internationalisation priorities and rationales show that establishing an international profile or global standing is becoming more important than reaching

international standards of excellence (IAU 2010). Capacity building through international cooperation projects is being replaced by status building initiatives to gain world-class recognition and higher rankings. International student mobility is now big business and more closely aligned to recruitment of brains for national innovation agendas. Other unintended consequences show that some private and public education providers are lowering academic standards and transforming into visa factories due to revenue generation imperatives and immigration pressures. More international academic projects are becoming commercialised and profit driven as are international accreditation services. Diploma mills and rogue providers are selling bogus qualifications and causing havoc for international qualification recognition. Awarding two degrees from institutions located in different countries based on the workload for one diploma is being promoted through some rather dubious double-degree programmes. And all of this is in the name of internationalisation? No wonder, internationalisation is having an identity crisis.

At the same time, there are countless examples of positive initiatives which illustrate how collaborative scholarship, cross-border education exchange and campus-based internationalisation strategies contribute to the development of individuals, institutions, nations and the world at large. The following section on unintended consequences examines several key developments which question whether internationalisation is losing its way or having an identity crisis. Particularly evident and troublesome is the gap between the values of collaboration and cooperation for mutual academic benefits and the realities of competition, commercialisation and self-interest status building.

The Great Brain Race of the Twenty-First Century

Little did we know 25 years ago that the highly valued and promoted international academic mobility for students, scholars and professors would have the potential to grow into a highly competitive international recruitment business? Several countries are investing in major marketing campaigns to attract the best and brightest talent to study and work in their institutions in order to supply the 'brain power' for innovation and research agendas. The complexities and challenges related to academic and profession mobility should not be underestimated. Nor should the potential benefits. But, it is impossible to ignore the latest race for attracting international students and academics for 'brain power' and for 'income generation' (Lee et al. 2006). The original goal of helping developing country students to complete a degree in another country and then return home to contribute to national development is fading fast as nations compete in the twenty-first-century brain race.

From a policy perspective, higher education is becoming a more important actor and is now working in close collaboration with immigration, industry and science and technology sectors to build an integrated strategy for attracting and retaining knowledge workers. The convergence of an ageing society, lower birth rates, the

knowledge economy and professional labour mobility is introducing new issues and opportunities for the higher education sector and producing some unanticipated results and challenges related to international mobility.

Quality, Accreditation and Credential Recognition: Whither Thou Goest?

It is forecasted that by 2025 the demand for international education will grow to 7.2 million students—a quantum leap from 1.2 million students in 2000 (Bohm et al. 2002). Some, but certainly not all of this demand, will be met by student mobility. Consequently, the number of new providers such as commercial companies and non-governmental entities that are delivering programmes to students in their home countries is accelerating at an unprecedented rate. It is no longer just students, faculty and researchers who are internationally mobile—academic programmes are being delivered across borders, and branch campuses are being established in developing and developed countries around the world.

While these new developments are intended to increase access to higher education and meet the appetite for foreign credentials and employment, there are serious issues related to the quality of the academic offer, the integrity of the new types of providers and the recognition of credentials. The increase in the number of foreign degree mills (selling 'parchment' only degrees) and accreditation mills (selling bogus accreditations for programmes or institutions) and rogue for-profit providers (not recognised by national authorities) are realities that face students, parents, employers and the academic community. Who would have guessed two decades ago that international education would be struggling to deal with fake degrees and accreditations, academic credentials that are earned but not recognised and non-regulated 'fly-by-night' institutions? It is equally important to acknowledge innovative developments by bona fide new providers and universities who are delivering high-quality programmes and legitimate degrees through new types of arrangements and partnerships (franchise, twinning, branch campus). The perpetual issue of balancing cost, quality and access significantly challenges the benefits and risks of cross-border education.

Commodification and Commercialisation: For-Profit Internationalisation

While the process of internationalisation affords many benefits to higher education, it is clear that there are serious risks as well. According to the results of the 2005 International Association of Universities (IAU) Internationalisation Survey, there is overwhelming agreement (96 % of responding institutions from 95 countries) that internationalisation brings benefits to higher education. Yet, this consensus is

qualified by the fact that 70 % also believe there are substantial risks associated with the international dimension of higher education (Knight 2006).

Overall, the number one risk identified in the IAU 2005 and 2008 surveys was the commodification and commercialisation of education programmes. Of interest is that both developing and developed countries identified commercialisation as the number one risk-convincing testimony of its impact (IAU 2010). A regional-level analysis of the 2005 results showed that four regions (Africa, Asia Pacific, Europe and North America) ranked commercialisation as the top risk, whereas Latin America placed brain drain as number one, and the Middle East ranked loss of cultural identity in first place.

At the heart of the debate for many educators is the impact of increased commercial cross-border education on the purpose, role and values of higher education. The growth in new commercial and private providers, the commodification and market orientation of education and the prospect of new trade frameworks are catalysts for stimulating serious reflection on the role, social commitment and funding of public higher education institutions in society and the purposes of internationalisation. The trinity of teaching/learning, research and service to society has traditionally guided the evolution of universities and their contribution to the social, cultural, human, scientific and economic development of a nation and its people. Is the combination of these roles still valid, or can they be disaggregated and rendered by different providers driven by different values and expected outcomes?

Cultural Diversity or Homogenisation

The impact of new types of international academic mobility on the recognition and promotion of indigenous and diverse cultures is a subject that evokes strong positions and sentiments. Many believe that modern information and communication technologies and the movement of people, ideas and culture across national boundaries present new opportunities to promote one's culture to other countries and provide more chances for the fusion and hybridisation of culture. Supporting their position is the assumption that this flow of culture across borders is not new at all; only the speed has been accelerated and the modes broadened.

Others see both the movement and the speed as alarming. They contend that these same forces are eroding national cultural identities and that, instead of promoting greater awareness or creating new fusion cultures, native cultures are being homogenised—usually seen as Westernised. Because education has traditionally been seen as a vehicle of acculturation, these arguments focus on the specifics of curriculum content, language of instruction (particularly the increase in English) and the teaching/learning process in international education. The impact of colonisation on education has long been a subject of research, but international higher education as a tool for neo-colonisation and soft power, especially in terms of culture, requires further attention especially in light of franchising and twinning programmes.

Internationalisation of higher education was originally conceived in terms of exchange and sharing of ideas, cultures, knowledge, values, etc. Formalised academic relations between countries were normally expressed in bilateral cultural and scientific agreements. Today, the agreements are often based on trade, economic and political interests showing a significant shift from the original idea of academic exchange. This is another contributing factor to the so-called identity crisis. Thus, there are two factors at play: one is the potential, and for many, threat of cultural homogenisation, and the second is the weakening of cultural exchange in favour of more economic or political-oriented relationships.

Status and Profile: World Rankings

International and regional rankings of universities have become more popular and problematic (Hazelkorn 2011). The heated debate about their validity, reliability and value continues. But at the same time, university presidents declare that a measurable outcome of internationalisation will be the achievement of a specific rank in one or more of the global league tables. Internationalisation is incorrectly perceived by some institutions as a marketing plan to gain worldwide profile, standing and prestige. The intense competition for world rankings would have been impossible to imagine a mere 20 years ago when international collaboration among universities through academic exchanges and development cooperation projects were the norm. It is true that these types of cooperation activities still take place, but the factors driving internationalisation are becoming increasingly varied, complex and competitive. Is international cooperation being replaced by international competition for status, bright students, talented faculty, research grants and membership in global networks?

Five Myths About Internationalisation

The examination of unintended consequences demonstrates that as internationalisation matures, its role and importance is increasingly recognised but also exploited by some institutions and by other policy sectors. These new and unexpected developments have led to some misunderstandings or myths about internationalisation which need to be exposed and discussed (Knight 2011b).

Myth One: International Reputation as a Proxy for Quality

Myth one rests on a belief that the more international a university is—in terms of students, faculty, curriculum, research, agreements and network memberships—the

better its quality. This is tied to the false notion that a strong international reputation is a proxy for quality. Cases of questionable admission and exit standards for universities highly dependent on the revenue and 'brand equity' of international students are concrete evidence that internationalisation does not always translate into improved quality or high standards. This myth is further complicated by the quest for higher rankings on a global or regional league table such as Times Higher Education or Academic World Ranking of Universities (AWRU). It is highly questionable whether the league tables accurately measure the internationality of a university and more importantly whether the international dimension is always a robust indicator of quality.

Myth Two: International Institutional Agreements

It is often believed that the greater number of international agreements or network memberships a university has, the more prestigious and attractive it is to other institutions and students. But practice shows that most institutions cannot manage or even benefit from a hundred plus agreements. To maintain active and fruitful relationships requires a major investment of human and financial resources from individual faculty members, departments and international offices. Thus the long list of international partners often reflects paper-based agreements, not productive partnerships. Quantity is perceived as more important than quality, and the international agreements list is more of a status symbol than a record of functional academic collaborations. A more recent trend is the paring down of the number of agreements to 10 or 20 institution-wide priority partnerships. This can lead to more comprehensive and sustainable relationships but also to a sense of disgruntlement among faculty members and researchers about a top-down approach to international collaboration and the curtailment of individual international research or curricular interests.

Myth Three: Foreign Students as Internationalisation Agents

A long-standing myth is that the more foreign students on campus, the more internationalised the institutional culture and curriculum will be. While this may be the expectation of universities, reality often paints a different picture. In many institutions, international students feel marginalised socially and academically and experience ethnic or racial tensions. Frequently, domestic undergraduate students are known to resist, or be neutral at best, about undertaking joint academic projects or engaging socially with foreign students unless specific programmes are developed by the university or instructor. International students tend to band together and ironically can have a broader and more meaningful intercultural experience on campus than domestic students, but unfortunately, they miss a deep engagement with the

host country culture. Of course, this scenario does not apply to all institutions, but it speaks to the often unquestioned assumption that the primary reason to recruit international students is to help internationalise the campus. While this is a well-intentioned rationale, it often does not work out that way and instead serves to mask other motivations such as revenue generation or desire for improved rankings on global league tables.

Myth Four: International Accreditations

International accreditations from foreign external national quality assurance agencies (especially from the USA) or professional engineering and business accreditation bodies are popular with universities around the world and are big business. The premise is that the more international accreditation stars an institution has, the more internationalised it is and ergo the better it is. This is simply not true. A foreign accreditation does not necessarily address the scope, scale or value of international activities related to teaching/learning, research and service to society. Just because the accrediting agency is from another country does not mean that the accreditation process has addressed the international dimension.

Myth Five: Global Branding

Myth five relates to the incorrect assumption that the purpose of a university's internationalisation efforts is to improve global brand or standing. This confuses an international marketing campaign with an internationalisation plan. The former is a promotion and branding exercise; the latter is a strategy to integrate an international, intercultural and global dimension into the goals and teaching, research and service functions of a university. The purpose and outcomes of global branding initiatives are different from those required for academic internationalisation. Thus, it is a myth that an international marketing scheme is the equivalent of an internationalisation plan. This does not deny the fact that a strategic and successful internationalisation agenda can lead to more international visibility, but recognition is not the goal—it is a by-product.

A common element of these myths is that the benefits or outcomes of internationalisation can be measured quantitatively—the number of international students, foreign faculty, institutional agreements, cross-border education programmes, research projects, foreign accreditations, branch campuses and so on. While trying to quantify outcomes as key performance indicators (KPIs) may serve accountability requirements, they do not always capture the key intangible performances (KIPs) of students, faculty, researchers and the community in terms of intercultural experiences, deeper insights into international issues, questioning of values, shifts in cultural and personal identities and deeper appreciation of the interconnectedness of the world. All of which are significant benefits of internationalisation.

It is understood that these five myths do not apply to all higher education institutions or to all countries; but they reflect very common and misleading assumptions. There are additional misconceptions, some of which have been identified by de Wit (2011), but there are also fundamental truths about internationalisation that require further reflection and attention.

Five Truths About Internationalisation

It is of equal, if not more, importance to understand fundamental truths about internationalisation. They illuminate values and beliefs guiding the process of integrating an international, intercultural and global dimension in the goals and teaching/learning, research and service functions of universities (Knight 2012).

Truth One: Internationalisation Builds On and Respects Local Context

Internationalisation acknowledges and builds on local, national and regional priorities, policies and practices. Internationalisation is intended to complement, harmonise and extend the local dimension, not dominate it. If this fundamental truth is not respected, there is a strong possibility of backlash and for internationalisation to be seen as a homogenising or hegemonic agent. Honouring local culture and context is a tenet of internationalisation.

Truth Two: Internationalisation Is a Customised Process—'One Size Does Not Fit All'

Internationalisation is a process of change which is tailored to meet the individual needs and interests of each higher education entity. Consequently, there is no 'one-size-fits-all' model of internationalisation. Adopting a set of objectives and strategies which are 'in vogue' and for 'branding' purposes only negates the principle that each programme, institution or country needs to determine its individual approach to internationalisation based on its own clearly articulated rationales, goals and expected outcomes. This recognises that the internationalisation process is driven by an assessment of individual needs and priorities and that a 'formulaic' or latest fad approach is not appropriate, beneficial or sustainable. This truth can also present challenges. For example, what if an institution or county sees internationalisation of higher education as a tool for economic gain or political advantage? This is an example where the academic purposes and values of cooperation, mutual benefit and partnership need to be emphasised.

Truth Three: Internationalisation Brings Benefits, Risks and Unintended Consequences

There is no question that there are multiple and varied benefits of internationalisation to individuals, institutions and society at large. It is imperative to be clear about the key reasons to undertake internationalisation so that appropriate strategies are implemented and there are realistic expectations about outcomes and accrued benefits. But, to focus only on benefits is to be blind to some of the risks and unintended negative consequences already noted. Inherent in the analysis of unintended consequences is an examination of core values.

Truth Four: Internationalisation Is Not an End unto Itself

Internationalisation is a means to an end—not an end unto itself. This is a commonly misunderstood truism leading to a skewed understanding of what internationalisation is or can do. As already discussed, the suffix of 'isation' signifies that internationalisation is a process of change and a means to achieve stated goals. For example, internationalisation can help develop international and intercultural knowledge, skills and values in students through international mobility and a curriculum which includes comparative, international and intercultural elements. The goal is not more internationalised curriculum or increased academic mobility per se, rather the aim is to ensure that students are better prepared to live and work in a more interconnected world. By understanding internationalisation as a means to an end and not an end unto itself, it ensures that the international dimension is integrated in a sustainable manner into the purposes and major functions of higher education.

Truth Five: Globalisation and Internationalisation Are Different but Linked

Globalisation is process that focuses on the worldwide flow of ideas, resources, people, economy, values, culture, knowledge, goods, services and technology. Internationalisation emphasises the relationship between and among nations, people, cultures, institutions and systems. The differences between the concept of 'worldwide flow' and the notion of 'relationship among nations' are both striking and profound (Knight 2008). Analysing the differences and dynamics between these terms brings some clarity to the question of whether internationalisation is having an identity crisis or is losing its way. Such reflection is healthy and much needed as higher education and its international dimension weather the current economic, political, social and cultural turbulence.

Last words…

The purpose of identifying and reflecting on these unintended consequences, myths and truths is to explore the issue of identity crisis and recognise that internationalisation is interpreted in many ways by different people, institutions and countries. It always will be. This is a natural part of being a process—a process of change that is at the same time reactive, proactive and strategic to local and global environments. The challenge of strengthening and reinforcing the values of cooperation, mutual benefits, partnerships and capacity building while recognising the forces that are driving increased emphasis on competiveness, commercialisation, self-interest and status building is central to the rethinking of internationalisation of higher education and keeping academic purposes and benefits front and centre.

As we progress into the second decade of this century, it may behove us to look back at the last two decades of internationalisation and ask ourselves some questions. Has international higher education lived up to our expectations and its potential? What have been the values that have guided it through the decades of the information and communication revolution, the unprecedented mobility of people and ideas, the clash of cultures and the periods of economic booms and busts? What are the core principles and values underpinning internationalisation of higher education for the next decade?

What have we learnt from Altbach's insights and prolific writings that will guide us into the future?

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Chapter 6
The Different Faces and Phases of Internationalisation of Higher Education

Hans de Wit

Introduction

Over the past two decades, the international dimension has become a central part of higher education policies at the international, national and institutional level. Before, international education was a marginal set of activities, and the study of internationalisation in higher education an area for only a small group of scholars, under the umbrella of comparative and international education. Philip Altbach was one of the few leading scholars with an interest in this theme, and his research and publications have been and continue to be relevant for the evolution of the theory and practice of internationalisation of higher education.

The Evolutionary Concept of Internationalisation in Higher Education

The notion, term and concept of 'internationalisation' date from the 1990s. Before, there was already a substantial tradition of research and practice on the international dimension of higher education, in general under the term 'international education' or under terms that reflect some kind of international activity. Basically, these traditional terms were either related to mobility, such as study abroad, exchanges, international students or academic mobility, or related to curriculum, such as multicultural education, international studies, peace education and area studies. These terms described a concrete element of international education and later

H. de Wit (✉)
Internationalization of Higher Education, School of Economics and Management
of the Hogeschool van Amsterdam, University of Applied Sciences,
Entrepotdok 206, 1018 AD, Amsterdam, The Netherlands
e-mail: j.w.m.de.wit@hva.nl

internationalisation and in many cases were used as pars pro toto and as a synonym for the overall term.

As I described elsewhere more in detail, the term 'international education' finds its basis in the broader domain of comparative and international education (de Wit 2002, pp. 104–109). That field, as Altbach et al. (1982) state, is in essence a post-World War II field of study. Within this broad domain, Epstein (1994) distinguishes 'comparative' from 'international' by describing the first as an area for scholars 'interested in explaining why educational systems and processes vary and how education related to wider social factors and forces', while international educators focus 'more directly on descriptive information about nations and societies and their educational systems and structures. International educators use findings derived from comparative education to understand better the educational processes they examine, and thus to enhance their ability to make policy relating to programs such as those associated with international exchange and understanding' (p. 918). In other words, comparative education is more a scholarly exercise, while international education 'is concerned more with practice and implementing policy' (p. 377) and can be described as 'applied research' (Adams and Theisen 1990, p. 286).

It is this applied character and the related notion of practice and policy implementation that has been dominant in the discourse on international education before and even into the 1990s up to now. It expresses itself in the names of the key associations dealing with international cooperation and exchange, such as the *Institute of International Education* (IIE), which was created in 1919, and after World War II the *Association of International Educators* (NAFSA), the *Association of International Education Administrators* (AIEA) in the United States, the *Canadian Bureau for International Education* (CBIE) in Canada, the *European Association for International Education* (EAIE) in Europe and several others in the world. It also is reflected in the name of the academic journal of the field of international educators, the *Journal of Studies in International Education*, which started in 1997.

It is not clear when the transition took place from 'international education' to 'internationalisation of (higher) education'. The use of 'internationalisation' in relation to higher education already can be noticed in some publications in the 1970s. Anweiler in 1977 writes for instance of internationalisation as '*a characteristic feature of comparative education*' (p. 109) and of '*the internationalization process*' (p. 113). Groenings in 1987 comments that '*internationalization lacks orderly process or agreed upon definitions*' (p. 2), and Harari (1977, 1989) in his work in the 1970s and 1980s uses both 'international education' and 'internationalisation'. But it is only in the 1990s that the term 'internationalisation' really takes over from 'international education' as describing the different ways the international dimensions in higher education are taking shape. This shift is a reflection of the increasing importance of these international dimensions in higher education and of the related transfer from a marginal set of programmes and activities to a more comprehensive process.

Research on Internationalisation

The practical and policy-oriented nature of international education as an important characteristic of the internationalisation of higher education applies to its research as well. In 1996, Teichler called for a broader thematic range and improvement in its theoretical basis and research methods. Research in internationalisation, according to Teichler, was focused mainly on psychological research on student attitudes and behaviour, experiences by students from developing countries studying abroad and descriptions and evaluations of international programmes and projects. He stated that most of the research was '*occasional, coincidental, sporadic or episodic*' (Teichler 1996, p. 341) with most of the research conducted in the United States.

In 1997, in the inaugural issue of the *Journal of Studies in International Education*, de Wit also noted a lack of a strong research tradition on the internationalisation of higher education and, as such, a lack of academic recognition of the field. Ten years later, de Wit observed in the same journal: *An increasing number of manuscripts in the field of international education are published in more generic (higher) education journals, and the quality of the discourse in journals, at conferences, and at seminars or workshops (…) has improved as well. Internationalization of (higher) education has become more important on the policy agenda but also on the research agenda* (de Wit 2007, pp. 258–259).

Kehm and Teichler stated in the same issue that there has been a substantive growth in the number of studies and that internationalisation has become a more visible component of general publications on higher education. They also observe that studies on this topic are not easily accessible, are targeting more practitioners and policymakers than higher education researchers, are more closely linked to other topics than focus on the theme of internationalisation itself and are more complex and highly normative (Kehm and Teichler 1997, pp. 261–262). Over the past 5 years, this trend has continued with more and more higher education media paying attention to the internationalisation of higher education – increasingly online. Many new books and articles have been published on the theme. Furthermore, one can see an increasing interest among graduate students focusing their master and doctoral research on the internationalisation of higher education.

Does this mean that internationalisation research has become more academic and scholarly? To a certain extent, this is the case, but overall it is still predominantly applied research. For an overview, see de Wit and Urias (2012).

Rethinking the Meaning of Internationalisation

Elsewhere (de Wit 2002, pp. 109–116) I have described the development in the meanings and definitions of the terms 'international education' and 'internationalisation of higher education', illustrating the different perceptions behind the use and meaning of these terms. A quite broadly accepted and used definition is the one by

Knight: '*the process of integrating an international, intercultural or global dimension into the purpose, functions or delivery of post-secondary education*' (Knight 2008, p. 11), which she describes as a working definition and an intentionally neutral definition, not incorporating activities, rationales or outcomes in it.

One can see at present an increased attention to the international dimension of higher education on international, national and institutional agendas. The global competition for talents, the emergence of international branch campuses and the debate on the use of agents for recruitment of students are issues that until recently did not have a prominent place on the agenda, but now are widely debated, not only by international educators but also by university presidents, associations of universities, politicians and other key players in higher education around the world. Internationalisation might require reconceptualisation in view of the changing dynamics of the field and the world.

This is the main reason why there is still an inclination to come up with other definitions. These attempts reflect the evolution of internationalisation as such, although it might be better to focus on that evolution as such than on redefining internationalisation. That process of rethinking of internationalisation is taking place currently, in response to the changing environment for higher education and its international dimensions in the global knowledge economy. As the Blue Ribbon Panel on Global Engagement of the American Council on Education states, '*In the 21st century, higher education is explicitly, and fundamentally, a global enterprise*' (2011, p. 5).

The emerging debate on the concept of internationalisation was stimulated early 2011 by an essay with a provocative title *The end of internationalization* in *International Higher Education* in 2011. We stated, '*Over the last two decades, the concept of the internationalization of higher education is moved from the fringe of institutional interest to the very core. In the late 1970s up to the mid-1980s, activities that can be described as internationalization were usually neither named that way nor carried high prestige and were rather isolated and unrelated. (…) In the late 1980s changes occurred: Internationalization was invented and carried on, ever increasing its importance. New components were added to its multidimensional body in the past two decades, moving from simple exchange of students to the big business of recruitment, and from activities impacting on an incredibly small elite group to a mass phenomenon*' (Brandenburg and de Wit 2011a, pp. 15–16).

The International Association of Universities (IAU) took the initiative in 2011 to bring together a diverse group of international educators in a discussion on reconceptualising internationalisation of higher education with the objective to stimulate the revitalisation of international education and bring it back on track. The group addresses three questions: Is the concept and the definition of internationalisation keeping up with developments in higher education? Is there a shared understanding of the concept? Has internationalisation lost sight of its central purposes (www.iau-aiu.net)? It has resulted in a call for action plan by IAU: Affirming Academic Values in Internationalisation of Higher Education (IAU 2012).

Knight (2011) wonders about an identity or midlife crisis in internationalisation and calls for a 'focus on values and not only on definitions'. Hudzik of Michigan State University also in 2011 published an extensive paper on the notion of what he calls '*Comprehensive Internationalization*' (Hudzik 2011). He defines it as '*a commitment, confirmed through action, to infuse international and comparative perspectives throughout the teaching, research, and service missions of higher education*'. Mestenhauser (2011) writes that '*the present system of mainstreaming international dimensions, whatever they are, is neither adequate or feasible and ….a different idea is long overdue*'. Marmolejo (2012) speaks of two tales of internationalisation and asks himself the question: Which one is true?

What the people calling for a debate have in common is '*the shared feeling that international education no longer can be seen as a fragmented list of activities executed by international offices and a small group of motivated internationalists among staff and students. Internationalization should on the contrary be integrated, broad and core*' (Brandenburg and de Wit 2011b).

According to Brandenburg and de Wit, the senior international educators are no longer the spearhead of innovation but defenders of traditions. And they continue that this creates '*the danger of self-depreciation and defensive self-perception*'. In effect, it means, according to them, that '*senior international educators are holding firm to traditional concepts and act on them while the world around us moves forward*' (Brandenburg and de Wit 2011a).

In the debate in particular, the following two points are essential:

– The why and what have been taken over by the how, and instruments of internationalisation have become the main objective: more exchange, more degree mobility and more recruitment.
– The higher education community still strongly believes that internationalisation by definition leads to peace and mutual understanding, which was the driving force behind programmes like Fulbright in the 1950s. '*While gaining its moral weight, its content seems to have deteriorated: the form lost its substance. Internationalization has become a synonym of "doing good", and people are less into questioning its effectiveness and what it is meant to be: an instrument to improve the quality of education or research. (…)This formula sees internationalization as "good" and globalization as "evil"*'(Brandenburg and de Wit 2011a).

In reaction to critics who say that this approach is too negative on the accomplishments that internationalisation have made to higher education, the argument continues: '*We advocate a re-orientation towards outcomes and impacts and away from a purely input and output approach. Instead of bragging about the number of students going abroad and reception of international fee paying students, the number of courses in English and the abstract claim of making students global citizens, we want to focus on learning outcomes*' (Brandenburg and de Wit 2011a).

This call for a more outcome-focused approach to internationalisation is in line with the increasing attention to assessment of learning outcomes in higher education (see, for instance, Greene 2011).

Myths and Misconceptions

Where there seems to be a move into a process-oriented and comprehensive trend to internationalisation, in reality there appears to be still a predominantly activity-oriented or even instrumental approach towards internationalisation. This leads to major myths and misconceptions about what internationalisation actually means. Knight (2011) presents five myths about internationalisation: foreign students as internationalisation agents, the international reputation as a proxy for quality, international student agreements, international accreditation and global branding. de Wit addresses also nine misconceptions (two of them coinciding with a myth as described by Knight), whereby internationalisation is regarded as synonymous with a specific programmatic or organisational strategy to promote internationalisation, in other words, where the means appear to have become the goal. These misconceptions are as follows:

– Internationalisation is teaching in the English language.
– Internationalisation is studying abroad.
– Internationalisation equals an international subject.
– Internationalisation means having many international students.
– To have just a few international students in the classroom makes internationalisation into a success.
– Intercultural and international competencies need not be tested specifically.
– The more partnerships, the more international.
– Higher education is international by nature
– Internationalisation is a goal in itself (de Wit 2011b).

It would not be difficult to add more myths and misconceptions to the ones that Jane Knight and I have given. The relevance of addressing them lies in the need to clarify what is meant and what is not by internationalisation of higher education and what should be the new directions it has to take.

New Conceptual Structures and Labels

In an effort to structure the increasingly broader concept of internationalisation, one can see several attempts arising to distinguish divisions, more or less the same way international education was divided in the past by curriculum and mobility.

In particular, authors distinguish between 'globalisation of higher education' and 'internationalisation of higher education' described by Cantwell and Maldonado-Maldonado (2009) as a common distinction in higher education, challenged by researchers and perceived as 'theoretically unsatisfying' (p. 304). Altbach (2006) defines globalisation as 'the broad economic, technological, and scientific trends that directly affect higher education and are largely inevitable in the contemporary world', where internationalisation 'refers to specific policies and programs under-taken by governments, academic systems and institutions, and even individual

departments to support student or faculty exchanges, encourage collaborative research overseas, set up joint teaching programs in other countries, or a myriad of initiatives' (p. 123).

Teichler (2004) states that 'globalisation initially seemed to be defined as the totality of substantial changes in the context and inner life of higher education, related to growing interrelationships between different parts of the world whereby national borders are blurred or even seem to vanish' (p. 23), while he defines internationalisation as 'the totality of substantial changes in the context and inner life of higher education relative to an increasing frequency of border-crossing activities amidst a persistence of national systems, even though some sign of "denationalisation" might be observed' (pp. 22–23). Van Vught et al. (2002), meanwhile, state that 'in terms of both practice and perceptions, internationalization is closer to the well-established tradition of international cooperation and mobility and to the core values of quality and excellence, whereas globalization refers more to competition, pushing the concept of higher education as a tradable commodity and challenging the concept of higher education as a public good' (p. 17).

Secondly, there is the new version by Jane Knight (2008) of the old divide between curriculum and mobility. She states that the following two components are evolving: (a) *internationalisation at home*, activities that help students develop international understanding and intercultural skills (curriculum-oriented) and that prepare students to be active in a much more globalised world, and (b) *internationalisation abroad*, all forms of education across borders, including circulation of students, faculty, scholars and programmes.

There are other researchers which divide between cooperation and competition (Van der Wende 2001), between institutional and student-focused internationalisation (Jones and Brown 2007; Jones 2010), between internationalisation ideologies ('instrumentalism', 'idealism' and 'educationalism') (Stier 2010) and between 'internationalisation of the curriculum' and 'internationalisation at home' (Beelen 2007). Another divide one can notice is between intercultural, international and global competences (Deardorff 2006) (see also Jones and de Wit 2012).

Another phenomenon is the inclination to put new broad labels on the term: mainstreaming, comprehensive, holistic, integrated and deep internationalisation are some of the main ones we see used in recent writings and presentations. de Wit (2011a) states that the underlying urge to broaden and deepen the notion of internationalisation is understandable but is not of a help and even might have the opposite effect. A plea is made to bring internationalisation a step further and look at its accomplishments, its misconceptions, the changing global landscape and the related debate about internationalisation as a 'Western concept' or as a repetition of the old by the new players, internationalisation for a small elite or for all, the similarities and differences between intercultural and international and global and other fundamental developments and values. '*If internationalization is to revive, that will not be the result of new labels, but of the debate and action on these key questions. If internationalization is to revive, that will not be the result of new labels, but of the debate and action on these key questions*' (de Wit 2011b).

Creating subcategories for or adding labels to internationalisation is not what will reconceptualise internationalisation. A different approach is proposed: '*Without denying the importance and good work of international offices, internationalization has to move out of these offices and become part of curriculum development, quality assurance, faculty development. In our perception it are not the commonly claimed divides between competition and cooperation, between at home and abroad, or between the institution and the student that have to drive the process, but the focus on outcomes and by that on the question why and how internationalization can contribute to the improvement of quality of education*' (Brandenburg and de Wit 2012).

The Changing Global Landscape

The concept as well as the practice of internationalisation is predominantly developed and designed from a North American, European and, to a certain extent, a Japanese perspective. From Australia, New Zealand and the UK, a more competitive perspective has emerged in the past three decades. The developing countries in Asia, Africa, the Middle East and Latin America played mainly a role as senders of students, recipients of capacity building funds and more recently of franchise operations, branch campuses and other forms of cross-border delivery. The globalisation of our knowledge economies and societies impact the role of higher education and its international dimensions in these regions radically. One can speak of a global higher education environment in which these countries and their higher education become competitors, equal partners and key actors. The consequences of these new developments for the way internationalisation as a concept and as a process will evolve are not yet clear. For the moment internationalisation is still primarily driven by rationales, strategies, approaches and activities from the traditional regions. But in the process of rethinking internationalisation of higher education, the perceptions, experiences and approaches emerging from these regions will require more attention than has been given to them in the past.

Philip Altbach on Internationalising Higher Education

Kehm and Teichler (2007, p. 263) note that there only are a small number of experts in the domain of internationalisation of higher education, although recently a broader range of young experts is emerging. Over a very long time, Philip Altbach became a, if not the, key expert in the field. He can be considered as the senior international higher education scholar, who has influenced and continues to influence other scholars in the field of internationalisation in higher education.

The work of Philip Altbach is not exclusively focused on internationalisation of higher education but more broadly on international higher education; a term that is

better than the traditional name 'comparative and international education' combines the two elements of it: international dimensions in higher education and comparison of higher education in a global context. The name of the *Center of International Higher Education* and newsletter *International Higher Education* illustrate the innovative and international approach to the study of higher education.

His work has been and continues to be extremely relevant for the study of internationalisation of higher education, for several reasons: his broad global experiences and expertise, in particular in Northern America, Asia and the Middle East; his opening up of international higher education to researchers, PhD students and languages other than the Anglo-Saxon world (for instance, the Chinese, Russian and Spanish editions of the newsletter); his critical analysis on the increasing commercialisation in international higher education, in particular ethical questions; his encouragement of research and PhDs in the field of internationalisation of higher education and the platform for co-authorship and publication on this research he provides to both scholars and professionals. These factors have resulted in both a deepening and broadening of the study of internationalisation of higher education and more attention to critical factors and ethical aspects in its development.

Concluding Remarks

Internationalisation of higher education has gone through many phases and has taken many faces. From the above, it becomes clear that internationalisation in higher education is at a turning point and the concept of internationalisation requires an update, refreshment and fine-tuning taking into account the new world and higher education order. It is still too early to define the outcomes of the debate, but the fact that it is happening is already most relevant, as internationalisation of higher education is not a passive and isolated phenomenon but is reacting on and an active contributor to the role of higher education in the global knowledge society. Philip Altbach is a constant factor in the evolution of its concept.

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Chapter 7
Internationalization Revisited

Patti McGill Peterson and Robin Matross Helms

Nearly 15 years ago, *Change* magazine published an article by Philip G. Altbach and Patti McGill Peterson (1998) entitled "Internationalize American Higher Education? Not exactly." Acknowledging that "today, no campus planning report fails to stress the importance of 'internationalizing the university,'" the authors observed that institutions seeking to internationalize often focused exclusively on a few initiatives, such as offering instruction in nontraditional foreign languages or expanding study-abroad programs. Few, they argued, had the "coherent, strategic direction that provides connective tissue" across such activities. As a result, they concluded that "internationalize" was "closer to a buzz word than a deep-seated reality for most colleges and universities."

The *Change* article came at an interesting time for international education. By the late 1990s, globalization had taken hold, and the US higher education community was recognizing the need to prepare graduates to live and work in a world that increasingly operated across national borders. Yet at the same time, the ever-expanding Internet seemed to be bringing the world to our doorstep. Was it really necessary to physically move people from country to country when they had access to endless information—much of it in English—and broad networks of contacts with just a few keystrokes?

Moreover, with the Cold War over, the urgency around internationalization and the need to understand the inner workings of other cultures were fading. As the authors noted at the time, "No Sputnik lights up the sky to warn policy-makers that schools and colleges need to be ready to help the United States play its part in the global era."

But then came September 11. All at once, the post-Cold-War sense of security was gone, and the need for US colleges and universities to internationalize seemed

P.M. Peterson (✉) • R.M. Helms
Center for Internationalization and Global Engagement's programs (CIGE), American Council on Education (ACE), 1 Dupont Circle NW, 20036 Washington, DC, USA
e-mail: PPeterson@acenet.edu; robin.m.helms@gmail.com

more pressing than ever. Higher education needed to produce graduates with the ability to understand and prevent threats to US security and, more broadly, to create connections and build the mutual understanding that might prevent and resolve the conflicts behind such threats.

Funding for programs such as Title VI and Fulbright increased, and new government programs supported "critical-language" and area-studies initiatives, especially for the Muslim world. One might think that, buoyed by the increased resources and a renewed sense of urgency, the internationalization of US higher education would rocket to the top of the list of institutional priorities in the ensuing years.

So what has, in fact, changed since 1998? In the post-9/11 era, has US higher education achieved the "deep-seated reality" of internationalization that Altbach and Peterson asserted was lacking at that time?

The American Council on Education (ACE) calls the path to such a reality "comprehensive internationalization," which it defines as a strategic, coordinated process that aligns and integrates international policies, programs, and initiatives and that positions colleges and universities to be more globally oriented and internationally connected. This process requires a clear commitment by top-level institutional leaders, affects the curriculum and institutional policies and programs, and involves a broad range of people. The result is a deep and ongoing incorporation of international perspectives and activities throughout the institution.

For the last decade, ACE has charted higher education's progress toward this ideal through its Mapping Internationalization on US Campuses project (ACE 2012). Using surveys of US institutions conducted in 2001, 2006, and 2011, the Mapping study examines many of the same areas of internationalization as were described in the 1998 article, including strategic planning, the curriculum, faculty policies and procedures, and student mobility, as well as global collaborations and partnerships. The data give us a snapshot of the current reality of internationalization at US institutions, a look back at how we got there, a view of where we may be headed, and a sense of what is needed in order to advance our internationalization efforts.

A Mixed Picture

First, the good news: The 2011 Mapping survey data suggest that many of the nation's colleges and universities are seeking, at least, the strategic direction described by Altbach and Peterson. As was already the case in 1998, a majority of institutions that responded to the 2011 survey reported that their mission statements refer to international or global education or other aspects of internationalization. Just over a quarter of them indicated that they had a campus-wide internationalization plan (up slightly since 2006), and nearly half had a campus-wide committee or task force dedicated to advancing such internationalization.

A majority also reported that internationalization was among the top five priorities in their current strategic plans. In 2011, 55 % of institutions reported that they

had developed international or global learning outcomes—an increase of ten percentage points since 2006. Assessment of progress toward broader internationalization goals was on the rise as well, with 37 % of institutions reporting in 2011 that they had formally assessed the impact or progress of their internationalization efforts within the past 5 years.

Whether based on assessment data or less scientific measures, institutions were quite pleased with the success of these efforts. Approximately two-thirds reported that internationalization had accelerated on their campuses in recent years, and a majority indicated that the level of internationalization at their institutions had been "high" or "moderate" in recent years.

Certainly, these numbers are encouraging; they probably reflect increased activity at many institutions, as well as a genuine understanding of the importance of internationalization. However, a closer look at the aspects of internationalization addressed by the 1998 article reveals a somewhat more mixed picture of the reality of progress. Many of the concerns raised then are still valid today, and they suggest a number of important gaps and potential target areas for institutions as they continue to build their internationalization strategies, plans, and assessment mechanisms.

Curriculum: A "Solomon's Solution?"

As a core purpose of higher education, student learning is among the most critical focus areas for internationalization efforts. Hill and Green (2008) noted, "A truly internationalized campus infuses internationalization throughout its academic and co-curricular programs, and sees global learning, discovery, and engagement as central to the definition of high-quality education." An internationalized curriculum ensures that all students, including those who do not study abroad, are exposed to international perspectives and have opportunities to build global competence.

Perhaps reflecting an increasing recognition of the centrality of the curriculum in internationalization efforts, curriculum was the number-one focus area among institutions reporting an accelerated focus on internationalization in the 2011 Mapping survey. However, the data about specific courses and requirements paint a more complex picture.

Altbach and Peterson's description of the ongoing debate between globalists and area-studies proponents sets the stage for a look at the current situation: "The 'globalists' argue that worldwide trends shape national and regional realities, and that the focus should be on the broad issues. Others counter that to understand another country or region you have to know its history, language, economy, and culture—not just global issues and trends." Rather than forcing a "Solomon's solution," they argued, institutions should find a "creative and reinforcing synthesis of the alternatives."

The Mapping data suggest that 15 years later, this debate is continuing to play out and that a "creative synthesis" has yet to be found at many institutions. In 2006, the area-studies camp appeared to dominate, with 37 % of institutions
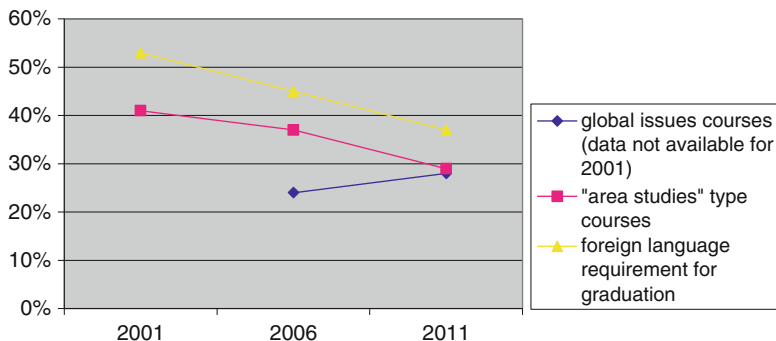
Fig. 7.1 Percentage of institutions that require internationally-focused courses for undergraduates

requiring undergraduates to take courses featuring perspectives, issues, or events from countries or areas outside the USA (the "area-studies" side), while only 24 % required them to take courses featuring global trends and issues (the "globalist" side).

The 2011 data indicate, however, that the pendulum is now swinging toward the globalists: The percentage of institutions requiring globalist-type courses has increased over the last 5 years, while the percentage requiring area-studies-type courses has declined. Undergraduate foreign-language requirements are disappearing as well, which is in line with the globalist view that students should be focusing instead on "broad issues." (Fig. 7.1)

The depth versus breadth argument needs to be replaced by a carefully crafted balance between the two. Certainly courses that address global issues are important, and their increasing prevalence in general education requirements is a positive development. However, foreign-language instruction and other courses that feature non-US perspectives provide important background and cultural knowledge to contextualize the broader content covered in global-issues courses.

The ability to discuss global developments is very much dependent on deeper knowledge of what is happening in countries and various regions of the world. If current downward trends continue and fewer institutions require these types of courses, the depth and nuance of students' understanding of current global issues and challenges will be compromised.

Most students profit from broader exposure to globally oriented courses. However, there will also be students who wish to specialize in more focused area-studies coursework and language preparation. The existence of both possibilities is important to the quality of higher education in this country. Choosing one alternative at the expense of the other is a Solomon's choice.

But as of 2011, neither choice is being required in significant measure. Only about one-third of institutions require undergraduates to take either globalist or area-studies courses, and the proportion of institutions with a foreign-language requirement for undergraduates (for only 1 year of study, on average) has now dipped below 40 %.

As more and more colleges and universities are implementing globally focused learning outcomes as part of their internationalization strategies, required coursework is one of the primary vehicles, if not *the* primary vehicle, by which students can acquire the skills and knowledge they need to achieve those outcomes. Learning goals that form the "connective tissue" among internationalization efforts can only be effective if they have something to connect; attention must be paid to ensuring that international courses, whether global or area-studies focused, are a required part of the curriculum.

Whither the Faculty?

Altbach (2009) has stated, "No university can achieve success without a well-qualified, committed academic profession. Neither an impressive campus nor an innovative curriculum will produce good results without great professors." As the driving force behind teaching and research in colleges and universities, faculty members play a pivotal role in creating and sustaining campus internationalization. They gain international perspectives through work abroad and by building relationships with peers in other countries. Those perspectives come to bear on their work in the classroom, with the curriculum, and in the culture at their home campus. Moreover, relationships and connections between faculty and international colleagues often form the basis for broader, institution-level global engagement such as strategic partnerships and other collaborations with institutions abroad.

Altbach and Peterson's outlook on faculty issues in 1998 was rather grim. Citing a Carnegie Foundation study conducted by Altbach and colleagues on the international academic profession (1994), they noted that American faculty were largely uncommitted to the broader ramifications of internationalization and generally not well connected internationally.

In comparison to their peers in other countries, for example, a smaller proportion of American faculty had taken trips abroad for study or research, valued connections with scholars in other countries, or felt the need to read books or journals from other countries to keep up with scholarly developments. At least partially to blame, Altbach and Peterson posited, were "poor preparation of faculty in foreign languages and a feeling that the United States is in any case the world center of scholarship"— as well as structural factors such as restrictive tenure codes and a general lack of incentives for faculty to work internationally.

The Mapping data indicate that not much has changed. The proportion of institutions that have guidelines for considering international work or experience in faculty promotion and tenure decisions remains at a dismal 8 %, up only four percentage points since 2001. More institutions are considering international background, experience, and interests in the hiring process. But a smaller proportion are providing funding for faculty to study or conduct research abroad or to attend international meetings and conferences—activities that help faculty build upon their previous background and experience and further enhance their international competence and
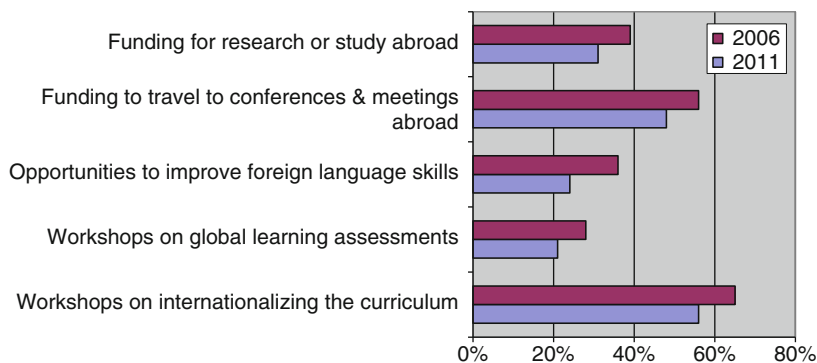
Fig. 7.2 Percentage of institutions that provide professional development opportunities for faculty

connections. Moreover, the percentage of institutions offering faculty workshops on internationalizing the curriculum and on global learning assessments declined between 2006 and 2011, as did the percentage that provide opportunities for faculty to improve their foreign-language skills (Fig. 7.2).

The discouraging data on faculty policies and procedures, combined with reports from many institutions that the curriculum has been a major focus of their internationalization efforts, represents a serious disconnect. The faculty is the front line when it comes to teaching and learning; it is they who establish the curriculum and deliver it to students. If they do not have opportunities to acquire international knowledge and skills, or lack incentives to take advantage of such opportunities, their ability to help students acquire the same knowledge and skills will undoubtedly suffer. Peterson (2010) emphasizes the critical role of the faculty by referring to its stewardship of the curriculum in achieving comprehensive internationalization. Overall, it seems clear the question posed in 1998 is still valid today: "How can we have a globally oriented student body taught by a faculty that that is hard-pressed for resources to place its teaching and research in a comparative context?"

Whither the Students?

The three iterations of Mapping data indicate that student mobility—both the outward flow of domestic students to other countries and the inward flow of international students to US campuses—has been and continues to be a major focus of many institutions' internationalization efforts. As of 2011, just over a quarter of institutions have a strategic international student recruitment plan in place, but more are devoting resources to recruiting international students (e.g., funding staff travel for recruiting or offering scholarships or other financial aid to attract international students). On the outbound side, a greater proportion (from 91 % of doctoral institutions to 41 % of associate institutions) are funding faculty to take students abroad.

More institutions (42 % in 2011) are also providing institutional scholarships for study abroad.

Institutional leaders frequently and somewhat myopically view the inward flow of foreign students as a proxy for internationalization. Given the current emphasis on international student recruitment, one would hope for a better understanding on how it can contribute to the broader goals of internationalization. In Altbach and McGill Peterson (1998), Altbach and Peterson raised the concern that while some institutions view international students as "valuable resources for internationalization," others see them simply as "cash cows" that "fill empty seats and help balance budgets."

Unfortunately, as was highlighted in recent debates about the hiring of outside student recruiters, this concern is still valid today, and the Mapping data do little to dispel it. As the emphasis at many institutions on international student recruiting has increased, the data do not indicate a commensurate increase in the academic and social support structures to help international students transition to and succeed on US campuses. This suggests that institutions may indeed be focusing more on student numbers than on the experience of international students once they arrive, not to mention their role in advancing internationalization.

At the same time, while more scholarships for study abroad are certainly a positive development, the overall proportion of American students who engage in such study remains discouragingly and persistently low. According to the Institute of International Education's 2012 *Open Doors* report, only 1.4 % of students enrolled in the US higher education system studied abroad in 2010–2011 (Institute of International Education 2012). With so few US students venturing abroad, it is all the more important that international students be well integrated into campus life and that opportunities exist for domestic and international students to interact in ways that enhance the international competence of all involved.

By creating programs and policies that focus on what students are learning from their international experiences and interactions with peers from other countries, institutions can maximize the impact of the resources they are devoting to student mobility and ensure that student learning, rather than such benchmarks as the quantity of international experiences, remains the focus of such activities.

The Global Frontier

One of the few aspects of internationalization not addressed in the 1998 article was global engagement by institutions—i.e., partnerships, collaborations, joint and dual degrees, branch campuses, and other ventures. Though global engagement has been occurring spontaneously for many years in the form of such activities as faculty and student exchanges, faculty-to-faculty research partnerships, and formal or informal cooperation agreements, it is only in the last decade or so that many institutions have begun to think strategically about these collaborations and the roles they can play in institutional internationalization.

The 2011 Mapping data to some extent reflect more attention to global engagement as an institutional strategy. Among institutions that reported an accelerated focus on internationalization in recent years, 40 % have implemented campus-wide policies for developing and approving partnerships or assessing existing partnerships.

Overall, the proportion of institutions that have larger-scale collaborations and partnerships (e.g., joint/dual degrees, branch campuses) is still relatively small. But the 2011 data suggest that many institutions are actively pursuing ventures abroad of various types. Of the institutions that reported an accelerated focus on internationalization, nearly 70 % were either beginning partnerships, increasing their quantity or quality, or moving toward fewer but more wide-reaching collaborations. As institutions do this, finding opportunities that are in line with institutional mission, overall strategy, and current internationalization efforts will maximize the likelihood of success. Reports of failed international collaborations and ventures have made headlines in recent years; indeed, Altbach (2011) has said of the branch campus model in particular, "caveat everyone." Yet significant attention has also been devoted to models of good practice, as well as to strategies for establishing programs and partnerships that benefit all participating institutions. Altbach (2011) suggests that as institutions consider ventures abroad, they should pay close attention to issues of sustainability, enrollment, faculty and staff, and academic freedom. ACE's Center for Internationalization and Global Engagement shares such information through its website (ACE 2012), which features an "internationalization toolkit" with institutional examples, as well as a periodic "Internationalization in Action" column that highlights good practices in key areas.

As ventures abroad proliferate, additional research—especially longitudinal—and ongoing dialogue within the US and global higher education communities will help ensure that these activities are productive and beneficial to the students and faculty involved and advance the internationalization agendas of US institutions.

Moving Forward

So where to from here? Overall, the data from ACE's Mapping study illustrate that US institutions have made some progress since 1998. But many still need to work on creating and strengthening the "connective tissue" that shapes internationalization efforts into a coherent strategy and ensures that such efforts deeply penetrate our colleges and universities.

Student learning and the curriculum must take center stage going forward. Institutions need to connect global and area-studies courses, integrate study-abroad programs and the experience of international students into learning activities inside and outside the classroom, and provide support for faculty to gain the background and skills needed to internationalize the curriculum and their individual courses. As colleges and universities pursue partnerships and collaborations with individuals and institutions abroad, they need to align such ventures with institutional missions and student learning goals.

In addition, US higher education as a whole needs to look beyond the internationalization of individual institutions to the broader national picture. Knight (2003) has proposed a definition of internationalization that encompasses a national dimension: "Internationalization at the national, sector, and institutional levels is defined as the process of integrating an international, intercultural, or global dimension into the purpose, functions or delivery of postsecondary education." Altbach and Peterson's 1998 assessment was that the USA had a long way to go in terms of a national internationalization agenda; they wrote, "Over the years, funds earmarked by the federal government for international educational efforts have diminished dramatically; there is no compelling lobby from the higher education community arguing for their restoration." Citing government policies and initiatives in other parts of the world aimed at internationalizing higher education (e.g., ERASMUS and SOCRATES in Europe and Japan's commitment to increase the number of international students at its universities), they noted that the US lacked such initiatives and had failed to elevate internationalization of higher education to the status of a national challenge.

Since 1998, there has been some increase in national-level programs and activities to support internationalization. The White House's recent "100,000 Strong" initiatives aimed at increasing the number of Americans studying in China and Brazil have brought attention to the importance of student mobility. Funding for academic exchange programs such as Fulbright has increased substantially over the past decade. The State Department's Education USA program, which promotes US higher education abroad and supports institutions in their efforts to recruit international students, has grown steadily in recent years.

The government agency that should be providing prominent support for the internationalization of US higher education has moved in a different direction from what one would expect with such growth patterns. From FY 2010 to FY 2012, the Department of Education's budget for international education and foreign-language programs decreased by approximately 41 %; total funding now accounts for only 0.1 % of the Department's overall budget. This has resulted in deep cuts to Title VI and the Fulbright-Hays programs, as well as a reduction in direct institutional funding for colleges' and universities' internationalization efforts.

What is also lacking at the federal level is coordination among the various agencies that support different aspects of international education. Here is where the Department of Education could lead by encouraging a coordinated strategy and greater focus for what are essentially silo operations in different government agencies. While other countries continue to develop plans to attract foreign students, to create international research networks, and to make their universities more globally oriented, the USA continues to lack a coherent strategy.

In 1998, Altbach and Peterson argued that American higher education can lead the way by expecting more from itself. It should become an articulate, well-organized advocate before the US government on behalf of initiatives to promote international programs and academic exchange. Doing so acknowledges the importance of global relationships as we enter a new century. The same can still be said today; if anything, the urgency of a unified front has increased.

While US higher education has long been regarded as a worldwide leader, other countries are now catching up. Governments and institutions around the world are devoting more resources to research, recruiting international students, and sending students abroad. Globalization has created a new, interconnected landscape of higher education worldwide. In order to be globally competitive, US higher education must be globally competent.

While there is much work to be done and new challenges are on the horizon, there is also the potential for great progress and exciting new directions. As and ACE's (2011) report points out:

> Inherent in the global interconnectivity that is the reality of our era is abundant promise and opportunity, not just for colleges and universities in the United States but indeed for institutions of higher learning around the world. Now is the time for leaders in higher education, and the institutions they serve, to do all they can to seize those opportunities. Now is the time for all institutions of higher learning to collaborate and cooperate toward common goals that capitalize fully on the rich possibilities of global engagement and that, ultimately, will help build a better world for all.

For the sake of our students, faculty, institutions, and nation, US higher education must deepen its commitment to internationalization in order to rise to the challenges—and realize the potential—of the global era. With ongoing effort at both the institutional and national levels, perhaps in another 15 years, *Change* will be able to publish an article entitled "Internationalization of American Higher Education? YES, Exactly."

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Part III
Academic Mobility

Chapter 8
Redefining Academic Mobility: From the Pursuit of Scholarship to the Pursuit of Revenue

Liz Reisberg and Laura E. Rumbley

As with many other areas of international higher education research that have been advanced by Philip Altbach's scholarship, the phenomenon of international student mobility has benefitted from the thoughtful reflection of this prolific scholar—a mobile academic in his own right. Central to this analysis is Altbach's signature notion of "centers and peripheries" (Altbach et al. 1985), along with his regularly (and energetically) voiced concerns about the risks of introducing commercial dimensions into higher education (Altbach 2008).

The centers and peripheries argument is highly salient in the realm of international student mobility. The world's "best" institutions—measured typically by resources and reputation that benefit disproportionally from locations in wealthy and relatively stable countries—have an unshakable advantage over other countries and institutions keen to attract international students and scholars. Skewed mobility patterns based on unevenly distributed opportunities and levels of academic quality undermine efforts to advance social and economic development in many different quarters of the world. Altbach has consistently argued that thoughtful scholars, innovative thinkers, and passionate defenders of uninhibited inquiry are needed *everywhere* along with adequate resources to support their work. If these kinds of environments exist only in the few places that already benefit from power and prestige, the periphery (where most of the rest of the world is located) remains indefinitely marginalized. The world ultimately pays a terrible price for this in economic and human terms.

L. Reisberg (✉)
Independent Consultant, Reisberg and Associates, 20 Shawnee Rd,
02476 Arlington, MA, USA
e-mail: reisberg@gmail.com

L.E. Rumbley
Center for International Higher Education (CIHE), Boston College,
140 Commonwealth Ave., 02467, Chestnut Hill, MA, USA
e-mail: laura.rumbley@bc.edu

The profit motive adds another unwelcome influence to the international mobility dynamic. Altbach has protested the tendency to view international student recruitment as a revenue stream, a perspective that has led to questionable practices such as paying agents commissions for recruiting foreign students. Business models that shape internationalization strategies are anathema to Altbach's fundamental belief that "public good" is at the heart of the academic enterprise.

Introduction

Given the broad social and economic importance of higher education today, it is difficult to remember that university study was an elite enterprise for many centuries. From the early twelfth century to the early twentieth, university-level scholarship was, for most people in most countries, geographically, financially, and academically inaccessible. It was also largely irrelevant to daily life and national development. Rapid changes during the last several decades have changed how we view university education as well as where and how it is pursued.

Despite limited participation, higher education was, from its inception, an international phenomenon. Travel in the pursuit of knowledge dates back to the sixth century BCE. Scholarship has always been shaped by the cultures and traditions of different nations, but as Altbach has underscored throughout his writings, while the centers of research have shifted slightly, a few institutions continue to influence the activity of most others, reinforcing a persistent dynamic of centers and peripheries.

It has become increasingly difficult to define exactly what is meant by mobility. Today, there are many different modes of (and motivations for) academic mobility. As in the past, people continue to travel for educational purposes, but these experiences vary greatly from the pursuit of a complete academic degree abroad to a 2-week service-learning experience. The motivations for these activities can differ as widely as their impact on individuals, institutions, nations, and regions. In addition to mobile people, academic programs and entire campuses are crossing national borders. Technology has added opportunities as well as complexities to what is now possible. International experience has become more central to the academic enterprise generally, and how it is achieved varies widely.

Today, the factors that motivate an estimated 2.7 million students (and an unknown number of scholars) to pursue academic activity outside of their country of origin are much more complex. There are many new actors, many with commercial interests, who influence the behavior and choices of students, teachers, and institutions. Sadly, the trend seems to be moving from international cooperation toward increased competitive commerce (Knight 2010). This chapter takes a "long view" of student and teacher mobility, examining historical precedent, repeating patterns, and modern trends.

Globalization and Scholarship

> [The process of globalization] has always been driven by the human desire for economic and political gains, a zeal for spreading faith, ideology and culture, and a quest for new knowledge. (Gürüz 2008, p. 1)

Students and teachers have migrated from country to country for more than a millennium. Until the twentieth century, most were driven by individual and personal objectives; universities and nations remained relatively passive in the process.

The growth in the number of students pursuing study outside their home country has been nothing short of astronomical. In three short decades from the 1980s to the present, the estimated number of mobile students has tripled to nearly three million (Banks and Bhandari 2012). The Institute of International Education (IIE) began tracking the numbers of international students on US campuses in the 1920s (Banks and Bhandari 2012) and continues to be the most reliable source of data about foreign citizens in the USA. Other countries and organizations have begun tracking international student movement, but the availability of accurate and complete data varies, making it difficult for international organizations such as UNESCO and OECD to report definitive statistics. To complicate this further, data are based on different definitions of mobile students, making analysis of trends somewhat tentative.

Traditionally, the choice of study destination has been influenced primarily by proximity, language, political affinity, and colonial ties. Not surprisingly, students from India and Malaysia have long been most likely choose to study in the United Kingdom, students from Morocco most likely to go to France, students from Cuba (in the past) to the Soviet Union, etc. Today, historical and cultural connections are still salient, but choices are increasingly influenced by access to information on a wider range of destinations, aggressive recruitment efforts by national and institutional actors, and, notably, international rankings that are published (most often) by newspapers and magazines.

Motivations to leave home for academic purposes have continued to evolve. Individuals travel to pursue what cannot be studied at home; others for the status that an international education provides; others to escape limitations on academic freedom or because they belong to an ethnic group, social class, or political movement that has limited, if any, university access at home (Altbach et al. 1985; Iran Ministry of Science, Research and Technology 2006; Salleh and Meyanathan 1993). These influences have tended to encourage student and scholar flows from east to west and south to north, from peripheries toward the center.

By the early 1970s, a new factor contributed to an exponential growth of mobile students. Governments in developing countries began to recognize the importance of highly trained individuals to support and sustain economic growth and the impossibility of creating high-quality universities and research centers quickly. As a result, several countries with limited enrollment and research capacity at home launched massive scholarship programs that sent thousands of students abroad.

The largest programs were supported by the governments of Iran, Nigeria, Malaysia, and Venezuela (Altbach et al. 1985).

During the more than half century that international data have been collected, the direction of student flows was consistent until recently. Through most of the twentieth century, the primary "receiving countries" were Australia, Canada, France, Germany, the United Kingdom, and the USA. The primary "sending countries" were also fairly consistently China, India, Japan, Malaysia, Mexico, Saudi Arabia, South Korea, and Taiwan (Institute of International Education n.d., 2012c; UKCISA n.d.) with ebbs and flows from these and other countries in response to factors such as political stability, economic prosperity, and visa policies.

Interestingly, at the beginning of the twenty-first century, many sending countries are becoming receiving countries in their own right (Banks and Bhandari 2012). National policy in several countries has begun to shift from encouraging (and often supporting) citizens to pursue advanced study abroad to (now) including the promotion of local universities as study and research destinations to foreign nationals. Factors contributing to the change in direction include the cost of study overseas, the need to retain talent at home and diminish the risk of "brain drain," and greater local enrollment capacity (Verbik and Lasanowski 2007).

Demographic shifts in wealthier countries—Western Europe and Japan, for example—point toward a decrease in the number of local college-bound cohorts; boosting international enrollment is seen as one way to offset excess capacity. Furthermore, the contributions of foreign scholars to research and development are becoming increasingly important, evident in the number of countries offering scholarships to "inbound" students. This trend is evident in the language describing programs offered by the governments of France and Malaysia—and many other national initiatives.

> The French Ministry of Foreign and European Affairs launched the Eiffel Excellence Scholarship Programme in January 1999 to support French centres of higher education in their international outreach initiatives, in a context of mounting competition among developed countries, to attract elite overseas students on master's, engineering and PhD courses (Scholarships 4 Development 2012).
>
> The Malaysia International Scholarship (MIS) is an initiative by the Malaysian Government to attract the best brains from around the world to pursue advanced academic studies in Malaysia. This scholarship aims to support Malaysian Government's effort to attract, motivate and retain talented human capital from abroad (Scholarships 4 Development 2012).

Additionally, governments have begun to recognize the economic benefits of receiving international students because of the foreign capital that they spend locally for university fees as well as on the expenses of daily living and the purchase of necessary and luxury goods. Foreign students as a source of revenue have become increasingly important in the USA as state governments continue to cut subsidies and the general public chafes at rising tuition. Choudaha and Chang (2012) make this point vividly by documenting the 50 % increase in international freshman at the University of California, Berkeley, in fall 2011 with the result of US$18 million in additional revenue to the institution.

While the USA is still the leading destination (in absolute numbers), the percentage of the total number of mobile students and scholars worldwide opting to study in the USA is beginning to decrease (Choudaha and Chang 2012). Competition among nations and institutions has increased, opening the door to the many new actors to play a supporting role in what has become an "international student market."

Finally, although the number of internationally mobile students is growing, there is evidence that these travelers do not represent a broad spectrum of university students. In the USA, for example, the diversity of the national student population is poorly reflected in study abroad statistics. Most mobile students are white and female—77.8 % and 64.4 %, respectively, in 2010–2011 (IIE 2012b). More importantly, fewer than 1 % of the students in associate degree programs studied abroad in 2010–2011 even though US community colleges enrolled 44 % of the country's total undergraduate population in 2009, 51 % of US Hispanic undergraduates, and 44 % of the country's African-American students (American Association of Community Colleges 2012).

Although definitive data remain scarce, most students from developing countries appear to be from elite social groups, as these students generally pay full fees to the host university as well as international travel and maintenance costs that tend to be well above the cost of living in the country of origin. Certainly anecdotal information appears to confirm that students from developing countries studying in Canada, Europe, and the USA are likely to be from wealthier families.

Student Mobility and Its Place in the Curriculum

With growing interest in internationalization strategies and a new emphasis on cultivating global competencies as a learning objective for university students, international experience is rapidly assuming a more important place in the college curriculum everywhere. A few universities have recently gone so far as to include international experience as a graduation requirement. International experience, once considered only appropriate for students of foreign language and art history (in the US context, at least), is now considered relevant to many more areas of study, and opportunities to go abroad are now vast and varied (De Winter and Rumbley 2010).

As stated earlier, there are many different kinds of student mobility, distinguished primarily by two dominant modes: the pursuit of a degree abroad and a shorter-term undertaking to earn academic credit for an international experience that will be applied to the completion of the degree at the student's home institution (Teichler et al. 2011). "Study abroad" (i.e., short-term, credit-bearing mobility) has been a familiar element of the college experience in the USA for many decades, with the most recent estimates indicating that 273,996 US students studied outside the USA for credit in 2010–2011 (IIE 2012a). Mobility is now a core element in the context of the European Higher Education Area, as well. In 2010–2011, more than 230,000 students received grants for international study in Europe, as part of the successful ERASMUS program launched in 1987 (European Commission 2012).

Shorter programs have become popular for many reasons. For the USA and other countries where universities depend on revenues from tuition, semester-long and yearlong study abroad often results in lost income (Woolf 2007). For students, extended time abroad can be more expensive than time at their home campus, depending of course, on the cost of living in the destination country, the price of airline tickets, and other costs related to international travel. A growing number of university students are older, working, and/or responsible for the care of children or other family members; such responsibilities make extended absences problematic (Chieffo and Griffiths 2009). And, in the European context, the Bologna Process reforms of the 2000s have shortened many first (undergraduate) degrees from 5 or 6 years to 3 or 4 years, potentially making shorter-term sojourns abroad more attractive and practical.

Short-term study abroad programs are quite diverse in their objectives and content. Programs may provide students with an opportunity simply to observe practices in a specific industry or government sector; they may be an opportunity to visit archeological sites or works of art first hand; they may be an opportunity to collect field data or an opportunity for international service learning.

Service learning is one of the newest types of study abroad. As more attention has been placed on the civic engagement of universities, it is not surprising that collaborations with NGOs and other community organizations now take place internationally as well as locally. Woolf (2008) underscores the added opportunity for learning, "If we add service learning to study abroad, we empower students to cross more than international frontiers; they cross the border between the classroom walls and the national culture wherein that classroom is located" (p. 30). Civic engagement outside of one's own country presents many cultural challenges and dilemmas to participants in service-learning programs, however. Not all cultures welcome external participation in the same way, and this new dimension of study abroad serves as a reminder of the many academic complexities of cross-border activity (Annette 2002).

Another growth area for international experience is that of international internships. A quick search on Google displays a plethora of private agencies poised to arrange internships for undergraduates nearly anywhere in the world—for a fee, of course. Many universities are also developing internal capacity to guide students to academically relevant internships. Although actual numbers of US students pursuing internships abroad remain relatively low, participation in this kind of overseas experience increased by 133 % from 2003 to 2008, reflecting a growing interest and trend (Chalou and Gliozzo 2011). Internships (more commonly known in the European context as "placements" or traineeships) are increasingly attractive to students in Europe, as well. ERASMUS began supporting student job placements in 2007. In 2010–2011, some 41,000 participants (1 in 6) took part in job placement activities facilitated by the ERASMUS program, a 15 % increase over the previous year (European Commission 2012).

Although US study abroad is largely an undergraduate phenomenon, graduate schools of management can be seen as leaders in promoting study abroad, given the international nature of all business activity today and the need for knowledge and

skills to operate successfully in multicultural environments (Lewington 2012). In addition to full semesters overseas, most full-time MBA programs worldwide integrate shorter study tours so that graduate students might observe industry practices in different countries or have the opportunity to collaborate or compete with teams of peers abroad.

Meanwhile, while enthusiasm runs high and anecdotes are largely positive, the benefits of different kinds of international study experiences are often difficult to measure. The growing emphasis on outcome measures in higher education generally is obliging institutions and program managers to move toward better-defined objectives and instruments to measure the impact of these international experiences.

Managing a complex array of study programs in different countries around the world is challenging under the best of circumstances. Many US colleges and universities turn to third-party providers to assist them with all or part of this work, opening yet another door for entrepreneurs in international education. Indeed, only slightly more than half (54 %) of the universities in the USA that offer study abroad opportunities manage their own programs (American Council on Education 2012).

At its essence, credit-bearing study abroad for the individual student provides added value to the education at the home institution. Involvement of faculty is recognized as critically important in terms of motivating students to take advantage of opportunities to expand their intellectual and academic horizons through overseas study and to integrate these experiences into their degree program at home. With the participation of non-university third parties, there has been a concerning trend to emphasize the pleasures of international travel. When universities (and their faculty) step back from the organization of study abroad, it becomes more difficult to ensure that the experience contributes to the student's academic and personal development. The distancing of faculty from this experience as many institutions outsource the administration of these programs to unaffiliated, for-profit organizations is a disturbing trend.

The rising popularity of international study requires careful consideration of how the international study experience is embedded in the curriculum, which highlights the need for active participation of faculty. Relying on the expertise and resources of a private provider for study abroad support may yield significant administrative advantages but contribute less to academic objectives.

Mobility of Programs and Campuses

Perhaps the most dramatic expansion to patterns of international mobility during the latter part of the twentieth century was the growing number of mobile programs and campuses—a movement taking place physically and virtually. This reflects the growth of "cross-border" education that Knight (2010) defines as "the movement of people, programs providers, knowledge, ideas, projects, values, curriculum, policy, and services across national boundaries" (p. 47).

New kinds of provision are responding to the steady growth in demand for access to (international) higher education, particularly in middle-income and developing countries. Again, demand has opened new opportunities for traditional institutions as well as new commercial providers. These ventures are generally undertaken by providers with the primary objective of generating income and by the "importing nations" for purposes of building knowledge economies (Knight 2010).

As an international profile becomes more important to an institution's stature, new partnerships and initiatives are being developed by universities everywhere. In *Mapping Internationalization on US Campuses*, the American Council on Education (ACE 2012) reports that 27 % of responding US institutions indicated that they offer some kind of joint degree or certificate program with an overseas partner.

A growing number of institutions are developing physical campuses abroad of various types. Kinser and Lane (2012) estimate that there are some 200 international branch campuses with some relationship to a "home campus" in a different country. They also warn off generalizations about these enterprises under a single definition of "branch campus" as the extent to which these offshore enterprises are integrated into the main campus varies considerably. A variation on the branch campus is the newer concept of international "outposts." This concept offers a broader interpretation of an overseas presence (Kinser and Lane 2012).

Overseas expansion is being encouraged on many fronts. Several Gulf countries have donated land and provided generous support to foreign institutions in order to host branch campuses (CHEA 2011). In 2012, the UK Minister of Universities and Science called for private investors to support the expansion of British universities overseas (Hall 2012). The enterprise is complicated by the diverse objectives of potential investors that include economic development boards, tourism authorities, science and technology parks, multinational investment companies, not to mention real estate developers (Knight 2010).

As with other new forms of mobility, institutional expansion presents many challenges for quality assurance. These new ventures receive dubious oversight as this responsibility too often falls into cracks between the home institution, host government, and home-country regulatory agencies. In the long run, it will be critical that credentials awarded by cross-border programs demonstrate compliance with international standards in order to be recognized by governments, professional associations, and employers worldwide (Lane and Kinser 2008; Knight 2010).

Commercial Actors: Pros and Cons

The truth is that treating a college or university primarily as a 'profitable' business puts the focus on cutting corners whenever possible and increasing efficiency wherever possible. Ultimately, this approach treats higher education as a globally traded commodity with no safety net. (Blake 2013)

The most striking features of the study abroad enterprise as practiced in the United States: its massively commercial nature. This hit me like the proverbial ton of bricks the first … time I attended the annual NAFSA-Association of International Educators conference.

> Walking into the main hall of the convention centre, I had to struggle to remind myself that I was at the annual meeting of an organization—ostensibly—dedicated to education. The sight reminded me infinitely more of a trade show devoted to cars or better homes than of a meeting of educators. (Shubert 2007–2008, p. 197)

Philip Altbach noted that there was a growing foreign study industry in 1998 (Altbach 1998) and described the many new ancillary services and providers commercializing international mobility. At that time, he was observing an industry in its infancy. With enormous amounts of capital moving about the globe, commercial interest has sharpened from many sectors. In a 2009 article for the International Trade Administration, John Sigmund (2009) reported that the US Department of Commerce estimated the value of the worldwide market for international students at $35 billion. It is therefore not surprising that international students and their financial assets are seen today as a critical source of revenue for universities as well as a business opportunity for entrepreneurs.

The abundance of capital has launched a proliferation of new services and service providers. Some of the new providers have made important contributions to the experiences of mobile students and the work of both sending and receiving institutions; others have taken advantage of opportunities for short-term gain with less concern for the quality of the educational experience they promote.

The dilemma, of course, is the extent to which these new services serve the best outcomes of international mobility. Clearly providers may be motivated by different purposes as Blake notes above; organizations may lean toward financial, rather than educational, objectives. Ultimately, there is a need to ensure that the relationship between universities and service providers has, at its core, the best interests of student participants. This has not always been the case. Recently, a well-publicized investigation by the attorney general of New York into the relationship between study abroad program providers and US universities (Glater 2008) highlighted the potential for conflicts of interest. US study abroad professionals have since articulated standards of good practice for education abroad that most universities have embraced. A recent effort to establish comparable professional standards for independent agents who receive commissions from universities for recruiting students proposes to regulate this growing industry. However, most of these service providers are business ventures with revenue as a primary motivation. The situation is complicated further by that fact that these enterprises are scattered across many countries with very different legal structures. Oversight and enforcement will be a continuing challenge.

Increased Mobility, But Toward What End?

As this chapter has shown, mobility in pursuit of scholarship has taken place for many centuries. While initially individuals traveled simply to teach or learn what could not be accessed at home, the objectives today are much broader. There are many more reasons to go abroad and many different kinds of international experiences being offered. Although mobility promises enhanced opportunities for

learning, the explosion of possibilities and actors raises concerns about the academic quality and relevance of much that is offered.

The benefits of mobility are not distributed equally to all nations but rather continue to favor developed countries at the expense of developing nations. Developed countries continue to host the best research facilities and, as a result, draw talent and benefit (even if unintentionally) from brain drain. Developed countries receive most of the economic benefits from fee-paying mobile students and support from governments funding branch campuses and other "outposts" abroad. The enduring legacy of the international inequality reflected in centers of knowledge and power drawing talent from developing nations at the periphery prevails and continues to influence the flow of talent and funds around the world (Altbach et al. 1985).

At the same time that programs and individuals are more mobile than ever before, higher education in most of the world is confronting new challenges and pressures. Academic programs and staff are being "squeezed" by shrinking budgets, rising enrollments, and new demands for accountability and income-generating productivity. It is increasingly common for university administrators to have managerial rather than academic trajectories, often reflecting a corresponding decrease in the power and influence of the faculty. With a strong business orientation, university executives are inclined to look for opportunities for new revenue and to pursue administrative efficiencies—perspectives that shape an institution's international strategy. Outsourcing study abroad programming and international student recruitment may be good business strategy but often risks undermining the educational quality and integrity of these functions. With many of these decisions being made by top-level management with less faculty input about the academic consequences of outsourcing, institutions risk losing much of the academic value of international activity.

The commercialization of internationalization has been a theme in Philip Altbach's writings for more than a decade where he has emphasized the accompanying risks. He points out that many of the initiatives to rank universities globally, which have become so influential internationally, are produced by organizations mainly because publishing such rankings is so very profitable. Worse, many rankings are not necessarily based on appropriate comparative models, nor undertaken by scholars prepared for this type of research (Altbach 2006). He warns of the dangers of internationalizing for the sake of revenue, citing the case of Australia where the aggressive and unregulated pursuit of international students and rapid expansion of offshore programs have resulted in highly publicized scandals to the detriment of the Australian "brand" abroad (Altbach and Welch 2011). Altbach has also called attention to the risk of recruiting through agents, resulting in cases where US universities have become the focus of scandal by enrolling unqualified students or enrolling students under false pretenses (Reisberg and Altbach 2011).

In summary, Altbach reminds us that all actors with something to offer – institutions, service providers, and individual actors – today sell educational services and products in an entirely unregulated marketplace and that this is cause for both concern and vigilance (Altbach 2008). As long as there is potential for profiting

from increased options for mobility of students and programs, the number of for-profit actors and nonprofit institutions in search of revenue will continue to grow.

There is little doubt of the value of integrating institutions and individual students into a larger international community of scholarship or the benefits of exposing students to other cultures and environments. Still, many practical challenges related to these crucially important objectives remain. Certainly international experience must be made accessible to a wider range and number of individuals. What remains to be seen is if, with the rapid expansion of options and the growing diversity of services and providers, the integrity of the academic enterprise can be protected.

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Chapter 9
Academic Mobility as Social Mobility or the Point of No Return

Alma Maldonado-Maldonado

I was in primary school and I came with my mother, she was a single mother and we crossed over the border, the *migra* caught us in San Isidro and sent us back and I think we didn't try it again…. It is curious they didn't want me here and sent me back to Mexico. I studied and did well in school and now the *gringo* government pays me to be here…. (Graduate student, UCLA-4)

…I thought that a PhD was like high school, that one has to do it because otherwise you are nobody in this life. My parents always told me: when you're finished with your PhD you'll be able to do this and that, it was what was always expected…the CONACYT scholarship was <<normal>>. (Graduate student, MIT-1)

This chapter addresses to what extent it is possible to talk about how student degree-seeking mobility impacts the social mobility of individuals. This is done from a discussion of cases of Mexican students currently registered in graduate programs in prestigious universities in the United States. Traditionally, when discussing international mobility, the physical deployment of the person was the focus: academics and students from one university moved to another located in a different country. The complexities of technology and the processes of regional integration notably affected the way we define mobility. For example, the current technologies and their wide connectivity promote the idea of "virtual" mobility, where it is no longer necessary that students or academics geographically relocate to collaborate, study, or even obtain a degree. Another exemplary case has occurred with European integration, when the definition of a domestic student vis-à-vis an international student changed: students who are citizens of a country of the European Union go on student exchanges in another EU country as domestic students, not international ones. These two cases are illustrative of the challenges that current times present for the definition of international student mobility.

A. Maldonado-Maldonado (✉)
Departamento de Investigaciones Educativas (DIE), Centro de Investigaciones Avanzadas (CINVESTAV), Calzada de los Tenorios 235, Colonia Granjas Coapa, Mexico D.F., 14330 Mexico City, Mexico
e-mail: almaldo2@gmail.com

Thus, while this chapter does not deny the challenges that appear in the present, it discusses the topic of academic mobility from a more classical (in its definition) point of view: as the physical deployment that individuals undertake to obtain some kind of academic experience in a higher education institution of another country (Altbach 1998c). We start from the idea that mobility cannot be understood outside space, and we consider that space can be physical (mobility to another country) or symbolic (social mobility).

As has been discussed in the extensive literature on the subject, academic mobility is one more expression of migration, albeit one of the migratory flows with the least volume, especially if we consider the amount of the global population that deploys. The global number of migrants in 1990 was 155 million; within 10 years it became 214 million, representing a growth of 38 % in 10 years. According to reports of the World Population Prospects, the global population has grown nearly 30 % in the same decade (United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs 2010). That is, the growth of migrants slightly surpasses the demographic growth rhythm, albeit every country and region have their own tendencies. Nevertheless, even though migration is a very important phenomenon of increasing impact, it is worth situating it within its fair dimensions. In 1990 the number of migrants represented 3.4 % of the world population, while in 2012 its proportion reached 3.2 %. In sum, migration is crucial to understand current social phenomena, yet proportionally migrants do not even represent 5 % of the global population. Certainly, every case must be reviewed, especially taking into consideration different countries, regions, and population segments, among others.

On the other hand, practically 60 % of worldwide migrants have moved to a more developed country than their own, while 10 years ago that percentage was 53 % (United Nations Secretary-General 2012, pp. 3–4). Unfortunately, we do not have more exact numbers on the global tendencies of international academic mobility; however, from the existing data, especially that coming from the OECD or the Atlas of Student Mobility (by the Institute of International Education IIE), we know that international student mobility would reproduce the same tendencies.

Academic Mobility: Centers, Peripheries, and Semi-peripheries or What Is the Same—Producers of Knowledge, Consumers, and the Isolated

Philip Altbach (2004) has posited that academic mobility has existed since the birth of European universities in the Middle Ages. While it is a characteristic that has accompanied these institutions, it is not exempt from controversies. Academic mobility is oftentimes simply another mirror of the enormous gaps existing between countries in terms of economic and social development and thus regarding the production of knowledge.

Wallerstein's (1987) approach to world systems (Luhmann 1982), from where Altbach (1998d) takes his quoted classification of countries and their systems of higher education, also makes sense in other divisions such as the OECD's proposal (2006) to classify countries into "producers of knowledge," "consumers," and the "technologically isolated." Before the OECD (2006) report, Altbach (1998d) suggested referring to the centers and peripheries in terms of the importance of the worldwide systems of higher education. While Altbach is not the only author to have developed this idea, he was one of the pioneers. To date, the field of higher education accounts for multiple interpretations in this regard and new contributions which are important to highlight, although it is not the objective of this chapter to account for each one of them (just to quote some examples: Chen and Barnett 1995; Marginson and Sawir 2005; Robertson 2006; Solimano and Pollack 2004).

These ideas are central to this chapter because the preliminary results of 22 interviews of Mexican students studying for a graduate degree in prestigious universities in the United States, in Boston and Los Angeles, are used, that is, students who come from a country that must be considered semi-peripheral or a consumer of knowledge (Mexico) and who go to the United States, a country considered a "center" (it is the country that still attracts the biggest number of international students in the world) and is also the main producer of knowledge (Maldonado 2010). Thus, the location of the space that these two countries occupy in the international context is central to the discussion of this chapter. The social mobility that is experienced by Mexican students who go to the United States is discussed, assuming to great measure that if the students' destination had been different or the institutions not so prestigious, then the conditions of social mobility could have also been different for said students.

Starting Point

DiPrete (2000, p. 2711) explains that "social mobility typically is conceptualized in terms of quantity of movement and the distribution of its direction and distance," for which it is essential to locate a starting point. According to Lipset and Bendix (1966), the dimensions that must be included to understand social mobility are:

1. Study of social mobility involves several analytic steps: 1. Study of the relationship between the starting point of a person's career and the point the person has reached at the time of the analysis. Essentially this is a comparison of the position which an individual inherited (or his status on entering the labor market) […] 2. A second major question involves the relationships between social inheritance (or starting position) and the means of mobility. Here we may be concerned with the degree to which given back grounds determine the level of education, the acquisition of skills, access to people at different levels in the social structure, intelligence, and motivation to seek higher positions […]. 3. As yet we have little knowledge concerning the process of mobility. That is, most studies have dealt with the present and initial position of individuals, ignoring the degree to which there are patterned variations careers […]. The ultimate reason for our interest in this subject is the study of the consequences of social mobility. (Lipset and Bendix 1966)

One of the first things to be done with the 22 interviewees was to classify them in three groups according to two of the most frequently used categories in the literature on social mobility: occupation and level of completed studies of the parents (DiPrete 2000). Three groups of students were formed, which are described below:

Group 1   Students whose parents did not pursue a university degree. These are individuals whose socioeconomic origin has been more complicated compared with the other students. When the students in this group referred to family support for their graduate studies, they are really talking about emotional support. Almost all the students in this group feel the need to help their families financially. Additionally, practically all studied in public schools and did not have much contact with the English language in childhood. The majority have received several scholarships throughout their lives (six interviewees).

Regarding their parents' occupation, the students in this group state as their fathers' occupation in one case "a baker, now retired, small-business owner, construction worker, he did it all and my mother was a secretary in the government" (Graduate student, UCLA-2); another mentions he had an absent father (Graduate student, UCLA-4), while another says that her mother studied for a profession in commerce (Graduate student, Harvard-2). In the following case, in addition to referring to their parents' occupation, this student directly links the topic with the importance of scholarships:

> In my father's case, he is a worker in a factory and that is why all my studies were possible with scholarships, also in Monterrey, since high school everything with scholarships. Practically all the expense my parents had was the money for transportation, and the tuition was paid with scholarships until I started to work and that's it. (Graduate student, UCLA-3)

In fact, the importance that students give to obtaining scholarships and grants as a secure financial mechanism is quite remarkable. Here is an excellent example:

> …I identified that could be a way of life: I study a lot, I said this could be my job, I applied for all kinds of scholarships, among them scholarships from the Mexican Academy of Sciences, they were called Summers of Sciences and they would give me 5,000 pesos, I applied two summers, the first one I didn't get, but the Universidad Veracruzana said my application was good and since the Academy didn't have the resources to fund me because they financed others, they financed me, they gave me 5,000 pesos. I went to Colima with a researcher and that for me… I had to pay two months' rent and transportation all the way to Colima with very little money. It was an excellent motivation, they are excellent programs, I did two summers: one in Colima and the other at the UNAM my last year of university. The Universidad Veracruzana was also starting exchange programs with the United States…. (Graduate Student, UCLA-1)

While we do not intend to automatically link the theme of socioeconomic standing with the field of cultural capital, it is possible to assume that the six interviewees in this group did not have a wide cultural capital either. Here is a significant example narrated by one of the students: "When I got into university I had only read one book that helped me write an essay or composition, *Twenty Thousand Leagues*

Under the Sea, and I didn't even finish it, well, I got to the middle" (Graduate student, Harvard-2). In another case, a graduate student at Harvard comments on the family reaction during the application process and mentions "my father's perception that I wasn't investing my time in something concrete but I was: I was looking for opportunities… My father did not think I was going to be accepted and his reaction was very cool, surprise" (Graduate student, Harvard-1).

Group 2   Students whose parents have an undergraduate degree at least and whose families offered several of them emotional and financial support. The socioeconomic levels of this group clearly vary, but their parents' studies unify them somewhat. Their first contact with the English language started, in the majority of the cases, since childhood. It is worth noting that since this group is the biggest, the variety of experiences is also more varied. Within it are several students who managed their entire academic trajectory with scholarships, some who never had one or several of them that pursued their studies in bilingual schools, just like others had no contact with the English language until high school or later (twelve interviewees). Nevertheless, it will not be possible to analyze this group in this chapter due to space constrictions; we will only analyze Groups 1 and 3.

Group 3   Students who come from a very privileged background compared to the rest of the interviewees. Some of their parents had a PhD and have worked as high-level university administrators or academics. The four interviewees in this group lived in another country at some point in their lives. In addition to the emotional and financial support, some of these students received academic orientation from their parents during the application process for graduate school. All of them attended a bilingual school since childhood and none mention the English language as an obstacle (four interviewees).

One of the students, whose father earned a PhD in England, lived for 4 years in that country:

> I didn't suffer much on that end [regarding English]. My father did a PhD in England so I did my first through fourth year of grade school there and learned it, and it was the first language I learned to write even though I spoke Spanish well. I have never taken formal English classes or any other language, and I didn't forget it and besides in my undergraduate and Master's degree in terms of reading I didn't suffer a lot because everything is in English: modern algebra, etc…. How much did my father's PhD influence me? I think a lot, that is, even when I was six years old I would accompany him into an academic environment, my mother worked in the Chemistry Department and it was only natural for me to dedicate myself like that. About leaving… it also influenced me and I didn't see myself after the Master's stuck in an institution I'd been in for seven years already in Mexico if I had stayed but I wanted to see what was out there. (Graduate student, Harvard-3)

In another case, a student narrates that due to sickness and given he was going to lose a year of high school, he took the opportunity that his father "was studying a PhD in California at Davis and I stayed with him, I went with him and finished high

school in California, since I was already at university here I applied to two well-known schools" (Graduate student, Harvard-4). Finally, the following quote albeit long clearly explains the importance of the role his parents played in the application process for graduate school abroad:

> …and I thought they were going to give it to me [the CONACYT scholarship] because I was always an excellent student. In the university I left with honors and everything, now, being here, I realize I'm nobody, I don't know how I did it…. I was so sure, I came from the UNAM and did very well, and since I spent a semester at the Ibero because of the strike, my parents told me since you went to the Ibero they are not going to give you a CONACYT scholarship and *everything was planned*, I then said I'm going back to the UNAM…. For the admission process for the Master's programs, I started looking, *I was guiding myself with my parents help*….and then the recommendation letters, without my parents' help I wouldn't even have made it to the corner because my university teachers…I didn't even know who to ask for a letter, and one of my professors I did well with wrote: I recommend…. *And I took it to my mother and she said no, no, no*, we need a strategy, we need a letter that highlights your qualities as a student, another that highlights your qualities as a researcher, another that highlights your qualities as an event planner… and my blessed parents told me look at the letter, it should have three parts: first you introduce who you are, they talk about who knows what and do this and send them to fill out their part but you sing your praises about the languages you speak, what a good student you are, etc. (Graduate student, MIT-1) [my emphasis]

It is important to note that any study on social mobility is subject to the context in which it transpires (Devos 2003; Lipset and Zetterberg 1974). As Sorokin (1974) states, "the intensity, same as the generality of the vertical social mobility, varies from one society to another" or what he calls the "fluctuation of social mobility in space" (Sorokin 1974, p. 107).

There are two themes that concern the discussion of academic mobility and social mobility in this chapter. The first is the role of education and the second is migration. It is important to acknowledge that studies of a very diverse nature have widely discussed the link between social mobility and education (Smelser and Lipset 1966; in the Mexican environment, Muñoz García et al. 1977; Muñoz Izquierdo 2009). In fact, Blau and Duncan point out that intergenerational mobility is divided in three segments: the first of which is "the process of educational attainment," while the second and last, respectively, are "the transition from school to work and "the mobility that occurs over the working life" (DiPrete 2000, p. 2713). However, it is also worth mentioning that the research on this matter is still insufficient given the complexity of the theme. In the case of this chapter, the role of the educational points in two directions: first, it focuses on the topic of the parents' education and, second, on the object of the students' mobility itself: degree-seeking mobility.

The other important axis for this study is migration. Forty years ago, Balán and Jelin had already reported on the existing connection between social mobility and migration in a very assertive manner:

> If the migrants tend to head from relatively stagnant localities or regions in economic terms, in which the possibilities for advancement are very limited and the relative quality of life is low, towards other regions or localities with the opposite characteristics, **it should not be**

surprising that they tend to experience ascending social mobility more often than those who stay in the same localities of origin. Further, if we accept that in general migrants are positively selective in factors that facilitate the occupational achievement, such as educational level, age and psychological characteristics like ambition, **we have another reason to consider that their probabilities of advancement will be greater than those who do not migrate**. (Balán and Jelin 1973, p. 233)[my emphasis]

In an important recent review of the literature on social mobility, Patricio Solís confirms the importance of the migratory issue for a country like Mexico:

Finally, studies on social mobility in Mexico cannot ignore the growing importance of international migration to the United States. According to recent estimations, in 2005 there were 9.5 million Mexicans between ages 15 and 64 in the US, a figure equivalent to 15.6 % of the total working population of the country (Giorguli, Gaspar and Leite 2007) […]. Clearly, the exit of migrants from the Mexican labor market alleviates pressures "from below" to the social stratification system, not only because the stock of individuals seeking to escalate positions decreases, but also because migrants transfer significant amounts of money to their families in Mexico, thus alleviating social and economic demands. In this sense, future studies of social stratification and mobility in Mexico must advance into an integrated perspective of the Mexico-US labor market in order to better understand what is rapidly developing into a transnational system of social stratification. (Solís 2008, pp. 17–18)

Discussion of the Different Areas of Mobility

Altbach (1970, 1998) opened this line of analysis when he discussed, while working on the topic of student movements, the fact that the leaders of these movements, especially in Asia, had previously been international students. The examples range from Mahatma Gandhi to Ho Chi Minh, passing by who would later become a dictator, the Indonesian Sukarno. Altbach's reflections on this matter have undoubtedly been a great motivation to continue with his line of research on social mobility (and in this case, politics) of certain international students (Altbach 1998a).

The geographical mobility of graduate students in another country consists of changing and expanding their space of reference, independently of the socio-economic situation they start from. While it is possible to affirm that the gaps shorten between the students from a higher economic level and those from a lower level, those gaps are not eliminated although they do get smaller because academic mobility opens up spaces and possibilities for certain students that would otherwise be more complicated or even unthinkable. They all move from their original place, but we can establish that the most noticeable advances happen to those who traveled the farthest. In fact, this chapter only makes reference to Groups 1 and 3; the analysis and comparisons with the second group, where the parents have university degrees or the equivalent, have been left aside for another moment.

We subsequently show some examples of mobility that appeared very clearly in the interviews and that speak of the complexity that dealing with social mobility represents.

That is, all these areas reflect social mobility but from their various possible dimensions. Obviously, no interviewee textually referred to their social mobility; instead, they referred to very concrete examples of the ways the initial place they found themselves in before starting their graduate studies has transformed. Here are some of the most representative:

(a) Economic Mobility:

He's now doing a postdoc and he is about 50 years old but, well, for me he was, wow, the guy that studied at the University of California and now he's coming, he was at the UNAM, he had a post and then he left. I didn't see that, I saw like everybody was offering him a job, I remember his salary was 35,000 pesos and I thought it was a huge amount and now I make that as a student. (Graduate student, UCLA-1)

(b) Academic Mobility:

I love it because suddenly I am an expert in Mexico. I go and explain very complicated things in terms that people can understand, so I have made contacts and friendships. I went first as a student and then every year as a professor [he speaks of trips to Mexico, invitations]. (Graduate student, UCLA-1)

(c) Definitive Geographical Mobility:

I want to live a bit longer here in the USA. When I finish my PhD I want to live here another while. Imagine, the initial plan was academics in the US, but as the time approaches I start getting doubtful, I've worked hard but I don't know, there are days when I wake up and I say another thing, I don't know. If it's not the gringo academy I would search for some private or international bank that has some sort of interest in Latin America. Of course, I'd enter the business division with Latin America or I'd get into an international organization to do things that have to do with Latin America. (Graduate student, Harvard-2)

(d) Vocational Mobility:

I am up to here of the academy, I don't want to be a professor, even if I love teaching that, I haven't been a TA because it distracts me a lot and it would take me all semester but I would like to work, I want to do some consulting. What we do in my lab is consulting designed for architects, for example, what to do so the building is more efficient and that we already do at the lab. We have a couple of projects and do consulting and it's really fun…. (Graduate student, MIT-1)

(e) Social Mobility:

…and I can have access to lots of things: Calderón's government, important businessmen and you get to know a lot of areas, the rewards and those experiences give you a lot, being able to interact with people of different levels, no to see them as untouchables but being able to reach them. The good thing about being here is that you can have a conversation with a Nobel Prize secretary of state and that's a lot, but it's very important to me. (Graduate student, Harvard-1)

(f) Personal Mobility:

Without a doubt, in professional terms I've had something major, now that I'm returning to Mexico next year I'm coming back with a wide network of very important contacts, the projects I have done I've done thanks to having been here at this university and also because I am a researcher, that has also allowed me to do more things, I think by having strong links with research in Mexico as well as here, it has been incredibly useful to advance in my career. In personal terms it has been incredibly costly, the PhD cost me a marriage, but well, it was a cost, I don't know what else I'd put in the balance. (Graduate student, Harvard-5)

A central theme that has not been approached in the chapter but that has been important to this study is the prestige of the selected American universities, among them Harvard, MIT, Tufts, and the University of California-Los Angeles. All of them are considered very prestigious institutions of higher education. The selection of these institutions was done with the intention of addressing the fact that reputation clearly influences the mobility of students who successfully conclude their studies. In fact, it will not be possible to stop on the topic of prestige, but authors like Marginson (2007) have very efficiently discussed the elements the idea of prestige is based on and how it manages to position the universities worldwide and the individuals related with them.

Conclusions

There are numerous topics to explore regarding the way the social mobility of the students who move to another country is disrupted. For the purpose of this chapter, we only emphasized Groups 1 and 3, which happen to be the two extremes (of lowest and highest social and cultural capital, according to the parents' occupation and schooling), but the comparison with Group 2 remains open.

Another topic that remains to be more fully addressed is related to the legacies and trajectories and the role they play in the mobility of individuals: the trajectories students make as well as family, institutional, work, or academic legacies that help them position themselves in their new institutions or to simply get to them.

One of the main conclusions of this chapter is that of all the cases studied, not one student identified planned not to return nor believes themselves to be in a better position from where they were before they left their home country to study. Mobility, which must be carefully studied, is progressive in all of the cases of this study (at least starting from the parents' schooling and occupation). Although this paper does not intend to make generalizations, it does appear to be a situation that is shared by the 22 interviewees. Another conclusion was previously mentioned that while all seem to move, mobility is more evident in Group 1 (with the least social and cultural capital),

and while the gap between that group and Group 3 (with the most social and cultural capital) never quite disappears, the distance is shortened. In a country like Mexico with marked problems of social inequality, this issue is not a minor one.

The Tribute

Finally, this chapter is a tribute to the work and influence of Philip G. Altbach, who is above all a scholar and author whose work has contributed to many of my reflections in my research. I could say many things about Phil to celebrate him in this volume, but to focus in the issues presented in this chapter, I would be remiss not to note how much I identify with the students included in this research. Indeed, years ago I was one of them. I was able to study for my PhD at a prestigious US institution—in my case, because of Phil Altbach's support. With such a powerful and supportive ally, I have benefitted from a career mobility in that includes social and geographical mobility. Phil's generosity enabled my experience professional trajectory to be as satisfying as it has been first by supporting me as an international student, then in assisting in my obtaining a tenure track post at the University of Arizona, and even more importantly, he was completely supportive of my idea to come back to Mexico, something I finally did, and I thank him for being there for me in every step of the way.

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Part IV
Regional Perspectives

Chapter 10
The Impact of Convergent Higher Education Reforms in European Countries

Ulrich Teichler

Introduction

Philip G. Altbach has encouraged many scholars all over the world to undertake comparative research on higher education. For more than three decades, he undertook himself and encouraged others to undertake either genuinely comparative studies or case studies on one's own country in comparative perspective. Thereby, he obviously does not consider the latter as just an inferior comparative approach, but an opportunity for higher education researchers of looking at environments which they know well from a different angle than that of an insider, thereby trying to combine the independent and comparative look of an outsider with the in-depth knowledge of an insider. Moreover, Philip G. Altbach undertook many studies on international aspects of higher education, notably international mobility and cooperation in higher education. Again, he stimulated others to address this thematic area.

In many publications, he stood out in emphasising the link between these two themes. On the one hand, the characteristics of higher education systems – noted through comparative analysis – set the conditions for international mobility and cooperation. On the other hand, international mobility and cooperation provide the opportunities of learning from similarities and contrasts between higher education systems.

Therefore, the following contribution addresses a higher education reform process where the issue of comparing system characteristics and of internationality of higher education were closely intertwined. In the so-called Bologna Process, efforts have been made for more than a decade in Europe to create a similar "stage" or "cycle" structure of study programmes and degrees across Europe in order to facilitate study mobility. Actually, the text is based on a presentation the author

U. Teichler (✉)
International Centre for Higher Education Research (INCHER-Kassel),
University of Kassel, Haroldstr. 11, 34128 Kassel, Germany
e-mail: teichler@incher.uni-kassel.de

made as an insider to persons looking at these reforms from outside – to a Japanese audience (actually in spring 2011 at the National Institution for Academic Degrees and Evaluation in Tokyo).

Many reports on higher education in Europe in the first decade of the twenty-first century focus on the so-called Bologna Process. It is not easy, however, for observers from outside Europe to understand why so much emphasis is placed on this theme and why such a controversial debate has been stirred up across Europe about the issues at stake. Therefore, the case of this reform might deserve attention and might turn out as an interesting case for combining a comparative view on higher education with an analysis of international mobility in higher education.

At first glance, we note that a relatively simple reform seems to be envisaged, i.e. the introduction of a bachelor-master structure of study programmes and degrees: Is it possibly just an adaptation to a system which is the dominant one all over the world anyway? A closer look, however, reveals that a broad range of themes are discussed under the label of the "Bologna Process". One could have expected that the major goals beyond the structural change as such could be curricular, but the Bologna Declaration of 1999 names as the foremost goal of the structural change to contribute to increasing student mobility. One could have expected that the aim of realising a "convergence" in structural terms would be combined with curricular convergence across Europe, but the ministers of the European countries who had initiated the Bologna Process continue to argue that curricular variety across Europe should be preserved. Finally, it is surprising to note that formal structures of the higher education system – in this case, levels of study programmes – are viewed as so important at a time when the worldwide public debate on higher education seems to have shifted away from formal elements to informal elements of the higher education systems, i.e. the "vertical" differences between universities in terms of "quality", "reputation", etc. which is visible by the attention paid to worldwide "rankings".

The aim of this contribution is, first, to describe the Bologna "thrust", the major goals, the operational objectives and the major areas of action. Second, an overview will be provided about the actual changes which can be observed after about a decade. Third, we will address issues of student mobility, i.e. the area explicitly targeted by the Bologna reform. Fourth, we will analyse the available information on changes of graduate employment and work as a consequence of introduction of a bachelor-master structure of study programmes and degrees.

Prior Efforts of European Coordination

The Bologna Process was not the first major activity of coordination of higher education in Europe. Since the end of World War II, repeated activities of that kind have been undertaken. Such policies were promoted by different supranational actors (see Teichler 2010).

In the first stage, efforts were made to facilitate student mobility. Hoping that detailed knowledge of other countries would dilute prejudices and increase

sympathy for other ways of life and thinking, the Council of Europe was active since the early 1950s accordingly through conventions signed and ratified by individual Western European countries for the recognition of study – more precisely for the recognition of prior education as entry qualification to higher education, of periods of study for mobile students during the course of study and of degrees for mobile graduates. Similar activities were undertaken in subsequent decades eventually leading in 1997 to the Lisbon Convention for the recognition of studies initiated by the Council of Europe and UNESCO in cooperation with the European Commission.

In the second stage, since the 1960s, most Western European countries and market-oriented economically advanced countries outside Europe have collaborated in the search for the best ways to stimulate and accommodate the quantitative expansion of student enrolment in higher education, thereby aiming both to contribute to economic growth and to the reduction of inequalities in educational opportunities. The OECD suggested expanding and diversifying higher education according to various models.

The third stage was characterised by increasing cooperation, mobility and the search for concerted European dimensions of higher education. The ERASMUS programme, inaugurated for the promotion of short-term student mobility within Europe in 1987 by the European Union, is the most prominent example of this stage.

In the fourth stage, the individual European countries jointly aimed to pursue similar higher education policies and to strive for a system convergence, as will be discussed below. It is interesting to note here that the ministers of the individual countries decided to do this jointly on their own, i.e. without any supranational body involved.

In addition, in the Lisbon Declaration in 2000, the European Council, i.e. the assembly of the heads of governments of the countries of the European Union, agreed to cooperate and to take joint measures of investing into research and development and eventually to establish a "European Research Area" by 2010. Public and private expenditures for research and development should be increased on average to 3 % of the GDP, thus helping to make Europe "the most competitive and dynamic knowledge-based economy of the world".

The Bologna Declaration and the Reform Programme of the "Bologna Process"

A major policy move such as the Bologna Declaration cannot be viewed merely as a sudden and surprising action. Many factors seem to have triggered the intention of establishing a convergent system of study programmes and degrees in Europe (see Kehm et al. 2009), whereby three of them are frequently named:

- There have been debates in various European countries over decades about the most desirable patterns of the expanding higher education systems, whereby a need was felt to make short study programmes more attractive.

- Also, the ERASMUS programme inaugurated in 1987 was viewed so much as a "success story" that it stimulated debates how temporary student mobility could be spread further.
- Moreover, concern spread in the 1990s that study in non-English-speaking European countries lose attractiveness for students from other parts of the world; the introduction of a bachelor-master structure was considered to be a vehicle to increase the worldwide attractiveness.

On the occasion of an anniversary of the Sorbonne University in Paris in 1998, the ministers in charge of higher education of France, Germany, Italy and the United Kingdom declared that they would establish a "harmonised" structure of programmes and degrees. As the signing of the so-called Sorbonne Declaration was criticised as an isolated solo attempt of a few European countries, but as the concept as such found widespread support, a broader basis was sought for. In June 1999, the ministers of 29 European countries signed the so-called Bologna Declaration, according to which a cycle structure of programmes and degrees and eventually a "European Higher Education Area" should be implemented by the year 2010. Various subsequent ministerial follow-up conferences for monitoring, specifying and stimulating this process were held, whereby almost 50 countries have joined this cooperation.

The Bologna Declaration calls – as its core operational objective – for the establishment of a cycle system of study programmes and degrees all over Europe: a bachelor-master system. A third cycle of doctoral studies was named as well, but no concrete agreements were reached in this respect.

Before the Bologna Process, a bachelor-master system had existed in Europe only in the United Kingdom and Ireland. In some European countries, the first degree at universities had been considered to be equivalent to a master degree, while a degree equivalent to a bachelor degree had been awarded in other institutions of higher education. In some European countries, bachelor-level and master-level degrees had been awarded in some disciplines, while only a master-level degree had been conferred in other disciplines.

The ministers of the countries involved in the Bologna Process even never agreed on a common model as regards length of the study programmes. Three-year bachelor and two-year master programmes were established most frequently, but room for manoeuvre remained for other options.

The Bologna Declaration named also further operational objectives. It suggested undertaking accompanying measures, notably:

- To introduce credit systems all over Europe
- To confer a "diploma supplement" (see Berg and Teichler 1988) to all students upon graduation in order to provide easily readable and internationally understandable information on the national higher education system, the study programme and the individual students' achievements
- To establish a close cooperation between the agencies in the European countries in charge of "quality assurance"

These operational objectives were called for to serve the major strategic aim of contributing to student mobility. Actually, this aim was twofold: to increase the attractiveness of study in Europe for students from outside Europe and to facilitate intra-European mobility. Without explicitly stating so, the aim was primarily to increase inbound mobility for the whole degree programmes from other parts of the world as well as temporary inbound and outbound mobility within Europe (cf. Wächter 2008).

Over time, the Bologna agenda seems to have broadened. The ministers added new themes into the Communiqués of the follow-up conferences. Further themes were addressed in the conferences held under the auspices of the Bologna Follow-up Group (BFUG, the coordination group between the ministerial conferences), and many interested actors as well as experts reinterpreted the Bologna discourse as including even more themes.

There is no doubt that a second major theme of the Bologna Process emerged and grew over time in addition to the structural theme: that of the substance of the study programmes, notably the major curricular thrusts as well as the relationships between study and subsequent graduate employment and work. "Qualifications frameworks" and "employability" became the most frequent terms in this context.

The Implementation: Reviewing the Processes and the Results of Bologna

The Bologna Process was accompanied by a magnitude of evaluation activities. For the preparation of each ministerial conference, the individual countries were asked to write progress reports that eventually were synthesised into an overall "stocktaking" report. The European University Association (EUA) was commissioned regularly to undertake "trend" surveys at higher education institutions on the implementation of the Bologna Process (see notably Sursock and Smidt 2010). Higher education researchers and other experts were asked at various occasions to assess the Bologna Process comprehensively (see Kehm et al. 2009; CHEPS et al. 2010; Curaij et al. 2012), specific themes (e.g. the opinions of academic staff in Gallup Organization 2007) or on the overall reforms in specific European countries (e.g. Niemelä et al. 2012 on Finland).

Yet, most actors and experts discussing the implementation and the results of the Bologna Process come to the conclusion that the information base achieved is not very good. Available statistics are often not suited to measure Bologna-relevant phenomena well. There are few surveys covering all the European countries. Information provided by actors is often politicised and emotionally coloured. Many reports focus just on the extent to which the actors comply about the official operational objectives without discussion of salient effects and possibly unintended consequences (see Reichert 2010). Many reports are based on premature expectations: to measure the results already at a time when change has just begun. It is possible, though, to summarise the state of knowledge on the results of the Bologna Process.

First, the operational objectives of the Bologna Process were implemented in an enormously varied speed in the individual European countries. In some countries, the new degree structures and most of the accompanying measures were already implemented by 2002. In some countries, not much has happened at all within almost a decade.

Second, a bachelor-master structure was implemented by 2010 at most higher education institutions. According to the EUA survey, 53 % of institutions in the countries participating in the Bologna Process had realised a cycle structure already in 2003 and eventually 95 % in 2010 (Sursock and Smidt 2010). Similarly, 96 % stated that they have a credit accumulation system for all bachelor and master programmes, and 66 % reported that a Diploma Supplement is issued to all graduating students. The bachelor-master system, however, was not introduced to a similar extent across all fields of study. Up to 2010, it remained seldom in most medical fields (e.g. 28 % in medicine) and was not consistently realised in architecture (46 %), law (61 %), teacher training (68 %) and engineering (73 %).

Third, the bachelor's degree functions at universities predominantly as an interim stage towards a master's degree. Eighty-five percent of the representatives of universities responding to the 2010 EUA survey expect the majority of bachelor graduates not to go to the labour market directly. The respective proportion was 55 % for other higher education institutions.

Fourth, a common length of study programmes was not agreed upon on European level. Actually, 18 countries consistently introduced 3-year bachelor and 2-year master programmes. Six countries have a 4-2 system and four countries 4-year bachelor programmes and master programmes comprising 1 or 1½ years. The remaining countries have varied models (Eurydice 2010).

Fifth, the thematic range of the Bologna Process has widened over time. Some observers consider this as steps towards a comprehensive reform of higher education in Europe, while others view this as a dilution of the Bologna reform programme. In some countries, the introduction of the cycle system of study programmes and degrees was accompanied by intensive activities of reconsideration and change of curricula, while in other countries, operational changes were implemented with little curricular considerations. In the course of the ministerial follow-up conferences, increasing emphasis was placed on substantive matters of the new study programmes. Most observers believe that the curricular debates on a stronger awareness of the results of study ("competencies", "learning outcomes"), on feedback of experiences for the improvement of teaching and learning ("quality assurance"), the levels of competencies to be reached at the end of the various cycles of study ("qualifications frameworks"), the links between study and subsequent employment and work ("employability") and the role of higher education programmes in the life course ("lifelong learning") indicate the needs for improvements as well as actually successful changes.

Altogether the implementation could not be considered to be complete in the year 2010, i.e. which was named at the beginning as the target year in which the "European Higher Education Area" should be realised. However, the ministers in charge decided in 2009 to continue the reform process and to set further targets for 2020.

The Bologna Process and Student Mobility

Student mobility has become a very popular theme. Experts believe that the proportion of foreign mobile students in Europe among all students is substantially higher than the respective rate in the USA and in Japan, though lower than in Australia, and that a higher rate of European students are outwards mobile than the respective rates in the USA, Japan and Australia. If one wants to have detailed information, however, it becomes obvious that the information base for measuring trends of student mobility has remained fairly weak. In a major methodological study (Kelo et al. 2006), the following problems were stressed:

- International statistics traditionally provide information about foreign students and study abroad. These are weak approximations for student mobility because a substantial proportion of foreign students in various European countries are not mobile for the purpose of study but rather have already lived and learned in the country of study. Moreover, some students have lived and learned in another country prior to study and moved to the country of their citizenship for the purpose of study.
- Many countries include temporarily mobile students – i.e. the most frequent mode of intra-European student mobility – only partially or not at all in their student statistics. Some countries even count temporarily outbound mobile students as home students during the study period abroad.
- The available international statistics do not make a distinction between "degree mobile" students, i.e. those intending to study a whole study programme abroad, and "temporarily mobile" or "short-term mobile" students.
- There is no distinction made in the international statistics according to bachelor and master programmes.
- There are no statistics and surveys across Europe suitable to establish the event of student mobility, i.e. how many students have studied abroad during the course of study – either the whole study programme or at least some period.

Based on such suboptimal data, an increase of the rate of foreign students among all students could be observed altogether in 32 European countries (ERASMUS-eligible countries and Switzerland, excluding Russia, the former Soviet countries and some Balkan countries) from 5.4 % in 1999 to 7.0 % in 2007. While the rate of foreign students being citizens of other European countries increased during that period only from 3.0 to 3.3 %, the rate of foreign students from outside Europe (and unknown nationality) grew substantially from 2.4 to 3.7 % (Teichler et al. 2011). One should bear in mind, though, that these rates vary enormously between European countries. According to these data, we assume that the Bologna Process was successful in attracting substantially more students from other parts of the world than one could have expected from trends of worldwide mobility increase anyway. However, student mobility within Europe seems to have increased during the first decade of the twenty-first century only at a low pace – possibly lower than in the 1990s.

Genuine student mobility, however, clearly differs from foreign students and study abroad, as available information for select countries shows. Only three quarters of foreign students in Europe are mobile students, while one quarter have already lived and learned in the host country. Also, about one tenth of the mobile students are citizens of the country of enrolment (often persons returning to the country of citizenship for the purpose of study). To illustrate this for Germany in 2003: 8.5 % of all students were foreign mobile students and 1.5 % home country mobile students, thus adding to 10.0 % of all mobile students. The rate of 11.9 % of foreign students comprises 3.4 % foreign nonmobile students.

As the ministers in charge pointed out in the Leuven Communiqué in 2009, the international experience of one's own students is the most important aim of policies of enhancing intra-European student mobility. A target of 20 % for the event of outwards mobility (for study and possibly internships) during the course of study should be reached by 2020.

An analysis of recent graduate surveys in various European countries (Schomburg and Teichler 2011) has shown that already more than 20 % of the graduates of some countries (the Netherlands, Austria and Norway) have studied for some period abroad and that this target might be reached in some other countries soon (e.g. Germany). In contrast, the respective target is out of research in various other countries (e.g. currently 5 % or less in the Czech Republic, France, Italy, Poland and the United Kingdom).

Employment of Formerly Mobile Students and Mobility After Graduation

Graduate surveys also provide information on the international mobility after graduation. According to a survey of 1995 graduates from ten European countries, 3.0 % on average had their first employment after graduation in another country and 2.7 % (varying by country from 0.4 to 5.4 %) were employed abroad about 3–4 years later (Jahr and Teichler 2007). According to a survey of 2,000 graduates from 13 European countries, about 4 % had their first employment after graduation in another country and 3 % 5 years after graduation (Teichler 2011). The recent comparative analysis of persons graduating between 2004 and 2008 shows that 6–7 % (on average for six countries) are employed in a country different from the one of their graduation within the first years after graduation (Schomburg and Teichler 2011). We have reasons to conclude that the rate of European graduates being employed abroad, here defined as working for a foreign employer, is moderately on the rise.

Some of the surveys showed that the proportion of graduates sent by their home country employers to work abroad for a while is even higher than those working for a foreign employer. Moreover, graduate surveys have shown that almost one fifth of formerly mobile students from European countries work abroad shortly after graduation, i.e. several times as many as formerly non-mobile students (Janson et al. 2009).

In comparing former ERASMUS students of three generations (mobile between 1989 and 2000), we note that the "value added" of temporary study abroad seems to decrease over time: fewer of them reported recently that the ERASMUS mobility had a positive influence on obtaining a first job (decline from 71 to 54 %), on the type of work task involved (49 and 39 %) and income level (25 and 16 %). Also the percentage of those reporting substantial international work tasks declined somewhat: e.g. "using the language of the host country orally" (47 and 38 %) and "using first-hand professional knowledge of the host country" (30 and 25 %).

These findings seem to reflect a declining exceptionality of temporary study abroad. The study and living environment became more international for students living in Europe, even if they do not study abroad. We might assume that this trend in the 1990s has continued in the first decade of the Bologna Process.

The Bologna Process and "Employability"

The 1999 Bologna Declaration does not comprise any clear recommendation to strengthen the employment orientation of higher education. It only calls for a character of bachelor programmes which could be relevant for the labour market and provide a realistic opportunity for bachelor graduates from universities to transfer to the world of work. Over the years, however, the ministerial meetings and the official theme-specific conference increasingly addressed the issue of graduate employment.

While a structural approach dominated at the beginning, the Bologna Process gradually moved towards curricular matters. Also terms such as "quality assurance" and "qualifications frameworks" signal this shift of emphasis. Certainly, this shift was to be expected, because structural convergence of study programmes calls for some curricular reflections and measures: notably the curricular relevance of university bachelor programmes, of the levels of competencies typical for a bachelor and for a master, and of "international education" and the "European dimension" of higher education.

The author of this analysis had argued that the "employability" thrust in the Bologna Process can be characterised by four aspects (see Teichler 2009, Chapter 20): First, the term is misleading in two respects. It is a well-established term of labour market research and policy addressing problems of "youth at risk", notably problems of the weakest persons on the labour market in finding employment at all; in contrast, "employability" in the context of the Bologna Process addresses the question of how a privileged group might enhance its career prospects even further. Moreover, the term "employment" refers to the "exchange dimension" of the world of work, e.g. salaries, positions, holidays and social benefits; in contrast, the respective debates in the Bologna Process focus on the quality and relevance of curricula for subsequent work assignments. Many actors and experts involved in the Bologna Process believe that "employability" has a normative undercurrent of subordinating study to the prevailing demands of the world of work. The debate might have been less emotional and politicised, if the term "professional relevance" had been used.

Second, the discussion about needs to strengthen employability certainly has gained momentum so quickly, because a change has started already earlier in Europe and in many other countries which can be called a trend towards growing "output awareness" and "outcome awareness". Since the 1980s, various activities have spread in Europe to evaluate teaching and learning, research and administration of higher education. *Evaluation* – undertaken in various institutional settings such as accreditation or in the achievement-oriented remuneration of academics, competitive research funding and output indicator-based institutional funding – is understood as activities of periodic, systematic and comprehensive analyses and assessments of the aims, processes and results of the core activities of higher education. Through a mixture of mechanisms that both stimulate and control, academics are expected to concentrate their attention not only on their major activities but also on a meta-level of observation and assessment: Why and how are activities undertaken? What results are envisaged and achieved?

Third, it has recently become more popular to ask those responsible for study programmes and examinations at higher education institutions not to consider teaching, learning and examination in terms of knowledge, knowledge transmission and knowledge acquisition, but rather in terms of abilities that have been shaped by higher education and could be useful to cope with work and other life tasks after graduation. "*Learning outcome*" is a general term that is used in this context, and "*competencies*" refer to potentially useful abilities which have been shaped, but not exclusively, by higher education. This is reflected in various communiqués of the ministers in charge of the Bologna Process, notably in recommendations to establish "qualifications frameworks".

Fourth, the term "employability" became so popular because universities are increasingly called to demonstrate their utility for society more visibly than in the past. Controversies about the educational functions of higher education are by no means new, and there was a constant search in the past about a balance between utility for society and deliberate distance to external expectations. We find a far-reaching consensus in economically advanced countries that higher education is expected to (a) teach students to understand and master academic theories, methods and knowledge domains, (b) contribute to cultural enhancement and personality development, (c) prepare students for subsequent work and other life spheres through relevant knowledge and help them to understand and acquire the typical "rules and tools" needed in their professional life and (d) foster the ability to challenge prevailing practices: Graduates must be sceptical and critical, be able to cope with indeterminate work tasks and be able to contribute to innovation. In the Bologna Process, however, we note increasing references to the terms "knowledge society" and "knowledge economy" underscoring the importance of higher education for technology, economy, society and culture and putting higher education increasingly under pressure to provide evidence that it is useful for society.

Actually, we note different approaches in realising increased "employability". In the United Kingdom, for example, we note some moves in the direction of strengthening generic skills and other moves towards disciplinary specialisation and others again of more application-oriented study programmes. In Germany, it was agreed in

the framework of guidelines for the accreditation of study programmes that all bachelor programmes should reserve about 10 % of the study time for courses aimed at fostering "key skills" (this might include heterogeneous themes such as rhetoric, foreign languages, writing skills and leadership training).

Concluding Observations

Observers of the Bologna Process agree, first, that the process towards a "European Higher Education Area" was protracted and not fully realised by 2010. The ministers of the European countries involved indicated in the Communiqués of 2009 and 2010 that they see a further decade of the Bologna Process to be shaped by further steps of implementation of the initial goals, by necessary revisions and in some respects by more efforts to reach the ambitious goals.

Second, the effect of the Bologna Process with respect to its prime strategic objective, as initially stated, is ambivalent. On the one hand, study in Europe has become more attractive for students from outside Europe. On the other hand, it is uncertain whether short-term intra-European student mobility really grows faster than before.

Third, the individual countries involved in the Bologna Process often took specific national approaches of "Bologna". Higher education in the various European countries, in spite of the efforts for increased similarity and cooperation, has remained quite heterogeneous, for example, regarding the length of study programmes, curricular approaches, the emphasis placed on outgoing student mobility as well as the notions of "employability" and the actual curricular thrusts. For example, the ministers in charge of the Bologna Process formulated in 2009 the target that by the year 2020 20 % of students should spend at least a period of study in a foreign country. Even when this target was formulated, a few European countries already had surpassed it. In contrast, some countries had yet reached a quarter of that figure and are unlikely and not willing to reach that goal by 2020.

Fourth, we assume that the debate on "employability" might have increased efforts to reflect the links between study and subsequent employment and work as well as to take corresponding action, and it is certainly desirable that not a single approach towards "employability" should become dominant. Also efforts to shape the university bachelor programmes as credible solutions for students wishing to get employed after the award of the bachelor degree have reached a certain degree of success. Bachelor graduates fare better on the labour market than sceptics argue but worse than what could be called a full acceptance of the new degree.

Finally, fifth, we note that the debates about the strengths and weaknesses of the Bologna agenda have remained to be highly emotional and controversial, and we continue to note a magnitude of "eulogies and protests" (Reichert 2010). In a survey of academic staff in 31 European countries conducted in 2007, about one third agreed to the statement, "It would have been better if the old single-tier system (without a split in bachelor and master) was kept", while almost six out of ten

disagreed (Gallup Organization 2007). Disapproval of the bachelor-master system was most frequent among academics in Germany (53 %), followed by those in Estonia (46 %) and Hungary and Italy (42 % each). In Germany, we note as well that most elected representatives of students complain, while student surveys suggest a high degree of satisfaction.

Altogether, the Bologna Process can be viewed as a step towards increasing similarity between higher education systems that had impact on student mobility. But, the actual developments underscore that we have to continue paying attention both to the mix of policies and trends across countries as well as to the scenes of the individual countries. Philip G. Altbach often has shown: It is not appropriate to place emphasis either solely on common international trends or solely on national idiosyncrasies.

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Chapter 11
Research Universities in Latin America: Public Policy and Political Constraints

Jorge Balán

The Research University Model in the Periphery: Altbach's Contributions

Perhaps the most prevailing view about the knowledge society in recent decades is that globalization is making the world of knowledge and information more egalitarian, among other things bringing the ideal model of research universities within the reach of the "emerging" countries. Such perspective, clearly fostered by the media, is often challenged by researchers showing the persistent dominant position of selected countries and regions in the world of knowledge (see, for instance, Brunner 2010). The ideological and political debates, however, often eschew the most critical empirical question about the trends in knowledge production and use and on the role of universities (in particular the small group of research-intensive institutions) in the new knowledge economy, as they miss an analysis of the difficult political, economic, and academic issues involved in building such institutions.

We may well single out Philip G. Altbach as the scholar who has most consistently discussed over the last few decades the issues in the diffusion of the research university model using a broad comparative perspective. Since the 1980s, Altbach use the center-periphery framework to education as he saw that the "central," research-oriented institutions are part of the international knowledge system, while the "peripheral" institutions are not creative, but simply copy developments from abroad. Third world universities are peripheral institutions since they look to universities in the industrialized world for models, research, and direction (Altbach 1981, 1998). Altbach clearly saw the reasons why emerging economies, in particular those in Asia, would want to emulate the Western model, stressing the originality of the versions of research universities evolving in that region, considering the legitimate

J. Balán (✉)
School of International and Public Affairs, Columbia University, 112 Ashley Dr, Westhampton 11977, NY, USA
e-mail: balanjorge@aol.com

political ambition for countries such as India and China to develop such institutions: "If knowledge production and dissemination are not to remain a monopoly of the rich countries, research universities must become successful outside of the main cosmopolitan centers. In establishing and fostering research universities, developing countries face problems that are to some extent unique" (Altbach 2009, p. 15). Most emphatically, Altbach has supported the idea that "…all regions of the world need a role in the knowledge network … there is room, indeed a necessity, for a wider dissemination of research capacity throughout the world … many developing and middle-income countries can develop universities with research capacity and the ability to participate in the world knowledge-system" (Altbach 2007, p. 2).

In recent years, Altbach and other authors have considered from a comparative perspective the "road to academic excellence" and the challenges faced by emerging countries aiming to build research universities (Salmi 2009; Altbach and Salmi 2011; Shin and Kehm 2013). Along these lines, this paper attempts a bird's-eye view of the contemporary debate in Latin America on these issues, with a selective discussion of current policies and of what I consider as the major political constraints embedded in the public higher education systems of the major countries in the region.[1]

The Economic and Political Context in Latin America

Economic performance in Latin America improved considerably during the last 15 or 20 years. With the partial exception of Mexico and Venezuela, all other major economies experienced a boom as a result of the global expansion in commodities' markets, macroeconomic stability, low inflation, manageable debt, an open economy, and increasing competitiveness. Fiscal equilibrium allowed Latin American governments to expand public investment in education, including higher education, and in science and technology, an increasing proportion of the latter benefitting public universities. Full-time faculty and salaries in public universities have increased in most countries. Doctoral and postdoctoral fellowships and research appointments within the national research agencies expanded considerably. Countries in the region now spend on the average over 1 % of their GNP in higher education, with different distribution in the public and private shares between countries, while R&D investment has doubled to a regional average of over 0.7 % of GNP. Brazil, with around 60 % of the regional total, leads with 1.2 % of its GNP devoted to R&D, almost two-thirds of it from public sources (Albornoz 2011). In a clear reversal from the past, the share of universities in research production increased over that of independent public institutes and organizations.

Some of the New Public Management principles introduced in the 1990s continued in public budgeting and administration of public universities, with varying fortunes: Argentina moved to allow universities greater flexibility in the use of public

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[1] The following paragraphs draw largely on Balán (2012).

funding, including the budgeting of faculty appointments. In Brazil, where faculty is incorporated within the civil service, faculty contracts are still very rigidly enforced through national legislation mandating the same salary structure across all federal universities and other public institutions of higher education (Schwartzman 2012). In contrast, Mexico developed a complex system of incentives leading to a marked stratification of faculty rewards within publicly supported institutions (Maldonado-Maldonado 2012). More broadly, however, universities throughout the region have gained greater autonomy in the management of their own resources, even if as a rule (with the only exception of Chile) they are still heavily dependent from government funds. Federal governments still are the major source of public funding for universities all over the region, although states have gained a role in higher education in Mexico and the State of Sao Paulo generously supports three of the most outstanding research universities in Brazil.

The overall policy environment in higher education with the economic bonanza of the last 15 years has tended to focus on equity and access issues rather than on quality and accountability. In contrast, science and research policy has more clearly focused on the most promising programs and individuals, often concentrated in a small number of public institutions in spite of the concern about regional equity issues (CINDA 2011). The overall growth in investment in science and technology resulted in a significant expansion of the research infrastructure allowing for the long-term growth in research output, largely produced by the leading higher education institutions. Latin America's share of global research production, as measured by articles published in indexed academic journals, has doubled during the last two decades, although it is much smaller than the regional share of higher education students (Albornoz 2011). Research investment in the university sector has raised the prospects for developing strong research areas in selected institutions.

The new global economic order, trade liberalization, and a less polarized world present unique opportunities for economic growth that persisted through the 2008 financial crisis and until recently. In order to become sustainable, economic development requires much increased productivity in the huge service sector and further diversification of the export base, both heavily dependent upon an upskilled workforce, enhanced research capacities, and technological innovation. The globally competitive environment in research and higher education, largely a response to the key contributions universities can make to national innovation systems and through them to the national economies (Dill and van Vught 2010), is placing strong pressures to concentrate spending in the most promising research institutions within higher education.

To what extent and through which mechanisms is the current economic bonanza strengthening the research and advanced training capacities of top raking institutions in Latin America and making them more internationally competitive? How do countries manage the trade-offs between strengthening selected institutions, enhancing quality throughout the system, and increasing access through a more diversified yet affordable system of higher education? These are the key questions we want to address in this essay.

Latin America in the Globally Competitive Environment

Comparison of the performance of educational programs and institutions within and between countries in Latin America and with the rest of the world had been seriously limited by the scarcity of reliable statistical data until the 1980s. Improved educational statistics in the late 1980s and 1990s allowed a more careful diagnosis of the serious quality crisis in Latin American elementary and secondary education, reflected in issues such as grade repetition, cohort attrition, and serious achievement gaps between socioeconomic groups. The inclusion of several Latin American countries in international studies of education achievement in the 1990s and in the OECD Program for International Student Assessment since 2000 provided data showing that quantitative expansion of mass education in Latin America had failed to bring learning outcomes comparable to those prevailing in developed countries or other emerging economies. Education specialists, policymakers, and the public at large became sensitive to the risks of education backwardness for the economic competitiveness of their countries and to the pressing need to improve the quality of education.

There are no equivalent statistics available about learning outcomes of higher education graduates. In fact, until the 1980s very few comparative data useful to measure educational quality were available for universities in Latin America. Competition for students, faculty, or resources within national systems had been traditionally limited to the private sector and based upon reputation and price, since little was known about graduation rates, duration of studies, and labor market outcomes for graduates. Competition for students or faculty between public universities was not the norm, although older institutions enjoyed higher prestige thanks to their close association with the professional and business elites or with political leaders. Public universities did compete politically for direct institutional support to be assigned through government budgets.

Most countries developed information systems since the early 1990s and attempted to increase transparency and data reliability to be used by students and governments alike. However, institutions are until today reluctant to follow standard procedures to produce comparable administrative data or to submit their results to external audit. The quality assurance mechanisms sponsored by central governments since the 1990s have brought greater transparency to higher education throughout the region, although administrative data continues to be deficient and national household surveys are a better source of information than administrative data to measure student enrollment and graduation rates among different socioeconomic groups.

Global university rankings, or league tables, are having an impact upon the public demand for better quality and greater accountability in Latin America as elsewhere (Hazelkorn 2009). Very few Latin American institutions perform well in the rankings. Among the Shanghai Jiao Tong 2011 Ranking of the top 500 universities in the world, only 11 are from the region and seven of them from Brazil, while only three are among the *Times Higher Education* top 500. There is a strong reaction

against global rankings among university leaders, who in several meetings have expressed the view that they do not do justice to the overall quality of Latin American university. The reaction within academic circles to the use of rankings, whether global, regional, or national, is most often negative, but its use is much more common in countries with large private sectors (Ordorika and Rodriguez-Gomez 2010).

Regional organizations representing universities, faculty unions, and students have voiced strong objections to the use of global rankings to gauge university quality in Latin American. University representatives requested the International Institute for Higher Education in Latin America and the Caribbean (IESALC, an affiliate of UNESCO) in 2008 to produce a quantitative report on higher education using descriptors, variables, and indicators geared toward establishing a comparative diagnostic of higher education in the region, a move meant to counterbalance the widespread use of global rankings. The project has yet to show results. More recently, a conference held in May 2012 produced a Declaration on rankings with a set of recommendations addressed to governments, ranking producers, the media, and university administrators warning against the use and production of rankings. The Final Declaration warns that an undesirable effect of rankings, originated in their use of the American research university as a model, will be disregard for diversity inherent in the Latin American tradition. As the Declaration recognizes, most universities in the region are teaching institutions, while rankings clearly prioritize research capacity and output (Latin American Universities 2012).

A 2011 report on higher education classified only 27 among the thousands of higher education institutions as "research universities" in Latin America, defined by their production of at least 3,000 research documents during a 5-year period (Brunner and Hurtado 2011). SCIMAGO Institutions Rankings and QS International have recently published special supplements for Latin America (SCIMAGO 2012; QS 2011–2012). SCIMAGO's ranking is based on indexed research and research impact, while QS includes other dimensions, such as academic and employer reputation, faculty/student ratios, and faculty with PhD degrees. Both were widely reported in the media and used by the leading institutions and countries to promote their accomplishments.

Many newspapers and magazines now produce national rankings for domestic consumption. The results of national examinations in Chile and Brazil, as well as a proliferation of surveys, have made rankings readily available for the media and institutional literature in these countries. There are, however, few publicly available national databases useful to measure institutional or program outcomes in Latin America. An important exception to this is UNAM's comparative study of Mexican universities that makes available on the Internet a full range of information about public and private student enrollments, faculty, research output, and research capacity.

Rankings of national systems may enjoy somewhat better receptivity among academic administrators and policymakers in Latin America as they do not engage institutions in a competitive struggle for international prestige and most likely they do not lend themselves to the use, and misuse, by decision makers, although they certainly are influential in the media and public opinion. Universitas 21, a global

network of research universities that includes two Latin American institutions, requested the University of Melbourne to produce a ranking of 48 national systems with the largest scientific production in the world (Williams et al. 2012). Four Latin American countries were included: Argentina, Brazil, Chile, and Mexico. The Latin American nations ranked very close to each other in positions ranging from the 37th (Chile) to the 43rd (Mexico), below those in North America, Western Europe, Australia, and several Eastern European and Asian countries, but above other emerging economies such as India, Indonesia, and South Africa.

The University of Melbourne national system ranking uses a rich menu of measures grouped in four areas with different weights: resources (25 %), environment (25 %), connectivity (10 %), and output (40 %) (Williams et al. 2012). The four Latin American systems include all but two of the top-ranking universities listed in the supplements of both SCIMAGO Institutions Ranking and QS International. SCIMAGO's top 20 research universities are 13 from Brazil, 3 from Mexico, and 2 each for Argentina and Chile. The broader-based QS ranking considers employer and academic reputation and faculty/student ratios in addition to research output. In this case, the 20 top institutions are 8 from Brazil, 5 from Argentina, 3 from Chile, and 2 each from Mexico and Colombia. Six out of twenty top-ranking universities in the QS table league are private institutions, half of them Catholic universities. Only one of them, Chile's Catholic University, is listed in SCIMAGO's table league since research production is comparatively low among the others. Another important difference is the smaller number of Brazilian universities among the QS top 20, while the reverse is true of Argentina.

System Differentiation and Institutional Diversity

System differentiation and institutional diversity in the transition from elite to mass and to universal access have been recognized as key theoretical and policy issues in the USA since the seminal work by Martin Trow in the early 1970s (Trow 2006; van Vught 2008). California's Master Plan in the 1960s became the gold standard of differentiation for other states in the USA but also globally (Douglass 2000), although distributive tensions around public subsidies remain to this day, now aggravated by increased reliance on tuition support. In Europe, system differentiation and institutional diversity have been on the agenda since the 1960s, going through three distinctive stages (Teichler 2008): an emphasis in the 1960s on the virtues of diversification according to binary segments to accommodate mass access, turning later in the 1980s onto the advantages of vertical differences among national research institutions, and now in the context of the European research area to the need to concentrate efforts responding to pressures from global competition to develop world-class institutions and programs. East Asia is the most recent regional example of a strong push toward further diversity through the heavy concentration of public and private efforts on a limited set of research-intensive universities aspiring to world-class status (Balán 2007).

Latin America has reproduced with some lag the American and European policy debates on differentiation and diversity, attempting to meet the challenges of mass access in a region far less advanced economically, with weaker academic traditions and limited state capacity to develop and implement higher education policy. Differentiation through nonuniversity segments was promoted during the late 1960s reforms in Argentina by the unsuccessful attempts to introduce a version of the American public community college into a system dominated by long-cycle professional programs provided by public universities. The Chilean military reformers were more successful in the 1980s in creating a segment of private for profit technical centers to absorb part of the demand otherwise oriented to the university professional programs. Perhaps the most recent and ambitious effort in this direction took place in Mexico with the large network of federal, state, and private technological institutes built since the 1990s (Kent Serna 2005). All countries, furthermore, have formally recognized previously existing postsecondary institutional segments – sometimes called tertiary institutions – as alternatives to the traditional university, but none has been successful in promoting them as a major gate to higher education.

By and large, however, postsecondary enrollments in Latin America are concentrated in long-cycle, university first-degree programs with professional orientation. The university sector, public and private, normally absorbs around two-thirds of total postsecondary enrollments. Although there has been some debate about a Bologna-style curricular reform in Latin America to break down the long-cycle professional degree into shorter cycles, most observers agree that governments have limited capacity to implement reforms in each country (Brunner 2009).

The hegemony of the university as a confederation of professional schools issuing degrees for the licensed professions has thus far remained unchallenged in the region. Neither the California Master Plan model, designating research intensive, highly selective universities with doctoral programs at the top of the system, nor policies identifying selected institutions with a special research mission, as adopted by several East Asian countries, nor excellence programs to concentrate research in fewer universities, as in the recent German experience, have gained momentum in Latin America. Legal frameworks tend to rule that all (public) universities are born equal, even if in fact they exhibit wide differences in their research and teaching capacities as legacies derived from history and geographical location.

University status granted to institutions devolves in principle the authority to offer all kinds of undergraduate and graduate degrees and assumes research as an institutional mission. It is common for public universities to have the same academic ranks and salary scales, thus limiting competition for faculty, a further element in vertical differentiation taken away from the formal system. Private universities, which seldom receive public direct subsidies, tend to be regulated within the same overall legal framework and concentrate their supply in professional programs competitive with those of public universities (Bernasconi 2011b).

Governments in the region have differed much in their reliance on expanding the public university system to cope with increased student demands. On one extreme, Chile has kept a closed circle of 25 traditional universities, public and private, eligible for direct federal support. The Brazilian federal government, until recently very

cautious in opening up the restricted circle of federally supported universities, has shifted gears in recent years, embarking in an expansion of federal universities and their branches, in a plan to increase access in underserved regions. In both cases, a highly differentiated sector of private providers that includes a significant for profit segment takes the lead in absorbing demand. Argentina continues to limit the size and growth of the private system, still absorbing only some 20 % of the university undergraduates, while public university expansion is based upon the universities autonomy to determine student intake as well as by Congressional authorizations to build new public universities in spite of the lack of an overall plan. Finally, Mexico is an example of diversification and regional decentralization of the public system that includes now many different kinds of universities and technological schools, only a few of them with the status of autonomous, federally funded universities.

The top Latin American research universities are publicly supported institutions that rely almost entirely on public funds, as do all other public universities, except for Chile. Research is mostly funded by different public agencies. Industry is still a weak partner of university research since private involvement in research and development, although more common than in the past, is comparatively very limited in the region. Unlike some of their East Asian counterparts, none of the outstanding Latin American universities was built by industrial conglomerates or resulted from strong public-private partnerships, and none is designated as a science and technology specialized university.

Research Universities: Recent Developments

World-class, research universities are embedded in national, and sometimes subnational, higher educational systems that have evolved over time in very unique ways. They respond to the same competitive global environment but do so in local variants that reflect the powerful weight of system inertia. This section will consider how top-ranking Latin American universities fare under the current economic bonanza within the uniqueness of each national context, focusing on the key dimensions that distinguish research institutions: overall and competitive funding, graduate (in particular doctoral) education, student and faculty selectivity, global connectivity, and links with industry and the private sector.

Brazil has built a network of public universities with highly professionalized faculty bodies (the largest percentage with doctoral degrees and full-time status in Latin America), selective student admission, strong graduate programs producing around two out of three doctoral degrees in the region, and a sizeable research production often well connected with demands from industry. Three of the region's top-ranking universities conform the Sao Paulo state university system. While the 1988 Brazilian constitution guarantees university autonomy, only the State of Sao Paulo provides its universities with budgetary autonomy, transferring each year around 10 % of what it collects through the value-added tax to be distributed between three universities. The state allocates about twice as much to the traditional

University of Sao Paulo, the top-ranking institution in Latin America, than to each of the two others, both included within the *Times Higher Education* ranking of the top 100 under 50 (*Times Higher Education* 2012). The University of Campinas is arguably the most research-intensive institution in the region, with the largest proportion of graduate students, while the *Universidade Estadual de Sao Paulo* is a multicampus, multifunctional university with the mission to increase coverage over the vast state territory, yet leaving the largest market undergraduate segment to be served by private institutions (Steiner 2007). The special status of public universities in the state of Sao Paulo reflects undoubtedly the high regard state policymakers have for the universities that produce about half of all indexed research done in Brazil, are responsible for 40 % of all PhD degrees granted in the country, and have developed strong links with the private industrial sector. The state government also supports research and development through its own public foundation, FAPESP, and the institutions receive a large share of the competitive funds administered by a triad of federal programs addressing the funding of development projects, research grants and fellowships, and the quality assessment and support for graduate programs.

Other Brazilian universities included among the top 20 in the region are part of a federal system that, although quite heterogeneous in terms of quality and research intensity, share a set of homogeneous regulations regarding faculty contracts, salaries, benefits, and promotion, providing full-time status and employment stability. Coverage of the federal system is still limited considering the population size of the country, since Brazil never attempted to guarantee universal access through its public institutions. Under the recent economic bonanza, Brazil has expanded considerably its coverage, building over a dozen new federal universities and hundreds of new university campus, mostly serving towns and regions previously underserved, while strengthening a system of technological institutes that became more academic than vocational and obtained similar civil service status privileges for faculty and staff. All federal universities have been under pressure to increase total student intake offering more night time courses and admitting a greater proportion of students from underserved groups through affirmative action programs (i.e., lower-income and Afro-Brazilian or indigenous students). Although arguably these actions are in line with the overall redistributive social policies designed to enhance opportunities and decrease inequality in a country known for its large socioeconomic gaps, critics argue that their high costs will still limit their role in significantly expanding enrollment rates, still largely dependent on tuition-based private supply contracting faculty with greater flexibility and with lower salaries and benefits (Schwartzman 2012).

Hierarchical diversity within the federally funded university system remains important due to the legacies of previous investments in infrastructure and in faculty development, combined with continued generous funding for research and graduate education that has increased in the last few years. Unlike other sources, funding for research and advanced training is largely run on a competitive basis, so that results reflect the unique mission and capacity of top-ranking institutions, largely concentrated in the richer southern region of the country. Targeted funding in several research fields, developed over the last decade, has greatly increased capacity in

strategically important areas in closer collaboration with industry (Tessler 2011). While competitive program funding favors hierarchical diversity – including better paid research opportunities for faculty – the downside of the gap between institutional and program funding is the increased segregation of research and advanced training from the undergraduate professional programs.

Student selectivity is high in traditional professional schools in the public system and in a few prestigious private universities. However, the meritocratic principle has been essential to further the legitimacy of the growing vertical diversity within the entire university system in Brazil. Different types of entrance examinations were experimented over the last few decades, but the principle of selectivity through rigorous examinations is well established in public and private institutions alike. Often criticized due to the high cost of preparation that only well-off families can pay, selectivity in admission reinforces the use of rankings in the student market. Currently the Brazilian government is expanding the use of a final examination upon secondary school completion as a means to improve meritocratic selectivity and equity through government grants for low-income student for undergraduate study. It has also used examinations as the basis to measure institutional and program quality, producing a ranking that is widely used by universities in their institutional public relations literature, while earlier experiments with graduate examinations to measure program quality have lacked continuity (Schwartzman 2010). The assessment and ranking of graduate programs, initiated several decades ago, has continued as a solid base for academic prestige, student selectivity, and funding for advanced training.

Low international connectivity has been diagnosed as a challenge for the Brazilian research universities (Leite et al. 2011). Indicators of connectivity are many, but of different value and interpretation. Brazilian students seldom consider studying abroad for their undergraduate degrees (although this also reflects a system of professional licensing based upon those degrees). The best research universities attract relatively few international students, mostly from neighboring countries and almost exclusively to their graduate programs. International faculty is recruited only for visiting positions: few ever apply to permanent jobs. Language, visas, and inflexible salary rates but also university traditions conspire against international applicants as doctoral students or faculty/research positions. Research collaboration, although increasing, is relatively low for international standards (but size of the system is also a factor). Last but not least, research from the top Brazilian institutions is published less frequently than from other top universities in high impact journals and thus have lower citation rates than what could be expected, a theme of concern to many research administrators. Aware of these limitations, Brazil has recently announced an ambitious public-private partnership program, Science Without Frontiers, providing some 100,000 study abroad fellowships at all levels for the 4-year period starting in 2012.

Chile, a much smaller country with much higher participation rates heavily dependent on private supply, offers a useful contrast with Brazil. Two traditional universities, one public and one private, are ranked within the top Latin American research institutions, with another institution, Universidad de Concepcion, often

classified among the top. Universities are only partially funded by the Chilean government: direct institutional funds represent around 11 % of the total for top institutions, with additional public funding brought through the choice made by students with the best examination results. Top institutions, public and private, rely heavily upon tuition fees, technical assistance, income from university-owned enterprises, and increasingly upon research grants and competitive funding for development projects. Universities were forced to become entrepreneurial at all levels of their operation since government grants declined in the 1980s (Bernasconi 2007; Bernasconi 2011a). With variants between public and private, academic administration has become managerial, although central authorities have more limited power under the elective governance system of the public university. Faculty rewards vary considerably with prestige and productivity, and institutions currently search internationally for new positions. Institutional prestige, leading to student selectivity, is an essential element in the workings of vertical differentiation in Chile: the highly competitive national entrance examination, with the top students able to obtain public support *and* to choose the school and program in which they want to study, is closely followed by public opinion in Chile.

Competitive research funding plays an even greater role in Chile than in Brazil for vertical differentiation. In the 1980s, a time when university educational budgets were seriously reduced by the military government, public funding for research and development still increased, as did research within the university. Funding for research and development activities sponsored by the Chilean state continued growing more rapidly than funding for higher education in the following two decades after the return to democracy. Accreditation is required for universities to compete for research funding and to engage in doctoral education, thus establishing an important distinction within the university system. Several government programs with independent funding have served to establish new centers in partnership with selected universities. Even more than in Brazil, research, both academic and applied, is largely conducted within the university sector, which tends to have an increasingly closer relationship with industry. The most notorious success stories of university-industry relations in Brazil until recently took place in specialized institutions (i.e., the aeronautical school) rather than in comprehensive research universities, and autonomous research centers and laboratories outside the university (i.e., in agriculture and public health) are significant, while in Chile they are associated with universities.

Graduate education, including the PhD degree, is gaining importance in Chile (Espinoza and Gonzalez 2009). The funding of doctoral research fellowships within a unified national system is a growing source of support for those programs. Yet, even the top-ranking institutions are largely focused in undergraduate professional education. Graduate students at the top universities make up only some 15 % of the student body. Research-oriented faculty, engaged in competitive funding and graduate training, tend to remain somewhat isolated from faculty in the dominant professional schools teaching undergraduates, often made up of part-time prestigious professionals. In Brazilian universities, such as Campinas, research moved to the core of university life, while in Chile research has become a dominant value but not

the core activity at any of the top universities. As indicated by Bernasconi in his case study of the University of Chile (Bernasconi 2011a), insufficient public funding from the state requiring administrative limitations and controls over the university seriously limits the road ahead as a top-ranking research institution.

Top-ranking research universities in Argentina and Mexico stand in contrast to those from Brazil and Chile. The large size of the most prestigious universities where research capacity is concentrated is a feature of both countries seriously limiting their institutional flexibility. The two top-ranking universities, UNAM in Mexico and UBA in Argentina, are mega universities of around 300,000 students each, encompassing in the former case over 100,000 upper secondary students enrolled in the preparatory schools and in the latter 50,000 students enrolled in a mandatory 1-year program that operates as a massive propaedeutic course. Given the institutional size and the persistent centrality of professional schools, the considerable research capacity of both major national institutions is diluted as a proportion of the total effort, segregated from the responsibilities of undergraduate teaching, and isolated within the institutional value system and power structure. Research-based indicators used in institutional ranking exercises fail to assign high values to UNAM and UBA, as they do with some of the other large-scale universities where research capacity is concentrated (Instituto Politecnico Nacional and Universidad Autonoma Metropolitana in Mexico and the universities of La Plata and Cordoba in Argentina).

Large student bodies, highly decentralized professional schools, political prominence, location in the capital cities where national governments reside, and turbulent student movements and faculty unions are the trademarks of these public institutions. Breaking down these mega universities, as was successfully done with the University of Paris in 1970 and the University of Chile in 1981 when provincial campuses were transformed into independent universities, has been considered politically unviable solutions. In the 1970s Mexico opened up the Universidad Autonoma Metropolitana, with several branches, as a major attempt to slow down the growth of UNAM. Argentina built a number of new public universities to compete with UBA in the early 1990s, while the most recent spurt of public expansion in the Buenos Aires metropolitan areas took place in the last few years thanks to the economic boom, but with no overall plan to increase diversity or to coordinate more closely the functions of publicly supported autonomous institutions. In Mexico, reforms introduced since the early 1990s set up limits to the growth of student enrollment at UNAM with new admission requirements, while the government embarked in a long-term program to decentralize the system, expand access, and increase diversity in partnership with state administrations. Research remains concentrated in a handful of federal autonomous universities largely concentrated in Mexico City, producing 75 % of all university-based research in the country, with the exception of CINVESTAV, a specialized research and graduate training institution with branches in several major cities.

Graduate education, to a greater extent than in Chile and Brazil, is highly segregated in Argentina and Mexico, thus limiting the influence of research-based academics upon university governance. Argentina is an extreme example since

graduate programs set up tuition fees and thus have an independent source of funds, contract faculty, and develop an independent academic administration. The public accreditation system developed in the mid-1990s has been unable to check the proliferation of MA programs catering to the needs of a growing body of undergraduate degree holders who want to enhance their opportunities in the labor market, both in academy and in industry (Garcia de Fanelli 2012). The bulk of these MA programs offer degrees in the social sciences and the humanities. Doctoral programs, with students more often supported through research fellowships, are fewer and more selective. The rapid growth of research fellowships provided by the national research agency available to the top-ranking doctoral programs has stimulated the expansion in recent years. Although all public universities may compete for research funds and develop proposals for graduate training programs at the MA and PhD levels, only programs accredited with distinction may receive the supported fellows. A similar accreditation agency in Mexico ranks graduate programs with the classification used to allocate federal research funding.

A major element in the segregation of research and advanced training in both countries is the growing differentiation within the academic profession. In Mexico, merit pay and peer review programs are used to selectively increase faculty salaries in universities and research centers, while similar incentives do not exist among other public higher education institutions (Maldonado-Maldonado 2012). Most prestigious is the National System of Researchers that supports full-time faculty in research and graduate education in public and selected private institutions. In Argentina, competitive appointments within the research career system supported by the National Research Council serve a similar function of differentiation within the academic profession. Appointees are relatively free to move between institutions, further weakening the authority of university administrations that compete to attract the best faculty. New public universities, in spite of their limited infrastructure of libraries and laboratories, may strategize to develop accredited graduate programs and centers, funded outside the regular university budget, segregated academically and spatially from the core undergraduate schools.

Autonomy and the Limits to Government Intervention

As Andres Bernasconi has recently remarked, "during the 20th century public universities in Latin American as a whole asserted, and often obtained from the state, ample room for self-determination. Autonomy certainly included the usual academic freedoms to set curricula, admissions, and graduation requirements and to hire and promote faculty and staff, but it also included the prerogatives to create or close down programs, schools, or branches without governmental authorization. Administratively, universities demanded independence to define their charter and bylaws, organize their internal governance and management structures, and elect their authorities free from government involvement. They likewise demanded that financial dependence on government appropriations could not carry any directives

as to how to spend the public money, and in more than a handful of countries the national constitution defined the share universities would receive of the government's annual budget" (Bernasconi 2013, p. 5). Although under the various authoritarian regimes of the past autonomy was often overruled by decree, in recent decades the principles, and often practices, of institutional – and in an extreme version, system – autonomy and elected governance have prevailed in the public universities with few exceptions, often preventing governments from having a higher education policy at all.

The overall picture, of course, is considerably more mixed, with conflict and negotiation taking place between government and university representatives, under different organizational frameworks, in order to enact and implement policies addressing the needs of coordination, articulation, and selective promotion and funding of programs, including the emergence of new accountability systems. Further complications have emerged in recent years with the increasing unionization of academic staff in the public universities. In Brazil, where faculty are unionized civil servants, salaries and other benefits are negotiated throughout the system, seriously limiting in fact each institution's ability to allocate resources. More recently, Argentine faculty unions have promoted revisions to the system for entrance and promotion within the academic career that would restrict academic competition and mobility. As a result, governments have seen an erosion of their ability to steer systems and institutions according to any set of priorities – above and beyond their capacity to create new institutions, capacity that, as we have already discussed, is more often than not negotiated in Congress and used to respond to regional, local, and other interest groups.

Governance issues, often embedded in legal frameworks establishing rigid guidelines regarding the federal role in education and the autonomous status of universities, limit governments in their attempts to strengthen particular areas, avoid duplications, coordinate activities, or promote research concentration within a limited set of institutions through higher education policy. Research and graduate training policies, often carried out by independent agencies, enjoy considerably more leeway to allocate their resources and are more likely to use competitive mechanisms to allocate resources.

Concluding Remarks

Three decades of stable democratic regimes, an evolving policy environment favorable to higher education and research, and the recent period of rapid economic growth have enabled considerable progress in the overall capacity of higher education systems to serve better the need for locally produced knowledge and advanced training. Focusing on four countries with the largest research production in the region, this paper dealt with recent trends affecting institutional diversity, in particular the prospects for consolidation of research universities, a long aspired goal that has been made more urgent with the technological revolution and the new economic order.

The most important step forward has resulted from the growth in research funding and graduate education provided through science and technology public agencies within the university. Although governments developed science policy instruments since the 1960s, it was only in recent decades that agencies favored a closer link with higher education and gave priority to funding research centers, projects, and researchers within the university – rather than in autonomous government institutes. Science and technology policymaking began to be conducted in closer collaboration with educational authorities in the development of research-based graduate education programs, research projects, and selected segments of the academic profession. In Brazil and Chile, and to a lesser extent in Mexico and Argentina, the link between research support and consolidation of doctoral education has been the enabling factor in identifying and supporting university programs where these functions became closer to the center of institutional life.

The success of the research enterprise in transforming an institution is heavily dependent upon the relations established between research and graduate training, on the one hand, and the rest of the university, in particular the professional schools, on the other. A high degree of autonomy and isolation, typical of research programs within universities, seriously limits their institutional impact. Successful cases of integration are to be found where the professional schools also introduced important changes, such as a departmental structure replacing the old chair system, with a strong steering capacity in the center. Major stumbling blocks in the successful incorporation of research within the university remain the relative ability of central administrations to manage their own resources, develop university-wide academic strategies, and establish differential rewards according to the achievement and potential for growth of different university segments.

Institutional success has depended also upon the flexibility of the regulatory government framework for the public university system. Variation in the degree of administrative autonomy, access to a diversity of funding sources, and freedom to establish selective admission systems largely explain the relative success of innovative groups to steer their institutions in the direction of a research university model. The expansion of the public university system within a single organizational model within the boundaries of national legislation and the continued power of professional schools have been the major stumbling block in the process of establishing greater diversity within the public system, often leaving greater initiative to the private sector which enjoys considerable more freedom to respond to competitive pressures.

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Chapter 12
African Higher Education and Altbach's Influence

José Cossa

In a 2007 keynote address at the annual meeting of Comparative and International Education Society (CIES), Philip Altbach (2007) argued in favor of building research universities in the developing world. His core argument highlights three characteristics of higher education common across the developing world: (a) professors' splitting their time between conducting research, teaching, and consulting for international organizations; (b) the level, extent, and quality of government involvement in, and contribution to, higher education; and (c) the goal of establishing research universities that are relevant to the context in which they operate, are effective enough to build a community of innovative intellectuals, and are able to retain members of such community against the lure of high-paying industry and non-university jobs. Ultimately, Altbach's concern was about power relations that incubate and eventually surface between developing world institutions and developed world entities—at some point in his address, he argues that "it is a problem to have research agendas dictated by foreign institutions and entities," and such argument intersects with my stance that "unless the developing world takes charge of its own destiny, the road to development will remain a myth and impossible to reach." For instance, descriptions and nomenclature about how clusters of countries are classified have changed contingent on the world's politico-ethical landscape (e.g., in a given time there were sub-developed countries, then underdeveloped countries, third world countries, and now there are developing countries). In this chapter, therefore, please note that I use loose conceptualizations of *developed* and *developing* world only to fit the widely accepted framework without problematizing these concepts. In other words, I am in no way ignoring the fact that

J. Cossa (✉)
Walden University, The Richard W. Riley College of Education
and Leadership, 55401 Minneapolis, MN, USA
e-mail: mozambicanscholar@gmail.com

these terminologies are contentious and often belittling to the majority of the world's population. Structurally, herein, I present Altbach's premise as advocacy toward a way forward for African higher education, its scholars, and researchers.

Altbach's Premise

A key role of research universities is to foster the intellectual engagement and innovation, leading to development in various sectors of society; thus, it is essential that these institutions be relevant to the context in which they operate and be effective enough to build a community of innovative intellectual and retain members of such community against the lure of high-paying industry and non-university jobs. Altbach's premise lies on the argument that in order to build successful research universities in developing countries, it is imperative to: (a) create and keep a scientific community, (b) conduct research that is relevant to the increasingly sophisticated local industry, (c) conduct research in national languages, (d) build internal capacity by training students for research and teaching, (e) build a community of local scholars and researchers who can communicate and partner with the research community abroad, and (f) think of creative ways to involve the Diaspora. The following is an outline of how he expounds, albeit briefly, upon each of these points:

1. *Create and keep a scientific community*. If not engaged to the point that they feel like they are contributing to knowledge, the best and the brightest are going to leave; thus, it is imperative that developing countries create and maintain research universities.
2. *Conduct research that is relevant to the increasingly sophisticated local industry*. They should not only build technical capacity that derives from building a robust science and technology research portfolio but also build a robust social sciences and humanities research portfolio.
3. *Conduct research in national languages*. Research universities need to build capacity for conducting research, publishing and disseminating knowledge in national languages.
4. *Build internal capacity by training students for research and teaching*.
5. *Build a community of local scholars and researchers who can communicate and partner with the research community abroad*. This community of scholars and researchers should receive high-level training and be positioned to develop equitable partnerships with high-ranking scholars and researchers around the globe.
6. *Think of creative ways to involve the Diaspora*. Perhaps this ought to be done in a way that members of the Diaspora do not give up their positions in their countries of residence but that they engage in temporary appointments in research universities in their country of origin.

Nonetheless, Altbach argues that such a mission does not preclude the challenges of the (a) high cost of developing and running a research university, (b) potential opposition to adopting national languages as languages of research and instruction, and (c) overt and covert corruption that affects universities.

Advocacy and African Higher Education

One of the greatest concerns with any agenda that presupposes the amelioration of the status of the developing world is centered on the issue of identity and equitable participation in global affairs. In a previous article, I posited the following in regard to Africa:

> The only way Africa will have an equitable participation is to affirm itself independently of the West and its constructs by abandoning the prevailing current Western constructs such as nation-state, development, republic, international, etc., and re-defining itself in constructs that reflect relevant African indigenous perceptions of reality. (Cossa 2009)

Such independent *self-affirmation* is fundamental in the advancement of the agenda of research universities and any efforts leading to Africa's autonomy and "competitive edge." The challenge for Africa to develop "world-renowned" research universities is enormous, but a vehement advocacy for such can trigger faith in the possibilities. It is this faith, triggered in advocacies of scholars like Altbach, that I have found hope that the following recommendations (Cossa 2008a) have an audience among Western scholars as they do among African scholars:

1. African scholars and leaders in higher education should make concerted effort, and make it their mission, to integrate indigenous knowledge systems into their day-to-day activities. To some extent, this can be done by:

    (a) Inviting communities of non-Westernized elders to influence the life of the university as knowledge experts and key stakeholders. These communities of elders should be allowed to express themselves in their native language, and students should be encouraged to attempt assimilation without translation; initially, this will be hard; but, as the university introduces and encourages students to take national languages as part of their required curricula and faculty as part of their scholarship requirement, students and faculty will have the privilege of grappling with primary sources rather than translated speeches. While Altbach only addresses a need for research conducted in national languages, the significance of his argument lies in the fact that he is a Western scholar advocating for research in non-Western languages. African scholars have been very critical of the issue of languages in academia—e.g., Ngugi wa Thiong'o (1998) and Ntuli and Smit (1999)—but our voices have encountered opposition within our very core as culturally alienated beings conflicted in the dichotomy of Western versus non-Western conceptions of *civilized* as well as among our own community of African scholars and educators.

    (b) Encouraging faculty and students to engage in research that aims at advancing knowledge of traditional Africa. This research should be in areas that are uniquely African that students will identify, areas that are either gaining global recognition, or that are framed along the same line as those gaining recognition (e.g., ethnomathematics, ethnocomputing, ethnoengineering, ethnopsychology); however, researchers should be encouraged to move away from subjecting African cognitions of mathematics, engineering, computing, etc.,

to Western interpretation—African cognitions should be interpreted in African ways, and it is the duty of Africans to unveil these interpretive frameworks.

(c) Creating platforms such as academic journals and libraries of oral history that allow for African cognitive systems to be published and made available— these platforms should follow a rigor of scholarship that is in accordance with the vision of an African Renaissance and have elders as referees of the knowledge being published. In a time when Africa continues to fall in the trap of adopting Western declarations such as qualifications framework deriving from the Bologna declaration, the new understanding of African scholarship and African rigor in scholarship will be a counter to the new neocolonial forces that will continue to hold Africa as a dependent continent.

2. Schools should introduce students to African cognitions and traditions from an early stage in their academic life. To some extent, this can be done by:

(a) Engaging the community of elders in schools and taking students to field trips to listen to elders delivering a story or lesson about traditional life.

(b) Including native languages in the curricula and elevating them, in sophistication and usefulness, to higher levels than Western languages. This is a necessary counter to Western colonialism and neocolonial manifestations such as modernization and globalization. The idea that African languages can be seen as equals is a myth; they can either be seen as the languages that merit credibility in better expressing the thoughts of the African people (who seem to have a disposition to learn multiple languages due to the multiethnic compositions of their countries) or seen as lower in value when compared to the colonial language historically imposed on the people of their respective territory.

(c) Introducing courses on Afro-esteem (e.g., courses that help students to see rooting in traditional Africa as an advantageous positioning rather than a disadvantage). This sense of accepting one's own is essential in community building, nation building, and continent building. This is a sort of community organizing or "grass-roots" movement, which could eventually become the driving force of Africa's unique development that is independent of Western institutions and powers—essentially, the movement would be reconceptualizing African identity that eventually will redefine Africa's direction and her place in world affairs. Without generations that see being an African as the ultimate aspiration for them, it is impossible to attain any level of development because Africans, who lack this aspiration, will continually chase others conceptions of identity, which in turn dictate conceptions of development and knowledge.

African Higher Education

Power is an indispensable point of reference in our attempt to understand the complexities that engulf higher education. In other words, understanding power can unlock our understanding of why simple decisions about common sense issues can
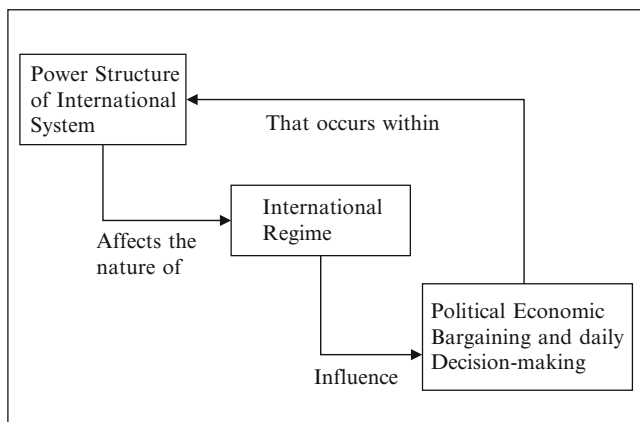
Fig. 12.1 Regimes as intermediate factors (*RIF*) (Source: Author's elaboration Cossa 2008b)

be lost in endless rhetoric and politicizations. My research on power dynamics and its impact on negotiations of higher education policy in Southern Africa (Cossa 2008b), for which I drew valuable insight from Altbach's work, takes issue with how power dynamics operate in the intersection between local governments (LGs), regional organizations operating as regional international regimes (RIRs), and global organizations operating as global international regimes (GIRs).

Keohane and Nye (2001) state that international regimes are "intermediate factors between the power structure of an international system and the political and economic bargaining that takes place with it" (18) and argue that the structure of the system affects the nature of regime, and the regime, in turn, influences the political bargaining and daily decision-making that occurs within the system (see Fig. 12.1). Although admitting that a regime derives from the interaction between power structure and politico-economic bargaining, Keohane and Nye's definition suggests a dynamic interaction of power and bargaining, alludes to an attempt to maintain a degree of order or procedures, and suggests the indispensability of regimes in sustaining life within a system and the bargaining therein. In other words, the very agents that birthed the regime become dependent on it for their balanced survival.

The perception that without a regime the least powerful within an international system would be at the mercy of the more powerful is plausible in relation to the arbitration of the interactions among the members of a given regime; however, I argue that a world dependent on regimes allows room for potential conflicts because regimes exist in two international dimensions: global and regional. A critical question is *what regime will have the last word when the role of these regimes intercepts over one common interest?* This is a question of *power dynamics* and the key question that led me to tackle the issue raised by the Association of African Universities (AAU), classified here as a RIR, in relation to the World Trade Organization's General Agreement on Trade and Services (WTO/GATS), classified here as a GIR. Moreover, this question led me to appreciate Altbach's position on the future of higher education in developing countries, his apparent adamancy about the

negative implication of the GATS on developing countries, and his consequent "whistle-blowing" to the international academic community about the loss of autonomy that developing nations would suffer under the GATS (Altbach 2001). He states the following:

> The greatest negative impact of WTO control over higher education would occur in the developing countries. These countries have the greatest need for academic institutions that can contribute to national development, produce research relevant to local needs, and participate in the strengthening of civil society. Once universities in developing countries are subject to an international academic marketplace regulated by the WTO, they would be swamped by overseas institutions and programs intent on earning a profit but not in contributing to national development. It is not clear that accrediting and quality control mechanisms that now exist in many countries would be permitted, at least as they relate to transnational educational providers. (p. 4)

Altbach (2001) calls attention to the legally binding nature and complexity of the GATS rules, which require that developing nations take a more proactive and careful approach to international agreements. Furthermore, he argues that protecting culture, intellectual independence, and the values of civil society are simply not at the same level as free trade in automobiles or equal access to market for Soya beans or even other services that are included in the GATS agenda. Acknowledging that Altbach is not the only non-African taking this sort of stand, his contribution in this highly controversial politico-intellectual space is one that I have found to be among the boldest non-African argumentation about Africa's potential dilemma in the globalization and internationalization arena, particularly within the fields of comparative and international education and of international higher education. In a world where intellectuals tend to be superficial about transformations affecting their "intellectual power" positions, this stand provides a glimpse of faith and hope in remnants of Western intelligentsia for Africans who see value in building equitable partnerships with Western parties concerned with the state of higher education in Africa.

The AAU (2004) statement that triggered my study of power dynamics in negotiations is the affirmation that,

> Under WTO/GATS, education has been included among the tradable service sectors that would be regulated by the complex rules and legal arrangements of the WTO protocols. Thus, higher education would be traded as a commodity on the world market, with barriers to such trade either reduced or eliminated. Already, transnational education provision is generating huge revenues for "exporting" countries such as the United States, Australia and New Zealand. However, many developing countries, in no position to export, are liable to open up their domestic education markets to foreign providers. With this opening up will come limitations to policy independence in relation to education and threats to the public higher education sector, particularly where that sector is already weak. Assuring the quality of transnational provision will also be a matter of concern. These and other critical issues need to be the subject of public discourse among all stakeholders. (p. 1)

The concern over the implications of GATS on higher education in Africa led the AAU to organize conferences to specifically address issues such as limitations to policy independence and threats to the public higher education sector. Both concerns call into question the extent of power that the regional bodies and individual

countries in the region will have if the protocols are welcomed, particularly because there is already in place an attempt to balance quality of education in the region through programs such as transnational education (TNE). In addition, there is concern that if the power of the regional bodies and individual countries is diminished by the protocol, there is risk that regional higher education will revert to dependence in a neocolonial fashion and national knowledge systems will continue to be devalued. The AAU (2004) asserts that:

> The introduction of the WTO regime, with its binding obligations and drive for progressive liberalization, was certain to introduce major changes in the balance between the internal and external determinants of higher education policy within our countries, strengthening the external at the expense of the internal. (p. 49)

Historically, the WTO results from the agreement between developed and less developed countries on a new World Trade Organization to extend and strengthen the GATT. This regime change follows the demands of less developed countries for a New International Economic Order, which involved struggles over what international regimes should govern trade in raw materials and manufactures as well as direct foreign investment (Keohane and Nye 2001). The demands for better governing of trade and the consequent formation of the WTO reflects a globally shared perception between developed and less developed countries of the need for a global regulatory regime to arbitrate on trade matters, thus witnessing to the fact that members agree with the "hegemonic" jurisdiction of the WTO.

The issue raised by the AAU must be understood in this context of a shared global perception and agreement in regard to the role of the WTO. The AAU does not contest the existence of the GATS, but it argues that the diffuseness of the term *services* in the GATS allows for interference in the area of education—thus *services* is a conceptual issue that needs redress—and it is concerned with a potential abuse of power through the "agreed hegemonic status" of the WTO, under which GATS operates.

Nonetheless, one should not assume that the AAU's contestation and the advocacy in favor of a self-affirmation reflect the perspective of all African scholars. Some African scholars have sided with the position taken by the WTO or have modestly accommodated it as possibly a sound alternative. Mthembu (2004), arguing for the necessity but not sufficiency of GATS as a condition for transnational education, charged the African institutions of complicity in making education a service and in classifying it as a social and public good. Although different from the radical view that opposes GATS in higher education, Mthembu's position reflects both the ambiguity of African scholars and the general view that raises awareness to the impact of globalization. Despite the ambiguity, there is a consensus among African scholars that globalization plays a role in higher education. Some go to the extent of arguing that the expansion of trade in services calls for greater dismantling of barriers to trade and consequently assures growth in the opportunities and capacity to expand the market for higher education (Association of African Universities 2004).

The concern over the inclusion of education in the GATS is unique in that it caused more debates than did any of the other service sectors. The response of the

African scholars in Accra suggests that although there seems to be no hope in stopping the GATS, there is hope in informing policy makers and governments toward making prudent decisions on behalf of their constituencies. To some extent, this position suggests an ironic sentiment of hope in the midst of hopelessness in that escape from the GATS should not be the most desired form of freedom; yet, even if it were, it would be impossible for developing nations to attain it given the phenomena of globalization, a favorable conduit for the GATS. The AAU (2004) states that:

> With or without GATS, globalization will change the systems and processes of education. What is necessary is to set up a regulatory system that is best suited for our objectives. In order to regulate a system you have to understand it first. Regional approaches can help better in regulating higher education under GATS. (p. 3)

The subtleties of the dilemma behind the ironic sentiment and the complex nature of power dynamics between Global International Regimes (GIRs) and Regional International Regimes (RIRs) were also revealed as a challenge in the interviews that I conducted for my aforementioned study. Part of the problem derives from the fact that local governments (LGs) do not understand the intricate nature of the organizations with which they establish agreements and thus become trapped in a web of bindings that may at times jeopardize their autonomy in certain areas. These intentional and unintentional trappings exist at subtle levels of culturally driven conceptual constructions and theories such as those informing the GATS. Thus, it is imperative that developing countries build communities of scholars and researchers who have the countries' best interest at heart and simultaneously imperative for governments to include such scholars and researchers in pre-policy discussions and policy negotiations rather than rushing to adopt what is perceived to be a shortcut toward "populating developing countries with higher education institutions." In his address concerning research universities, Altbach (2007) echoes this sentiment when advocating that developing countries ought to engage in building communities of scholars enabled with the ability to negotiate with the rest of the world and *level the playing field* as they maintain in the core of their negotiating positions and agendas the interests of the academic institutions and of the people they serve.

African scholars and researchers ought to heed this challenge very seriously and tap into pool of intellectuals in the continent, the Diaspora, and the rest of the world to forge strong communities of advocates and activists whose mission is to develop research universities built on solid foundations. African higher education suffers from what I would call a *chronic spiritual condition of desolation* in which it has lost, as a system, its capacity to reinvent itself without depending on "Western missionaries" of sorts as if the good news of hope for Africa can only be defined within a Western framework. As Ntuli (1999) has so candidly posited, when arguing about the missing link between culture and education, the possibility that Africans are still chasing gods that are not their own. The refreshing nature of contributors such as Altbach is found on the sense one gets from his advocacy that it is not a set of prescribed solutions for the developing world, Africa in this particular case, to take at face value. African scholars and researchers leaning toward seriously

contributing to relevant research and relevant research universities in Africa can, and should, learn from a scholar of such tremendous reputation as Altbach; nonetheless, such learning ought to translate into an internalizing of the values that lead to action scholarship because Africa needs pragmatic scholars that will build university-based centers of knowledge such as the Altbach-pioneered the Boston College Center for International Higher Education (CIHE), which has a widely disseminated voice on African Higher Education—International Network for Higher Education in Africa (INHEA), established by Damtew Teferra, a dynamic member of the African community of scholars with continued close connections to Altbach.

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Chapter 13
The Development of Private Higher Education in Japan Since the 1960s: A Reexamination of a Center-Periphery Paradigm

Akiyoshi Yonezawa

Introduction

Thanks to a series of works by P. G. Altbach, Japan's higher education system has been given distinguished status among non-Western higher education systems. As he showed in his writing on the transition from dependence to autonomy among Asian universities (Altbach and Selvaratnam 1989), the Japanese higher education system was already coming to be recognized as a partial exception among other Asian higher education systems, which existed in the scientific periphery, dependent on influence from the Western world. In his argument on the application of the center-periphery paradigm to higher education (Altbach 1998), he distinguished two different dimensions, namely, centers and peripheries among nations and centers and peripheries within national university systems. By the end of the 1980s, Japan, along with India and the Philippines, had already developed a large and quite diverse academic system with both highly selective and mass-based universities (Altbach and Selvaratnam 1989), and the majority of students were enrolled in the private higher education sector (Altbach 1999). Altbach also pointed out the significant diversity among those private higher education institutions and identified the existence of a few highly prestigious universities such as Keio and Waseda (Altbach and Umakoshi 2004). In his recent works on world-class universities, Japan was again mentioned as an exceptional country outside the USA, having a number of private research universities (Altbach and Balán 2007).

Among various world university rankings, only Quacquarelli Symonds (QS), which relies heavily on a reputation indicator survey conducted among academics and employers, lists Keio and Waseda Universities within the top 200 in the world in 2012. It may be premature to assert that the top Japanese private universities

A. Yonezawa (✉)
Graduate School of International Development (GSID), Nagoya University,
Furo-cho, Chikusa-ku, 464-8601 Nagoya, Japan
e-mail: yonezawa@gsid.nagoya-u.ac.jp

have achieved world-class status in research. However, a few private universities have definitely achieved a central position in the research field, both internationally and domestically.

Altbach also wrote about the reform of higher education in Japan at the beginning of the twenty-first century (Altbach and Ogawa 2002). Although he did not directly use the term "policy borrowings" (Tanaka 2005), he used Japan as a typical example of a peripheral but independent country that was able to borrow a number of higher education ideas from other countries. Altbach also pointed out that the German Humboldtian system was the main model for Japan when it established its modern higher education system in the late nineteenth century and indirectly influenced other Asian countries, most of which had once been colonized by Japan, through implantation of the Japanese model (Altbach and Umakoshi 2004).

Altbach detected a resistance to change and certain curious characteristics in Japanese higher education reform, however, including the incomplete impact of major reform imposed under the supervision of the US-led General Headquarters just after World War II.

> Throughout the postwar period, there has been much talk, a veritable library of reports and analyses, and a number of government committees and other official bodies that have explored the problems of the Japanese academic system. It is fair to say that much change but little reform has occurred in Japanese higher education. (Altbach and Ogawa 2002, p. 1)

Nevertheless, structural change took place in the latter half of the twentieth century, notably diversification of the academic system through the "massification" of higher education, mainly through the expansion of enrollment in private and nontraditional higher education institutions (Altbach and Ogawa 2002).

The emergence of mass higher education and the expansion of the private sphere of higher education, both from a financial and an operational point of view, is one of the main topics in higher education research. All higher education expenditure cannot realistically be funded from public resources. Costs must be shared and operations must also be entrusted to private higher education institutions (Johnstone 2006).

Altbach has never suggested the imposition of convenient models for policy borrowings but rather has provided insightful external views on Japanese higher education from a comparative and global perspective. Altbach's works raise an interesting point on the mechanisms of structural change of higher education systems. That is, a series of policy borrowings may facilitate the endogenous development of higher education. As Umakoshi (2004) also argues, the role of the private sector has been significant in meeting the demand for mass higher education in Japan and Asia. However, the impact of higher education policy on the expansion and diversification of the private higher education sector, especially on the establishment of elite status by some private universities, has not been clarified in detail.

In this chapter, the author examines the role of support and control of private universities in the process of realizing mass higher education in Japan from the 1960s. In so doing, he tries to identify the actual meaning of educational policy borrowings in the development process of a higher education system.

This chapter focuses on the establishment of elite private universities that rely on a high degree of selectivity of students for their prestige. The author also suggests that these characteristics of higher education in Japan prevented competition that would have led to quality improvement, at least until the beginning of the 1990s. As Altbach and Ogawa (2002) and Eades et al. (2005) argue, Japanese higher education is currently facing a fundamental challenge to make structural changes, in its quest to achieve the highest quality and relevance of its education and research.

Framework

Interaction between the government and private higher education institutions is implemented through the market. In Japan, especially before 2004, when the requirement for certified evaluation (accreditation) was introduced, the national government's only power of direct regulation was to authorize the establishment and abolition of private universities. A private university can set the level of its tuition fees autonomously in the higher education market, and the market for private higher education is highly segmented according to the prestige of an institution and its field of study. Knowing this market structure, the Japanese government has tried to intervene to influence private higher education indirectly or through the market. The existence of national and local public universities also has an influence on the market of private universities (Yonezawa and Baba 1998). When a prestigious private university sets its tuition fees, it has to take into consideration the tuition fees charged by national and local public universities, which are competing to attract the same group of students.

There are two principal functions of the government that influence the market behavior of the private universities. The first is a supporting function, represented by a direct subsidy to the universities. There are two main types of financial support mechanisms for private universities, direct and indirect. Direct support is a subsidy given to a private university as an institution. Currently, the Japanese government provides public subsidies for the operational expenditures of private universities, as well as for their infrastructure and equipment. The second principal function is control, represented by quantitative control of student enrollment. The profile of support and control may change, and this change influences the institutional behavior of private universities in the market, which in turn impacts on the direction of the government's support and control policy.

As a peripheral higher education system, the Japanese government's policies inevitably reflect global financial and educational trends. Policy trends in the USA and Europe were the dominant influences on the financing and system formation of higher education in Japan up until the end of the twentieth century. Yano (1992) refers to Western impact on Japanese education policies, such as the introduction of education planning specifically with a view to developing a highly talented and educated workforce, and then human capital theory from the latter half of the 1950s. From the beginning of the 1970s, welfare state policy dominated in public policy

and finance in Japan. Subsidies from the Japanese government toward the operational expenditure of private education institutions, national higher education plans, and a new type of nonuniversity postsecondary education system were introduced. From the 1980s, however, global trends related to structural adjustment and neoliberal economies reversed the fiscal policy of Japan, steering it in the direction of austerity. By the end of the decade, the Japanese government, in response to the worldwide spread of ICT and the knowledge economy, was starting to intensify its investment in science and technology, again following global policy trends on "new public management" and reaction to "market competition."

The quantitative expansion of higher education may be explained by an endogenous factor, namely, demographic trends among Japanese youth. The expansion occurred mainly through the absorption of temporarily increased demand for higher education from first and second baby boomer generations. Mass universal access to higher education was realized through expanded provision of higher education opportunities after the graduation of these baby boomers.

Four different stages of combined governmental support and control have defined the process of establishing mass higher education in Japan. In the first period, from 1962 to 1969, the government offered no support and no control. The government loosened its control of student enrollment in order to meet the increasing demand for higher education by first baby boomers. However, it offered no financial support for the operating costs of private universities. In the second period, from 1970 to 1975, while there was still no government control, support was available in the form of a subsidy for the operational expenditure of private universities. In the third period, from 1976 to 1985, the government provided both support and control for private universities. The government strengthened its control of student enrollment by means of its new higher education plans. In the final period, from 1986, the government relaxed its control of student enrollment but at the same time also reduced its support for operational expenditure.

After passing the peak demand from second baby boomers at the beginning of the 1990s, the government continued to loosen control of enrollment numbers (Amano 1997; Morozumi 2010). At the beginning of the twenty-first century, a continuous decline in the youth population finally led to saturation of the higher education market, the realization of universal access to higher and postsecondary education, and an oversupply of higher learning opportunities, especially among less prestigious private universities.

The central issue discussed in this chapter is when and how the elite private universities emerged in the Japanese private higher education sector. In Japan, top private universities enjoy an established status within the hierarchical structure of the higher education system. They compete in a student market alongside national and local public universities. The author defines these top private universities as "elite universities based on student selectivity." Private universities in Japan, even the most prestigious ones, rely heavily on revenue from tuition fees, and yet their fees are relatively low, because they have to compete with national and local public universities. The research performance of these private universities is also subject to certain limitations. The top national universities have a great advantage in the research

infrastructure in basic sciences over local public and private universities. In social sciences and humanities, the number of students per member of teaching staff is much higher in private universities than in the national institutions, and the teaching load of professors is in general heavier. Having said so, competitive private universities have limited the student enrollment from significantly large pool of applicants, partly following the governmental policies and partly as a branding behavior for seeking prestige. The prestige of top private universities thus tends to be solely based on the high selectivity of students.

Historically, it was the national universities that expected to foster elites necessary for national development. Although they ranged widely in terms of prestige and size from the beginning, private universities were generally expected to absorb the demand for mass higher education. Since the 1960s, however, some private universities have started to increase the selectivity of students. By the end of the 1990s, however, Japanese higher education policies entered a new phase with the introduction of performance and quality assessment in higher education.[1]

Expansion of the Private University Sector: 1962–1970

In the history of Japanese private higher education, there were several periods of expansion. The first period was around 1919, when the establishment of private universities was officially permitted by the government. It was during this period that the oldest private universities such as Waseda and Keio were officially recognized as such. The second period was characterized by expansion during World War II. Young people were systemically organized by enrolling them in the universities for human resource development in order to sustain a country at war. The third period started around 1949, when the prewar polytechnics were upgraded to university status as part of educational reform after the war. One or more national universities were established in each of the 47 prefectures, following the state university system model in the USA.

In the 1960s, Japan experienced its fourth and largest expansion of the higher education system, mainly thanks to the capacity of private universities to absorb demand. This great expansion reflected national policy for expanding programs of natural sciences and engineering and the need to handle the rapid increase in demand from the first baby boomers, from the mid-1960s. In 1962, the Ministry of Education, Science and Culture (Monbusho) deregulated the new establishment of departments and changes in student enrollment numbers in existing programs, which had previously required government approval (Amano and Yoshimoto 1996). At that time, public subsidy for the operational expenditure of private universities did not exist.

As mentioned above, the major market function of the private universities in Japan was to absorb demand (Levy 1986), whereby they could achieve financial stability through economies of scale and scope, as expenditure per student is

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[1] The following analysis is mainly based on the detailed study by Yonezawa (2010).

lower if the size of the class or school is larger, and if more than one program can be delivered to common classes. In order to increase the size and variety of the programs, however, private universities have to invest in facilities and teaching staff. Following the model of US elite private universities, the Private School Act (1949) presumed that operational expenditure should be covered mainly by tuition fees and that capital expenditure (e.g., buildings) should be covered by an endowment. Osaki (1999) pointed out, however, that, because expansion was so rapid, most capital expenditure by the early 1960s was actually covered by tuition fee income. In 1964, the Monbusho allowed private universities to cover two thirds of the cost of facilities by borrowing.

In the no-support-and-no-control environment, Japanese private universities chose one of two paths, either to continue to absorb demand or to transform themselves into elite universities. They faced several obstacles in the way of realizing US-type elite private universities capable of conducting high-quality research and providing first-class education, thanks to huge endowments and research funds, however. First, there was a large gulf in terms of education and research between national universities and private universities. Second, there was no tradition of large endowments in Japan, nor were they socially affordable. Last, private universities, especially the prestigious ones, were not able to increase tuition fees because of resistance from the students. Tuition fees at national and local public universities in the 1960s were nominal, and students and the general public identified the gap in fees between public and private sector as a social issue.

Financial Support and Financial Crisis: 1971–1975

The history of public financial support for private higher education goes back a long way in Japan. The first support, starting in 1919, took the form of official authorization of private universities. In order for them to receive authorization, the government required them to provide the basic means for maintaining their operation. However, in reality, none of them was able to provide the required amount and the government was obliged to support them in meeting the requirement. Thereafter, the Japanese government occasionally offered loans or temporary support, for example, for recovery from a huge earthquake in the Tokyo area in 1923 and to repair some of the damage sustained during World War II, or provision for graduate schools and new programs for science and engineering in the 1950s and 1960s.

It was from 1970, however, that regular financial support to the private universities started. Article 89 of the Japanese Constitution, enacted in 1946, states that "no public money or other property shall be expended or appropriated for the use, benefit or maintenance of any religious institution or association, or for any charitable, educational or benevolent enterprises not under the control of public authority." On the other hand, Article 59 of the Private School Act, enacted in 1949, states that the national government or a municipal authority may provide subsidies and loans to support private school education. Using the interpretation that private schools and

universities are a part of "public education," the private universities began to consider the possibility of public subsidy for their operational costs, a movement that picked up momentum in the mid-1960s.

There are two main reasons why private universities might be prepared to accept public subsidies. First, the salary of national civil servants, including faculties and staff of national universities, was raised substantially by the government in the 1960s. This exerted significant upward pressure on overall personnel costs at the private universities, which was an incentive to raise tuition fees or seek other revenue sources such as government subsidies. In addition, as has been mentioned, private universities cooperated with the government to accept the temporary increase in demand for higher education from the first baby boomers, which made it easier for the universities to plead their "public" role.

From the point of view of the government, student protests about the high level of tuition fees at top private universities from the mid-1960s was a big concern. The quality of university education became a social problem as a consequence of rapid expansion. National policy was about to transform into a welfare state policy to compensate for greater socioeconomic diversity through income redistribution. Subsidies toward the operational expenditure of private universities were finally introduced in 1970 and continued to increase year by year throughout the decade.

Nevertheless, the private universities did not escape their financial difficulties, at least in the first 5 years. Although the influence of the first "oil shock" in 1973 should be taken into account, the continuous expansion of private higher education system in line with the rapid decrease in numbers of pupils leaving education after the first baby boomers is acknowledged to be the main cause of the failure of this policy. The newly established universities faced a shortage of applicants because of their less advantageous location and lower prestige, whereas most of the existing universities continued to absorb the rising demand. For old, prestigious universities, salary increases for staff became a crucial factor. At an aggregate level, the financial condition of private universities worsened in this period, and the government felt the need to intervene in the private university market with a different policy tool.

Governmental Control Under the Higher Education Plan: 1976–1985

After the deregulation of the establishment of departments and changes in student enrollment in 1962, the government was left with no means of controlling the level of student enrollment into the private higher education sector. Moreover, it became common for private universities to enroll more students than the number reported to the government. The official quota for enrollment was set within a certain standard of educational quality, i.e., provision of sufficient faculties, facilities, and equipment. Through the expansion period, however, over-enrollment of students was frequently observed, and concern about the quality of education at the private universities accordingly became widespread.

Arguments about governmental control of private universities had already been in full swing when the Private School Act was enacted in 1949. As a result of a failure of consensus between the government and private universities, the request from the universities for a public subsidy was not granted, but they gained considerable autonomy and independence from the government. When subsidies for operational expenditure were introduced in 1970, regulations were made to enable government recommendations on the change and suspension of newly established departments and graduate schools and increases in student enrollment quotas. However, as a result of strong opposition to such regulation from the private universities expressed during debate at the House of Representatives, actual implementation was postponed (Osaki 1999).

The discussion on government control of total student numbers now took a different direction, namely, within the debate on a long-term national plan for the provision and expansion of education. In 1971, the Central Council for Education (CCE), the advisory council on educational policies of Monbusho, published a report entitled "Basic policy for the total provision and expansion of school education in the future." This report officially acknowledged the public role of private universities in absorbing demand for provision of higher education. At the same time, the report set out the issue of public financial support for private universities and schools and the establishment of a national higher education plan.

After much political debate and lobbying, the Act on Subsidies for Private Schools was enacted in 1975. The range of subsidy for operational costs of private universities was set as "up to 50 %" instead of the "50 %" specified by Monbusho. The government introduced the First Higher Education Plan, to run from 1976 to 1980, and the Second Higher Education Plan, from 1981 to 1986. These plans set targets for absolute total student numbers, including those of private universities and colleges. The implementation was achieved rather smoothly, partly because the government agreed to transform the existing over-enrollment by the private universities into the official quota just before the introduction of the government plan (Amano and Yoshimoto 1996). A non-university higher education "special training college" was also founded to absorb postsecondary education demand that could not be filled by the private universities through the introduction of a higher education plan.

The combination of increased public subsidy for operational expenditure and relatively strict control of student enrollment gave a significant boost to the financial recovery of the private universities. However, all increases in student enrollment and the establishment of new universities, faculties, and departments had, in principle, to be examined on their own merits before any allowance was granted. Student numbers especially in metropolitan areas such as Tokyo and Osaka were strictly controlled, and in some cases increases were prohibited. At the same time, the share of public subsidy by the national government within the total revenue of private universities reached 29.5 % in 1979, the highest in history.

The Second Higher Education Plan came into force in 1981. Originally, the plan expected a modest increase in enrollment capacity in the national university sector. However, having reexamined its welfare state policy, the government was minded to

set strict budgetary ceilings, partly influenced by global policy trends toward neoliberalism. The Open University of Japan (OUJ) was also established in 1983, and the government expected OUJ to absorb demand in the public sector. Strict control of student numbers in the private university sector therefore did not change. The amount of government subsidy to the operational expenditure of private universities did not increase, and the share decreased to 19.2 % in 1985 and to 11.2 % in 1999 because of a continuous increase in personnel costs at private universities. The "support and control" realized by the end of the 1970s became merely weakened "support" from the beginning of the 1980s.

Thanks to this combination of financial support for operational expenditures and control of student enrollment, most of the private universities were able to achieve financial stability, which, however, came at the cost of higher tuition fees and greater increases in financial burdens to the households of the students. In this period, the tuition fees of national and local public universities were also raised, more dramatically than those of the private universities. The introduction of the financial subsidy for the operational expenditure of private universities did not realize its initial purpose, namely, to reduce the financial burden on private university students. The support certainly stabilized the financial condition of the majority of private universities, however, which in turn led to an improvement in the learning environment. This financial stability continued even after the weakening of financial support in the 1980s, when private universities, especially the leading ones, achieved greater financial autonomy.

Inducements Leading to Renewed Expansion: From 1986

After the Second Higher Education Plan ended in 1986, the Third Higher Education Plan was in force from 1986 to 1992, a period in which a rapid increase in demand for higher education from the second baby boomer generation was expected. The plan took into account the fact that the number of secondary school graduates would decrease rapidly after 1992. In severely straitened economic circumstances, the government budget could not stretch to supporting any large expansion of the national higher education sector, and consequently the private sector was again expected to absorb the temporary increase in demand (Amano 1997). Thus, the government decided temporarily to permit increased enrollment in private universities and colleges and provided additional incentives for the purpose.

Demand from the second baby boomer generation having passed, the government set up the Fourth Higher Education Plan, in force from 1993 to 2000, and the Fifth Higher Education Plan, from 2000 to 2004. From the time of the Fourth Plan onward, the rationale for systemically providing higher education opportunities was lost because of the continuous decrease in the numbers of young people. Namely, the government does not have to stimulate further increase of student enrollment for maintaining the enrollment rate of prospective age cohort. Instead, the Fourth and Fifth Plans simply set out projections and let the market decide on actual enrollment

numbers (Amano 1997; Morozumi 2010). After 2005, the government abandoned its creation of higher education plans, under the long-term expectation of continuous decreased of youth population.

Based on a detailed analysis of financial and other data, Morozumi (2010, 2012) concludes that private universities continued to strive to increase their numbers enrolled until the beginning of the twenty-first century. Faced with the saturation and decline in size of the student market, however, the gap between prestigious universities situated in metropolitan areas and the less prestigious, typically smaller universities and colleges situated in small towns or rural areas became wider. On the other hand, the number of private 4-year universities has continued to grow, through the upgrade of a significant number of private junior colleges that had mainly catered for females in short-term education (Yonezawa and Kim 2008).

National land policy, from the 1980s onward, also actively provided incentives to set up university campuses as a means of economic revitalization, the funding coming from local sources in both newly developed districts in rural areas and downtown areas of megacities (Yonezawa 2010). These small new campuses, many situated in rural areas, are now faced with a likely serious shortage of students.

On these rather complex context, Levy (2012) makes an interesting argument that too much focus on shaky, small private institutions may lead to the overestimation of the magnitude of overall enrollment decline to Japanese private higher education. Actually, the existence of private universities, especially the selective ones, has also frequently provided the impetus to introduce new public management policies and "market competition" with national and local public universities. From the end of the 1990s, "privatization" of national universities has been debated repeatedly, even after incorporation of all national and most local public universities in about 2004. As regards the research function of higher education institutions, especially in the fields of science, technology, engineering, and mathematics (STEM), leading national universities retain their dominant position.

Conclusion

The Japanese higher education system has been peripheral at the global level, although several national universities claim world-class status in STEM field research. In general, private higher education tends to be peripheral even within a national system. However, a few private universities have succeeded in establishing themselves in a position close to "central," at least in terms of their high level of selection of students. This was realized through a combination of support and control from the government based on a series of ad hoc policy borrowings. Endogenous factors such as demographic change and systemic diversification both across and within public and private sectors have also played an indispensable role in this process.

Philip Altbach's recent works, especially those focusing on world-class universities, stress the benefits of an internationally engaged higher education sector (Altbach and Balán 2007; Altbach 2010; Altbach and Salmi 2011). Japanese

higher education suffers severe limitation to academic flows across borders, partly because of its mature national academic system. Japanese national policies for world-class universities officially stress competition between and within public and private sectors (Yonezawa 2007). As regards the internationalization of university education, some private universities surpass the top national universities. Few of the private universities can compete with the top ten or so national universities in research, however, especially in the STEM fields.

An impressive change that Japan is experiencing is the diversification of the policy models on which progress is based. Japan referred to the United Kingdom, Australia, and New Zealand in introducing new public management policies from the end of the 1980s and then to Korea, China, and other Asia-Pacific countries in terms of "world-class" university and research policies and academic mobility from the end of the 1990s. It cannot yet be argued that the Asia-Pacific region has become a center of higher education. However, the context in which Japanese higher education operates under the center-periphery paradigm is becoming more complicated.

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Chapter 14
Whither Innovations in Higher Education in India?

N. Jayaram

> Higher education in India stands as an immobile colossus—insensitive to the changing contexts of contemporary life, unresponsive to the challenges of today and tomorrow, and absorbed so completely in trying to preserve its structural form that it does not have the time to consider its own larger purposes.
>
> – S.C. Dube (1988: 46)

> It [higher education in India] is in need of change, development and improvement. In order to effectively plan for reform and improvement, it is necessary to have a realistic perception of what is possible and what is not.
>
> – P.G. Altbach (1993: 34)

The current system of higher education in India was originally implanted by the British rulers with a set of specific colonial objectives (Ashby and Anderson 1966). It was inherited by the state managers of independent India as a colonial legacy in 1947 and has been expanded phenomenally since then. In 60 years (between 1951 and 2011), the number of universities increased from 30 to 634 (by 7.6 times), the number of colleges from 695 to 33,023 (by 14.4 times), the number of teachers in higher education from 23,549 to 816,966 (by 11.3 times), and the number of students from 397,000 to 16,975,000 (by 28.8 times) (computed from charts and tables in UGC 2012a). India now has the third largest higher education system (behind China and the United States).

It is not that this system, which was modeled after the University of London (established in 1836), was thought to be the only one suitable for the country, nor is it believed to be functioning efficaciously. Critical appraisals periodically undertaken by academicians, including the National Knowledge Commission (2007), have, in fact, highlighted the crisis confronting the system. Furthermore, committees after commissions have

N. Jayaram (✉)
Centre for Research Methodology, Tata Institute of Social Sciences, V.N. Purav Marg, Deonar, Mumbai 400088, India
e-mail: njayaram2@rediffmail.com

repeatedly emphasized the need to overhaul it thoroughly. While the politicians and policy makers have often spoken about the need for *radical reconstruction* of the system, what has been achieved in reality is only *moderate reformism*.

It is, no doubt, simple to share the cynicism of those diagnosing the system of higher education, characterized by enervating obesity and wasteful drift, as terminally ill. Given the nature of political development that has taken place in the country over the past few decades, however, one has to concede that the socioeconomic cost of overhauling the system would be prohibitive. Also, the philosophical vision and political will required for such a task are sadly lacking. Viewed in this light, it is easy to understand why successive governments have been content with the expansion of the system with little major modification. This *expansion* is often confused for *development*: thus, we find the politicians gloating over the number of universities and colleges in the country, the growth in student enrolment, the financial allocation earmarked for the tertiary sector of education, and the quantum of graduates produced annually and added to the vast reservoir of educated human power.

Since a radical overhaul *of* the system is nowhere in sight, innovations *in* the system may be the only realistic alternative possible. Introducing the volume on *Higher education reform in India*, Philip G. Altbach and Suma Chitnis write:

> We are not optimistic that systemic reform is possible in the Indian context. The system, having grown … to an immense size, leads a life of its own. To basically alter its direction or configuration would require unprecedented political will and the exercise of considerable power… Improvements at the margin are probably all that can be expected…. (1993: 12)

Those optimistic in the academia may even argue that such innovations are a precursor to change, evolutionary rather than revolutionary. It is in this context that a review of and the debate on innovations in higher education assume significance. This essay reflects on the nature and problems of innovation and reform in higher education in the country.[1]

In such reflection, it would be remiss if one does not recall the abiding interest that Philip G. Altbach has evinced in higher education in India over the last five decades (see Agarwal 2012). Not only has he kept track of the developments in higher education in India but has also encouraged and stimulated me to analyze these developments and has often joined me in the process. As a token of my gratitude, I present this essay to him.

Endogenous Responses to the Crisis in Higher Education

The term "higher education" may suggest a homogeneity, which does not exist in India today. Broadly defined for the Indian context, the label "higher education" includes the entire spectrum of postsecondary education beyond 12 years of formal

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[1] In writing this essay, I have drawn extensively on my earlier work (see Jayaram 1999, 2003, 2004, 2006, 2007, 2009, and 2011) and my discussions with Altbach over the last 35 years. To avoid cluttering the text with quotations, only passages cited from works of other scholars have been put within quotation marks.

Table 14.1 Typology of higher education institutions

In terms of	Type of institution
Degree-granting authority	1. Institutions of national importance
	2. University – unitary
	3. University – affiliating
	4. College
Legislative origin	1. Central
	2. State
	3. "Deemed-to-be university"
Funding	1. Public – government
	2. Public – grant-in-aid
	3. Private – unaided (*de jure* not-for-profit, *de facto* for-profit)

Source: Adapted from Agarwal (2009: 2)

schooling (see FICCI 2012b: 9–13). The institutions offering higher education vary in terms of the degree-granting authority, legislative origin, functions, and funding (see Table 14.1). Broadly, we can delineate five types of educational institutions, forming an informal hierarchy: these are (1) institutions of national importance, (2) central universities, (3) state universities, (4) grant-in-aid colleges that are constituent of or affiliated to a university, and (5) unaided (purely private) universities/ colleges. Besides their stated (and often unstated) objectives, these institutions vary widely as regards the academic preparation, ability, motivation, and commitment of their teachers and students.

To be sure, the crisis confronting the system of higher education is not the same or even similar in all types of institutions or at all stages of higher learning. However, there is no gainsaying that the vicissitudes of the crisis are most glaring in the state universities in general and at the undergraduate level in affiliated colleges in particular. Over the decades, the bulk of expansion in student enrollments in higher education has taken place in affiliated colleges in state universities and in first-degree courses (about 86 %) (UGC 2010–11: 301), and in conventional arts, science, and commerce courses (about 72 %) (UGC 2012a). Most (about 84 %) of the teachers are also working in these institutions (UGC 2010–11: 4). The unregulated expansion of this sector of education has been invariably identified as the main cause of its present predicament. As G.R. Reddy rightly remarked in the mid-1990s, "No university system in India seems to have a concept of its own optimum size" (1995: 19).

The University Grants Commission (UGC), established by an Act of Parliament in 1956, has been vested with the powers to provide funds and to set and coordinate standards of higher education. Considering the inordinate number of universities and colleges it is required to oversee, the UGC has been virtually reduced virtually to a fund-disbursing agency, incapable of enforcing its own recommendations (see Pinto 1984; Singh 2004). Also, given the diarchy in higher education—with the UGC expected to oversee it and the state governments regulating it in practice— higher education has remained virtually an unbridled horse. Thus, the suggestion of the National Knowledge Commission (2007) to establish an Independent Regulatory Authority for Higher Education assumes significance in this context.

What goes on in the name of higher education in many a state university and college is pathetic: in many institutions, the physical facilities are so deplorable, and the library and laboratory facilities are so woefully inadequate that they have earned the sobriquet "academic slums." While lack of resources—a general refrain heard in this context—is primarily responsible for this, it alone cannot be blamed. What is serious, even the prescriptions governing the minimum qualifications for the appointment and promotion of the academic staff are violated; the minimum number of working days is not met; the calendar of academic activities, if at all, exists only on paper, and the administration has virtually collapsed.

All this has adversely affected the quality of education imparted in colleges and universities. It is true that lacking any objective measurement of standards over a period, it is difficult to determine precisely the nature and extent of deterioration of the standards in higher education. However, there is no denying that Indian standards compare unfavorably with the average standards in the educationally advanced countries. Incidentally, the Education Commission had drawn attention to this as early as the mid-1960s (see Ministry of Education 1971). No wonder, the degrees awarded by Indian universities are not regarded by many a foreign university as equivalent to its degrees. In fact, employers within the country, including the government agencies, are wary of these degrees.

An undue emphasis on certification rather than on teaching-learning process—a classic case of the proverbial tail wagging the dog—has distorted the orientation of university education. Practically all that takes place in the university system is geared toward examination. Not surprisingly, it is in matters relating to examination and certification that we find a host of problems and scandals. Obviously, many innovations undertaken in the university system relate to examinations (e.g., weighting for internal and external evaluations, grading systems, and continuous evaluation) and the prevention of tampering or faking marks cards and certificates (e.g., the computerization of examination records, insertion of holograms on marks cards, and lamination of degree certificates).

An important consequence of the rapid expansion of university education has been the increase in the demand for teachers. Studies on college teachers have invariably underlined the sad deficiency of academic preparation of the people entering the profession and their declining commitment to it. As early as in the mid-1980s, the National Commission on Teachers (1985) bemoaned that most of the teachers are making a living and not following a vocation. This has a lot to do with the deplorable standards obtaining at the postgraduate level of education. More important, for a long period, most postgraduates easily found employment in colleges, and even in universities, with absolutely no training in or orientation to teaching, and with doubtful aptitude for that vocation.

It is to arrest this trend and to ensure proficiency in the subject and aptitude for teaching or research on the part of candidates aspiring to become teachers that the UGC introduced the National Eligibility Test (NET). This test as an eligibility criterion for entry into the academic profession is perhaps unique to India. The percentage of candidates successfully qualifying at the NET is measly, which partly reflects on the poor quality of education and the liberal standards of

evaluation at the master's level in Indian universities. To address regional specificities, many state governments have been permitted by the UGC to conduct a State Eligibility Test (SET), which was treated as equivalent to the NET. In some states, to cope with various demands, the standard of SET had been so appallingly diluted and the norms have been so brazenly flouted that the UGC had to withdraw the permission granted them to conduct the SET. All this seems to suggest that, despite the laudable objectives with which the UGC introduces innovations, when it comes to the implementation at the state, university, or college level, there is a tendency to scuttle those innovations.

Similar has been the fate of the Academic Staff College (ASC) established in selected universities, following the National Policy on Education, 1986 (Government of India 1986), to groom the new entrants to the profession and keep those already in it abreast with the latest developments in the field. As with all such well-intentioned innovations by the UGC, the orientation and refresher courses are now ritualized at the ASCs.

Since the late 1970s, the UGC has evolved a three-tier scheme: the Departments of Research Support (DRS), the Departments of Special Assistance (DSA), and the Centers of Advanced Studies (CAS), in ascending order. Based on their work, academic reputation, existing facilities, and potentialities, the UGC has even identified specific centers and departments under the scheme and has been extending financial support to them. This scheme has no doubt "injected a degree of vitality in a system that was becoming moribund and breaking down under the increasing weight of its own size and the consequent thinning spread of limited resources" (Raza and Aggarwal 1991). While a systematic review of this scheme is still due, the trend toward ritualization in some departments and centers is too apparent to be ignored.

It is significant to note that the expansion of conventional courses seems to have outstripped the demand for them by students. Since a few years now many colleges are facing a decline in enrolment in these courses, and some of them are in dire straits with absolutely no enrolment in certain courses. For some grant-in-aid colleges, it has even become difficult to find workloads for their teachers. In fact, there are cases of colleges in which the teachers, so that they are not disturbed, pay for the dummy admission of students. Reputed colleges are not in the red yet, but it may be a question of time for them too.

While generally the brighter among the students have always avoided these courses, even the not-so-bright among them appear to be turning their back on such courses now, invariably opting for professional courses like medicine and technology, followed by computer science, information technology, and business management. If they cannot make it to any of these courses, then they would rather try their hand in some course with narrow but specialized job prospects like packaging, plastic technology, fabric designing, air-conditioning, and refrigeration. As a consequence, those who still seek the conventional graduate courses are generally the leftovers and dregs, or the first-generation college entrants from rural and indigent backgrounds (the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes), especially those who are supported with financial assistance by the government. The fact that good students are no more taking up basic science courses has seriously affected the academic

programs of reputed science institutions like the Indian Institute of Science (Bangalore), which has now come out with incentive schemes for meritorious students taking up basic sciences at the graduate level.

The lack of a link between conventional courses and the job market seems to have become too apparent for students and their parents. At best, the employers—not only the private but even the government—use the conventional degrees as sieves for filtering the large number of applicants for the limited number of jobs. The unemployment situation among the educated persons, particularly among the conventional degree holders, has worsened over the decades, with the government not being able to absorb them any more in public employment.

The adoption of structural adjustment and economic liberalization policy has aggravated the situation, as the new economic scenario demands types of knowledge and skills generally not possessed by the conventional degree holders. It is only natural that those who have been using the conventional courses as waiting rooms are either seeking early entry into the job market at lower levels, with the option of obtaining formal university qualifications later, or entering courses that carry better job prospects.

The UGC has been aware of the disorientation of the conventional courses and had recommended the introduction of job-oriented courses at the first-degree level. However, this was done without an understanding of the failure of the much flaunted vocationalization of the "plus-two" (last 2 years of the secondary school) level course. Many universities, no doubt, have introduced a job-orientation component in their undergraduate curricula. This has been mainly to utilize the funds provided by the UGC for the purpose and has been obviously ritualized.

It is in this context that the concept of distance education seems relevant. As compared to the conventional university education, this mode of education can have better spread and coverage; its recurring expenditure is low and it is cost effective; and it is flexible, both for the administration and the students (see Kulandaiswamy 1993). This mode was initially introduced by some universities (starting in 1962) as an innovation to provide opportunities to the employed persons to pursue their studies and to those who, for various reasons, cannot enroll in conventional programs of study. Its scope was later enlarged to encompass the concept of "open university." This mode is now institutionalized: besides the Indira Gandhi National Open University (IGNOU) (established in 1985), there are 13 state open universities and 183 other distance education institutes. In 2012, in all, these 197 institutions had enrolled 4.2 million students (FICCI 2012b). The distance education programs are regulated at the national level by the Distance Education Council established under the IGNOU Act, 1985.

The concepts of open university and distance education are laudable, especially in realizing the objectives of increasing the coverage and equalizing opportunities. It is important to bear in mind that, while the expansion of the conventional university system has been described as phenomenal, barely 7 % of the 18- to 24-year-old age group enrolled in higher education institutions, "which is only one-half of the average for Asia" (National Knowledge Commission 2007: 48). Using the global definition of Gross Enrollment Ratio (18–22 age cohorts), the government estimate

for 2011–2012 is facilely liberal, 20.2 % (FICCI 2012b: 8). However, the way open university programs are run in most universities is far from satisfactory. Whipping up of unrealistic aspirations combined with nonfulfillment of promises leaves many candidates in the lurch. Poor quality of the study material, inadequacy and ineffectiveness of the contact programs, and lack of study-center facilities have virtually ritualized such programs. In the "open university" concept, the universities have found a "cash cow" to supplement their dwindling resources.

The phenomenon of "shadow education" assumes significance in this context. With the existing colleges being unable to teach effectively and the students wanting to sharpen their competitive edge, parallel private education in the form of tuition or coaching classes has become a vital supplement and is thriving. The competition for admission into reputed institutions (like the IITs and the IIMs) and for prized courses (like medicine, engineering, and technology) is too stiff, with the cutoff percentages for admission being very high. The alternative to government-subsidized professional education is to join private institutions that charge hefty fees and donations.

Regardless of one's ideological predilections, it is now conceded that the future of higher education in India will be determined by market economy and the private sector. Significantly, notwithstanding the opposition of the Ministry of Human Resource Development, in its final draft of the Twelfth Five-Year Plan (2012–2017), the Government of India's Planning Commission has reiterated its suggestion for allowing higher education to run for profit (Chopra 2012).

Private Initiatives in Higher Education

Depending upon their orientation to the conventional university system, we can identify two types of private entrepreneurial initiatives in higher education. In the first category are the private colleges that are formally affiliated to a university: they offer courses approved by the university, and their students write the examinations conducted by the university, and the successful among them are awarded degrees by the university. While the institutions belonging to the minority communities enjoy certain privileges of administration granted by the Constitution of India, in all academic matters, all the private colleges are governed by the norms stipulated by the university.

Many of these private colleges get financial assistance to the tune of 80–85 % of their expenditure; besides, they are permitted to collect a small fee from the students to make up the balance. As such, these colleges must observe the grant-in-aid code formulated by the government. As different from these are the unaided private colleges that have to generate their own financial resources. They have considerable leeway concerning administration and the collection of fees from the students. Purely private universities, a relatively new phenomenon in India, have been "the fastest-growing segment" of higher education in the country (FICCI 2012a: 1): as many as 100 (15.78 %) of the 634 universities are private and, de facto, mostly for-profit institutions.

As different from the foregoing are the privately owned and managed colleges, institutes, and academies conducting courses outside the purview of the university system. Typically, they offer courses in such areas as aviation and pilot training, glass technology, plastic technology, packaging, corporate secretaryship, marketing management, financial management, foreign trade, portfolio management, operations research, tourism administration, software marketing, computer applications, fashion design, and beauty aids. Unlike the diploma courses in some of these fields offered by the polytechnics, some of these courses offered by well-known institutes are accredited with professional bodies in the area, often even outside the country.

Another educational innovation that has come from private initiative is the concept of "twinning program." This program necessarily involves collaboration between two systems of education, with both the systems taking responsibility for teaching and training of the students and one of them holding the right to award educational credentials. The programs may involve collaboration between an Indian institution and a system abroad (international educational collaboration), or between two systems of education within the country (intranational educational collaboration).

International educational collaboration is slowly gathering momentum. In India, it was originally devised as a way out of the governmental stranglehold on private institutions of higher learning and the enervating rigidity of the university system. Such international educational collaboration is not, however, confined to professional education. To meet the demand for high-quality first-degree education, especially in areas like computer science and information technology, some private colleges have entered into twinning program arrangements with universities abroad.

All this necessarily implies opening the sphere of higher education to foreign educational establishments. For over a century, the well-to-do Indian families have been sending their wards for higher education (and in some cases even for schooling) abroad and the most talented among the students obtained government or foreign-foundation fellowships to pursue higher studies there. Given the internalization of higher education, such facilities are now being brought into the country. This is akin, no doubt, to the operation of the multinational companies in industry and business, and, as such, it cannot be expected to be free of socioeconomic costs.

It is well known that such high-quality education involving multinational arrangements, often involving job placements, is expensive, especially as compared to the absurdly low-cost education offered by public-funded colleges and universities in India. Moreover, the concept of twinning program is now taking roots intranationally as well. Such programs effectively combine the advantages of regular and distance modes of higher education. It is also significant that institutions involved put their physical, material, and human resources to optimum use. Considering this, it is ironic that the concept of autonomous colleges has not been given the genuine try that it richly deserves.

Conclusion

A close examination of the Indian university system suggests that it has been incapable of introducing any significant educational innovation or effectively implementing any educational reform. Given the mounting pressure for increasing accessibility and the constraints of democratic politics, the trend in the universities is toward reducing everything to the lowest common denominator or leveling down quality, rather than raising it. The system is extraordinarily rigid and pronouncedly resistant to change. The impetus to change does not come from within the system. When experiments or innovations are introduced from outside, they are resisted; if enforced, they are ritualized. The fate of such innovations as the merit promotion scheme for career advancement of the faculty, self-assessment by faculty, faculty improvement program, vocationalization of courses, semesterization of courses, curriculum development centers, college development councils, academic staff colleges and orientation and refresher courses, and even accreditation is too well known to warrant elaboration. It is indeed ironic that higher education, which is expected to function as an agency of change, should itself be resistant to it.

The void created by the paralysis and drift of the conventional university system in the sphere of higher education is being filled by private entrepreneurial initiatives. Thus, significant educational innovations and experiments are currently taking place in institutions outside the university orbit and in the private sector. In view of the rapid expansion of (and increasing variety in) knowledge and skills, there is enormous scope for educational innovations and initiatives. The private institutions have been more responsive to the demands of the economy and industry and the changing employment scenario. They have also shown their ability to match relevance with flexibility both in costs and regulation. Not all private institutions, however, are necessarily good; some of them are brazenly commercial establishments.

Privatization of higher education is an apparently welcome trend: the importance of creativity, adaptability, and quality in higher education requires it; the economic trail of liberalization and globalization demands it. Considering the chronic paucity of resources, gradually unburdening itself of the additional responsibility for higher education may be advisable for the government. Instead, it could better utilize the scarce resources for realizing the goal of universalization of elementary education and for improving the quality of school education.

Privatization of higher education, however, is not without social costs. In a polity such as India's, where structured inequalities have been entrenched, privatization is sure to reinforce existing inequalities and to foster inegalitarian tendencies. This calls for the regulation of the private sector, on the one hand, and ameliorative measures to offset the imbalances resulting from economic inequalities, on the other. Here lies the challenge for policy makers: how to advance equality without sacrificing quality and how to control the private sector without curbing its creativity and initiative.

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Part V
Worldwide Perspectives

Chapter 15
Global Diversity: Emerging Trends

Heather Eggins

Introduction: The New Dispensation

Each year, and each month within it, sees the impact of global movements affect every country, and every higher education system, in measurable ways. The background contains several key elements which need always to be taken into consideration: the shifts in global power and wealth, with China's rise in economic strength alongside the growing importance of India, Brazil and South Asian countries; the effects of the digital revolution which enables almost instant communication within and across national boundaries worldwide; and the expansion of world population, combined with unstable weather patterns, which can bring about movements of people across country boundaries. The ease of international flight, and its cheapness, has encouraged worldwide travel; people, particularly in Western nations, have become accustomed to travelling from place to place; academics, no less, have been able to exchange and explore ideas at international conferences. Students are travelling in greater and greater numbers to study in universities outside their homeland: indeed, many countries, such as Brazil and China, view foreign study as an excellent plus point on an aspiring academic's curriculum vitae.

Phil Altbach's work over the last 20 years has charted this movement towards globalisation. His concerns are with international developments, and he explores, in a number of his volumes, the ways in which globalisation has affected higher education worldwide (Altbach 1997, 2006; Altbach and Peterson 1999). As the leader of the Fulbright New Century Scholars Program in 2005/2006, he led a group of scholars who examined particular aspects of global higher education and coedited

H. Eggins (✉)
Institute for Education Policy Research, Staffordshire University,
74 Whitehall Park, N19 3TN London, UK

University of Sussex, Brighton, UK
e-mail: heggins@btinternet.com

in 2007 the book which came out of their work, *Higher Education in the New Century*: *Global Challenges and Innovative Ideas* (Altbach and Peterson 2007); *Trends in Global Higher Education*: *Tracking an Academic Revolution* (2009) followed in which he brought together a series of essays which examine particular aspects, including globalisation and internationalisation, access and equity, the centrality and crisis of the academic profession and the financing of higher education. This chapter builds on Phil Altbach's thinking and examines a few particular developments in global higher education which are becoming more pronounced with the passage of time.

A Revolution in the Delivery of Learning

One can argue that changes in the delivery of learning during the next decade will transform the landscape of higher education. Global solar-powered receipt of raw learning will be made available by satellite delivery. All that will be needed is a satellite receiver and a charging point for mobiles, linked to a local antenna to distribute the signal. A student would only need a mobile wallet to access the information provided. He/she will still need to be attached to a university and will need incentives to study, but remote learning is developing at a fast pace and it is cheap. Areas such as sub-Saharan Africa, which have so far had difficulty in accessing the technological revolution, will be opened up. Aston University in the UK has found that there was no difference in the grades of students who studied by remote video learning and those who studied internally at the university (personal communication). This has been verified in the work of Shachar and Neumann (2003) who found that, given positive support, distance learning students outshone traditional academic performances. The perceived trend of demand for higher education is certain to continue, and new ways of delivering and accessing study courses, worldwide, will develop.

Government Response to Comparative Data

More people, more competition for resources and more striving by governments to improve the social and economic prospects of their nations have led to their searching for effective policies to maximise the skills of their population by developing efficient education systems. Over the past decade, many countries have reformed their higher education systems. One of the catalysts for this has been the public availability of internationally comparable data, which can add an extra dimension to that found by national analysis and evaluation. Phil Altbach's work has contributed considerably to the collection of data on specific aspects of higher education. He published in 2000, with David Engberg, *Higher Education*:

A Worldwide Inventory of Centers and Programs. A revised edition came out in 2006. He has also coedited *African Higher Education: An International Reference Handbook* (2003).

The work of the Organisation for European Co-operation and Development (OECD) is particularly important in this regard. Its Directorate for Education publishes annually the *Education at a Glance* which enables education policy makers to view their country's performance against those of other education systems. This information, together with country policy reviews, is designed to support the efforts governments are making towards policy reform. The Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA), carried out every 4 years, is one such example. The role of the OECD over the last 50 years has been crucial in alerting countries to the best-performing education systems internationally and providing indicators of educational performance that both evaluate and help to shape public policy. The improvements enjoyed by those in OECD countries since the 1950s have been marked; in 1961, few entered higher education and the majority did not complete secondary education. Now, one in three young adults holds a degree and, in some countries, half do so. On average across OECD countries, the percentage of those with at least an upper secondary education has risen from 45 to 81 %, and those with a tertiary qualification from 13 to 37 %.

Differences between countries are of interest: the USA had one of the highest levels of tertiary education (about 28 %) 50 years ago, rising to about 40 % now, whereas Japan began from a lower base of around 13 % and is now at 58 %, and Korea from an even lower base (c.9 %) but now has c.62 % of the age group between 25 and 34 years, holding higher education qualifications.

Germany provides a good example of the effect of the provision of international comparative data. The PISA 2000 results showed that Germany had large socio-economic differences in outcome in its schools. The government responded by bringing in a wide range of equity-related reforms which included giving more education-related orientation to early childhood education, establishing national standards and enhancing support for disadvantaged students. As a result, the German education system is now more efficient and effective.

The diversity of higher education systems worldwide is thus a product of the particular culture of each country, with groups of countries, such as those in Scandinavia, exhibiting some similarities in their systems. However, the availability of information on the effectiveness of other systems of higher education has arguably had the effect in each country of raising awareness of their particular system of higher education and has led in many countries to that system being modified to bring about positive reforms. The range of systems remains highly diverse, with some countries having binary systems, some having unitary systems, some having a marked percentage of private provision, and some having very few private institutions at all. Thus, the effect of globalisation is to enable each country to become self-aware and to modify its higher education system in tune with the culture of the country. Systems remain diverse but are responsive to the pressures of globalisation.

Convergence: The Impact of Bologna

The Bologna Declaration, signed by the Ministers of Higher Education from 29 European countries in June 1999, has had influence far beyond the boundaries of Europe. The overall aim, expressed in the Lisbon Strategy of 2000, was to make Europe 'the most competitive and dynamic knowledge-based economy in the world, capable of sustainable economic growth with more and better jobs and greater social cohesion'. By 2010, 47 countries had signed up, including Russia. The aim of the original Declaration was to establish a harmonised joint Higher Education Area of Europe by 2010, which has been achieved. The means to attain its aim has been the establishment of a three-tier degree structure: Bachelor's degrees, Master's degrees, and Doctoral degrees. Alongside this, a European Credit Transfer System, a European-wide quality assurance system, and the Europeanization of academic courses have been developed. As Altbach points out: 'The Bologna Process is guiding Europe toward shared benchmarks and standards that will make it possible to compare qualifications awarded in all participating countries' (Altbach et al. 2009). The view of those masterminding the Bologna Process was that the diversity of higher education institutions in European countries should be protected at the same time as introducing a measure of convergence to all European higher education systems.

A report by the EUA 'Trends V: Universities shaping the European Higher Education Area' (2007) analyses the nature and extent of the implementation of the Bologna Process and assesses their impact on institutional development processes. The research reported in Trends V confirms that higher education institutions are implementing the Bologna Process. Particularly noticeable is the espousal of the idea of more student-centred and problem-based learning. The notion of the European Higher Education Area has taken hold, and there is a general shift in attitude to recognising its importance.

Eighty-two per cent of institutions now have the three cycles of Bachelor's/Master's/Doctoral degrees in place, as against 53 % in 2003. The questions at issue now within countries are the articulation between the cycles, admission to the first cycle, the different types of bachelors and masters and any particular problems in some countries of the old and new structures running together.

One issue of growing importance is the movement towards the student-centred concept of higher education and integrating a learning outcome-based approach into the delivery of programmes. Another is the concern that employability should be a major feature in the reform of all curricula. An emphasis on the importance of strengthening the contribution to learning made by employers and other external stakeholders is widely shared.

Almost 75 % of institutions reported that they use European Credit Transfer and Accumulation System (ECTS) as a transfer system and over 66 % as an accumulation system. The meeting in 2008 adopted the Qualifications Framework for the European Higher Education Area. Ireland has instituted one for its national system: others are developing their own frameworks.

Another area that was expanded markedly over the last 4 years has been the provision of student services. As the student body has grown more diverse, guidance

and counselling services have become more necessary, demanding professional staff and adequate resourcing.

Much effort has been put into developing both internal quality processes in institutions and external quality assurance systems: these are now common to most European countries. The European Standards and Guidelines for Quality Assurance (ESG) (2005) were adopted by Ministers at the Bergen meeting; a major research project (www.ibar.com) is currently examining the effectiveness and scope of such quality processes in embedding a quality culture in institutions whereby innovation and creativity can be enhanced.

A remarkable aspect of the trend of convergence instituted by Bologna has been its effect on, first, the countries bordering Europe and, second, internationally. Georgia, Azerbaijan and Lithuania have all been moved to reform their higher education systems and have drawn inspiration from the Bologna Process (Nodia 2011). In Georgia, the Bologna Process was declared as the main guiding principle of higher education reform for the country. A number of radical reforms have been instituted which have improved the efficiency of the higher education system considerably. A National Accreditation Agency has been created; a new system of financing based on the principle of per-capita funding of students has been introduced; national entrance examinations have been instituted; the three cycle system of degrees has been brought in, along with ECTS; and a new system of funding research based on open competition for funds has been set up. While those in Georgia consider that not all is yet achieved, particularly in the smooth running of the quality assurance system, the major reforms already gained owe much to the global exchange of information and the wish to attain international, European standards: to converge, while remaining diverse. Likewise the papers by Ibadov and Purvaneckiene (2011) bear witness to the impact of Bologna on Azerbaijan and Lithuania.

The impact of Bologna has continued and is continuing to have policy repercussions worldwide. Latin America, North Africa and Australia have drawn on aspects of Bologna to reform their own systems, and the USA has shown particular interest in Bologna's work on learning outcomes in the context of academic disciplines. The Institute for Higher Education Policy published *The Bologna Process for US Eyes: Re-learning Higher Education in the Age of Convergence* C. Adelman in 2009, a book which has been influential in policy circles (Institute for Higher Education Policy 2009). A particular process, named 'Tuning', has been developed under the umbrella of Bologna, which offers a discipline-based means of establishing common reference points for writing student learning outcome statements in consultation with faculty, students and employers. 'Tuning USA' has been conceived on this basis and is being applied in the states of Indiana, Minnesota and Utah to determine the extent of its potential.

Democracy, Access, Equality and Mobility

The growth in world population, teamed with the ease of communication, access to the Internet, video and television, means that, through satellite communication, almost every country can receive images and information about what is happening

elsewhere in the world. The life styles of the West can be seen in the Far East and the tip of Latin America. Altbach's work has been much concerned with the Far East and India. Indeed, an interest in Asian universities is one of the long-standing themes of his work (Altbach and Selvaratnam 1989; Altbach 1998, 2007; Altbach and Umakoshi 2004). It is no surprise that the demand for access to higher education is unabated; a degree is an aspiration for many. It is also no surprise that students are not only growing in numbers but are also prepared to travel to other countries to get the education they seek. In 1990, there were 66.9 million student enrolments worldwide; by 2009, there were 165 million (OECD 2011). In 2009, there were 3.7 million mobile students, a number which is expected to rise to 6.7 million by 2020, many of whom will come from emerging countries (Calderon 2010). The estimated trade value of foreign students for the three big receiving countries Australia, USA and UK is $49 billion, 50 % of whom come from Asia. The expected growth trends for 2020 are the following: Gulf States, moderate growth; East Asia, stable to moderate growth depending on the country; Southern and Central Asia, medium growth; and Latin America, moderate to medium growth.

The trend is clearly towards growth in terms of mobile students: the number of tertiary students enrolled outside their country of citizenship rose by 6.4 % between 2008 and 2009 while global tertiary enrolment grew by 3.3 % in the same period. Since 2000, the number of foreign tertiary students enrolled worldwide increased by 77 %, with an average annual growth rate of 6.6 %, and in OECD countries by 79 %, a rate of 6.7 %. European countries remain the most popular, with a share of 38 % followed by North America (23 %). Regional mobility is becoming of growing importance, with student flows in European countries and in Eastern Asia and Oceania tending to reflect geopolitical evolution in those areas. In absolute terms, however, the largest numbers of international students are from China, India and Korea.

The effect on institutions of growing numbers of international students is marked. In the UK, some institutions have over 20 % international students and 15 % is common. This necessitates arrangements for such diverse students to be integrated successfully into the student body.

One aspect related to mobility is the setting up of branch campuses within countries wishing to expand the availability of high-quality higher education. Qatar is a good example; the government established the Qatar Foundation for Education, Science and Community Development which has encouraged branch campuses in Qatar of Cornell, Texas A&M and Carnegie Mellon universities. This transnational education can also include the franchising of courses, joint programmes, distance learning and virtual universities. One problem for the receiving countries has been that of monitoring the quality of the foreign providers offering courses within their countries. This is now being addressed. The Indian University Grants Committee, for instance, has approved new regulations that reserve entry to foreign university partnerships solely to those who rank within the top 500 global universities as named by the Times Higher Education supplement or the Shanghai Jiatong University rankings. Professor Prakash, the UGC Chairman, speaking at a UNESCO conference in 2004 is quoted as saying, 'we would like only quality academic institutes to establish programmes here'.

The concern for equality is worldwide, and figures produced by the OECD present a detailed picture of gender differences in their affiliated countries in both entries to higher education, achievement and employment. Countries such as the UK have established bodies such as the Equality Challenge Unit (ECU) to advance equality and diversity in higher education. It is not a regulator but is funded to do sector-wide research in line with the Equality Act of 2010 (Equality Challenge Unit 2011). The Unit found that students from ethnic backgrounds increased from 14.9 % in 2003/2004 to 18.1 % in 2009/2010, with the percentage of black students increasing at the fastest rate, from 4.4 to 5.9 %. However, they exhibited lower degree attainment and continuation rates than their white peers. The majority of ethnic Chinese students were at the old universities; ethnic black students favoured modern universities. In terms of gender, there have consistently been more female students than male this century, with males more likely to attain a lower 2nd or 3rd class honours degree and more likely to withdraw from their courses. However, the majority of postgraduate students studying Science, Engineering and Technology subjects are male (52.4 %). Employment prospects are still unequal: the figures for 2009/2010 indicate that 54.7 % of white graduates find employment after 6 months, whereas 44.4 % black and minority ethnic graduates do so. The levels of ethnic minority participation in higher education, and of female participation, remain a key policy issue for all countries.

Access, too, a topic that Altbach addressed in *Trends in Global Higher Education* (2009), is a recurrent issue in all countries. Indeed the intersection of equality and diversity with widening participation is increasingly important in view of the changes in the funding of higher education and the emphasis on 'the student experience'. The problem for all countries is how to deliver the high number of graduates required for the global knowledge economy. It is particularly marked in OECD countries where demographic forecasts indicate that the projected number of 20–24-year-olds is already beginning to drop and is expected to drop further and only starting to make some slow recovery around 2025. Added to this is a continuous falling away of the demand by employers for those who undertake manual and routine tasks. These jobs will not disappear entirely, but the demand for those able to undertake abstract tasks (the graduates) will continue to expand steadily. It becomes essential to find and educate the untapped stocks of talent within each country.

Jamie Merisotis, President of the Lumina Foundation in the USA, speaking in July 2012 at Aspen, Colorado, pointed out that a college degree is a prerequisite for the modern economy. The USA has 16 million students in postsecondary education, but it needs 23 million more. Nations today compete on a basis of talent, human capital and innovation. In the USA, the differential in income between those with postsecondary education and the rest continues to grow. In terms of unemployment, only 8.9 % are graduates, while 23 % unemployed have only a high school leaving certificate and over 40 % are those without any credentials. He argues that 'equity matters' and low economic groups must be enabled to access postsecondary education; two thirds of all new jobs now require some sort of postsecondary credential. It is not an easy problem to solve. Student loan debt stands at one trillion dollars, more than that of credit card debt, and Federal funding, in these straitened times, cannot make up the money needed. Families can no longer afford to pay for higher

education. A new system of delivering higher education is essential or there will be, in Merisotis' words, 'an economic train wreck for our country'.

An ongoing EU-funded research programme, 'Identifying barriers in promoting European Standards and Guidelines for Quality Assurance at institutional level' (www.ibar.com), has recently issued a report on quality and access. The work presents data from seven EU countries: the Czech Republic, Latvia, the Netherlands, Poland, Portugal, Slovakia and the UK. These show that there has been a substantial growth in student numbers across all the countries in recent years. Some countries, including Latvia and Portugal, have high participation rates though demographic changes are affecting their overall numbers in higher education. Participation goals for all these countries are around 50 % and that figure has already been exceeded for some. They would all be designated as having 'massified' systems, in Burton Clark's terminology, or even 'universal' higher education systems (Clark 1983).

In all countries, there was strong national steering by governments on the rules for admission of students to higher education. The main basis for entry is secondary school attainment, with additional entrance examinations for certain faculties. Some systems have a focus on improving admission rates for under-represented groups and for those with disabilities and offering alternative access routes. Institutions have developed targeted policies and initiatives to support student recruitment, access and widening participation. Those countries in the group which underwent reform in the last 20 years have sought to bring in standardised admissions procedures, with, in some cases, legal provisions being made for under-represented groups, such as those in Slovakia for Hungarian and Roma populations.

The desire to build a highly skilled labour force has driven growth, with a particular focus on those from lower socio-economic groups, from ethnic minorities and those with disabilities. Thus institutions are expected to play an active part in raising the awareness and aspirations of previously under-represented groups. Outreach to the whole community includes providing information to potential students and their parents about the nature of university life and study, how to fund that study and how to access grants and bursaries. Open days, school visits, summer schools and the use of media and social networks to disseminate information are commonly used. In some countries, such as the UK, targeted activities include regular visits to primary and secondary schools in deprived areas, school mentoring schemes for possible candidates from lower socio-economic groups, along with on-campus activities for them, and summer schools offering alternative admission routes for those who do not hold traditional qualifications.

Finance

The financing of higher education, particularly in these times of recession, has proved to be a worldwide problem. In recent years, there has been a switch to cost sharing, with the student and their family being expected to bear a greater and greater share of the cost. In some European systems, national schemes provide

grants to students from disadvantaged backgrounds, but there has been an increasing erosion of direct grants in favour of student loans. In other systems the institutions themselves are responsible for decisions on the level of financial support for those who are eligible. Measures can include subsidised accommodation, need-based scholarships, merit-based scholarships and short-term hardship payments. However, as has been seen in the USA, the inefficiency of loans can threaten the viability of the higher education system. Australia and the UK both have student loan schemes whereby the government provides the loan, which is paid back only after graduation. This system can lead to the control of the numbers allowed to access university, but it has the benefit of enabling all who receive a place, whatever their socio-economic status, to attend college.

Public Accountability

One trend linked to the movement for democracy and the desire to access higher education is the public demand for information. This has led to the development of performance-based tools which provide transparent monitoring and accountability of the sector. In recent years, there has been a proliferation of obligations and mechanisms which, while not always being welcomed by higher education institutions, do meet the public demand for information and transparency. These can include legal requirements such as financial audits, quality assurance procedures, benchmarking exercises to compare courses across institutions, professional qualification recognition and information on governing bodies. University rankings developed by the media are a growing force in terms of public accountability.

A report on funding and governance reforms in Canada (Snowden 2005) states: 'Initially seen as intrusive and a recipe for government micro-management with a single goal of containing expenditures, the value of good accountability frameworks is now generally recognized as an important ingredient in the overall management and operation of post-secondary institutions'. Whereas accountability used to refer to financial matters, it has now become much more comprehensive, involving strategic future plans for institutions' quality assurance and a range of performance measures covering the operation and outcomes of institutions. It is not uncommon for these performance measures to be developed jointly by government and institutions.

Linked to society's demand for accountability is the movement towards encompassing a wider range of stakeholders in the work of institutions. University boards frequently have a majority of members external to the university; countries bringing together greater external representation to their boards include Botswana, Lesotho, Mauritius, Mozambique, Uganda and Zambia (Lao and Saint 2008). The range of institutional stakeholders may be drawn from the community, government, employers, alumni, faculty, students and parents. The emphasis is on the provision of increased information about the quality of the courses, student satisfaction and employment outcomes. In Europe, the Bologna Process is developing a qualifications framework

which will provide common performance criteria in the form of learning outcomes and competencies for every degree. In the USA, the Lumina Foundation has developed a 'Degree Qualification Profile', a tool which is being used in a pilot of a hundred institutions to assess the competencies developed on each particular course. Employers require people who have analytical skills, critical thinking skills, cultural awareness and communication skills. Provision of information about these skills on an individual basis would be much welcomed.

League tables have both positive and negative aspects. They provide information to the public on the effectiveness of the individual universities, measuring a range of aspects: the information of the leading producers of league tables is presented on a global basis. It underlines the global nature of higher education and at the same time fuels it. The tables have been much maligned, but the demand for knowledge and transparency of information is here to stay. Indeed, their power appears to be growing, in that they are now being used by governments such as that of India as a means of selecting which foreign universities might have access to their country.

Stratification

Stratification of Institutions

Many of the trends described in this chapter point towards positive aspects of global diversity, linked to greater opportunities for access, international mobility, more emphasis on the student experience and greater university autonomy with outward-facing governing bodies. The policy push in many countries for equality of opportunity and egalitarianism, and the establishment of porous boundaries of higher education, has had the effect of increasing the diversity and differentiation of higher education systems. However, there is a noticeable counterbalancing trend which is pulling towards stratification. Ulrich Teichler contended that diversity could be characterised in two ways: vertical and horizontal. Vertical diversity is diversity of status and hierarchy. There are tensions between the need for diversity and the trend towards status differentiation. Higher education has a 'strong elite reproduction function' (Brennan 2012). Although most higher education systems are now massified, particularly within the OECD, the pressures to maintain and expand an elite core inside the massified system are strong. This is supported by the publication of league tables and the ongoing debate on world-class universities.

The financial crisis has exacerbated this trend: as the pool of money constricts, the competition to attract the best students in a market-led system has the effect of emphasising the elite aspects of institutions. In the UK, the Russell Group of Universities, which prides itself on research-led curricula and research publications, has recently expanded its numbers by inviting the leading universities of the group beneath them in status to join them. Thus, the Russell Group gains in influence, and more stratification develops. Likewise, the individuals who are leaders of research groups who have won large amounts of research funding, but who work in the less

prestigious universities, may well be invited to join the faculty of a local Russell University: 'scouting for talent'. The effect, again, is to stratify the system, concentrating the talent and resources in the elite institutions.

Within Europe, there are marked trends towards the concentration of elite students at elite institutions and towards a greater concentration of research at elite institutions. Although European universities receive extra funding for research from the EU, the distribution of that is concentrated on elite institutions. Pedro Teixeira, speaking in London at the European Institute in March 2012, pointed out that in the UK, 20 % of institutions receive 80 % of the research funding. This impacts on the nonelite institutions and exacerbates the trend towards stratification. The most recent decisions in England to allow universities to take as many students as they wish who have AAB or higher in their qualifying examinations from October 2012 could further unbalance the system at a time when the fees of £9k a year are being introduced. Applications are down some 12 %, a number which could seriously destabilise some universities, particularly those which are relatively newly established ones, such as Gloucester.

Stratification of Opportunity

As long ago as 1999, the National Center for Postsecondary Improvement in the USA published a piece entitled *Reinforcing Stratification in American Higher Education*: *Some Disturbing Trends* (McPherson and Schapiro 1999). The authors found that the stratification in the USA was related to the availability of finance. Family income had a powerful effect on college enrolment, even among students with similar ability. The study examines the distribution of freshman enrolment by income background across institutional types. Stratification by income is clear: 29 % of students at private 4 year colleges in 1998 were from the richest families (over $200k a year) and 23.4 % at the private universities; 24.6 % of those at public universities were among the wealthiest and 14 % at public 4 year colleges. In contrast, those coming from families with incomes of less than $20k a year represented 2.9 % of students at private universities, 13.5 % at 4 year privates, 12.3 % at public universities and 21.8 % at public 4 year colleges. The bulk of those with low incomes accessed the 2-year public colleges (46.7 %). The report noted the ensuing long-term effects on US society of such stratification in terms of access to higher education for the economically disadvantaged. The authors, interestingly, argued for an income contingent loan scheme of the type which has been introduced to both Australia and the UK.

Conclusion

The pattern of emerging trends can be discerned worldwide, and particularly in the developed countries. The impact of the global financial crisis has affected all countries, though less so in the Far East and Australia. The major trends are not

only towards diversification, to convergence, to widening participation, to equality and to mobility, but also to stratification. Indeed, stratification is present in virtually every country, to different degrees and in tune with the particular culture of that country. It impinges on all the other trends. The public demand for information and for accountability is inextricably tied to the effects of globalisation in a highly interconnected world. The trends were present before the financial crisis; now they are exacerbated. Some are positive and encourage the making of a fairer, more equitable society; others are likely to create discord, bring about less social mobility and engender less effective development of the highly skilled labour force every country needs. The long hard recession will not be easy for the world's higher education systems.

Phil Altbach's corpus of publications, from the 1980s onwards, has dealt with the whole range of issues and trends in international higher education. Indeed, he has often been among the earliest commentators to discern a particular trend. In 1999, he edited, with Patti Peterson, a book which explored the ways in which individual nations were responding to the challenges posed by the globalisation of higher education and postulated their effects in the twenty-first century (Altbach et al. 1999). The Center for International Higher Education, Boston College, has established itself as the foremost international centre in the world for studies on international higher education. As Director of the Center, Phil Altbach has published extensively and enabled scholars worldwide to be kept informed of the global trends in their area. Phil's energy and ability to communicate are qualities much to be admired. The influence of his publications on the thinking of present and future scholars is, one hopes, likely to be long lasting.

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Chapter 16
International Quality Assurance: Where Have We Been and Where Are We Going?

Judith S. Eaton

Higher Education Today

For the 153 million students worldwide who were attending some form of higher or tertiary education in 2009, entering a college or university meant making decisions about a plethora of options about how to learn, what to learn, and when to learn. Do students attend full time or part time? Go to a campus or work online? Which, among hundreds of programs and course offerings, do they take? Do they want credit or not? Will they use social media? How can apps help make progress? Will they attend a 2-year, 4-year, public, private, nonprofit, for-profit, liberal arts, or career education institution? Are they seeking a certificate or a degree? Will students stay in home countries or go abroad?

A college or university experience used to be different. At one time, "college" meant experiencing a fixed curriculum in a fixed place (a campus) on a fixed timetable. Far fewer in society could obtain higher education. Men, not women, dominated the collegiate population. Most countries' economies relied more on individuals who obtained a secondary education or less, not higher education. "Distance education" meant correspondence courses, not online coursework. While curricula have always sustained a strong career orientation, there was less variety. And the emphasis on liberal arts, liberal education, and general education was considerably greater. Tuition and fees were not the object of ongoing individual and societal anxiety about affordability.

This is no more. Higher education has diversified, and dramatically so. As noted by Philip Altbach, who has contributed much to the global understanding of the expansion of higher education in all forms around the world, private higher education has grown to the point where 30 % of enrollment worldwide is in these institutions, whether nonprofit or for profit (Altbach et al. 2009). Technology has freed higher

J.S. Eaton (✉)
Council for Higher Education Accreditation (CHEA), One Dupont Circle, #510,
20036 Washington, DC, USA
e-mail: eaton@chea.org

education from its place-bound origins. Online access is available to earn all types of degrees and credentials, whether as part of a program that is also campus based or stand alone, credit or noncredit, most recently through massive open online courses or "MOOCs." Social media have broadened access to allow education in almost any circumstance, with students engaged through Facebook, Twitter, and YouTube. As colleges and universities have responded to the education needs of part-time, often working, students, they have moved away from a standardized approach to curricular offerings and attendance patterns.

Colleges and universities now operate in an environment where they are expected to meet the challenges of worldwide expansion of access, increased student mobility, expanding faculty exchanges and research, and out-of-country operation. There are more than 3.7 million international students (IIE 2011). These institutions are facing the reality that financing a college experience has become problematic in many countries, calling the traditional business model of public support and student tuition into question as the cost of faculty, research, teaching and learning, technologies, facilities, equipment, and campuses continues to rise.

The combination of reaching for universal access and limited affordability has also resulted in many national and international discussions about financial responsibility for higher education. Is it a public good or a private benefit? As a public good, higher education has a claim on public resources and support from governments. As a private benefit, it is reasonable to maintain that individual students are primarily responsible for the cost of their education. Higher education is perhaps reasonably viewed as both a public good and a private benefit, no matter who pays. However, the distribution of financial responsibility is, at least for now, moving in the direction of greater individual – vs. government – responsibility.

With the 2008 worldwide recession and its aftermath, some governments have been forced to curtail public investment, reducing the subsidy to the operation of colleges and universities. A major exception here is China. The result is that as access has expanded, so have the concerns about affordability of higher education. Countries with a long-standing practice of charging tuition and fees such as the United States have raised prices significantly. In the United States, tuition and fees have increased faster than any other cost, including healthcare. A number of countries that provided free access to higher education are now charging tuition.

Countries are living with weakened national economies, while the need for a more educated workforce and the pressure of international competitiveness in areas such as knowledge development and research continue to increase. In this context, colleges and universities are viewed as essential to emerging from these weakened economic conditions, to robust economic development, and to the future well-being of both societies and individuals. Higher education is seen as a national priority and vital to success in a globalized economy (Salmi 2009).

The language of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization's (UNESCO) *Communiqué* from to the 2009 World Conference captures this aspiration:

> Paragraph 2: "it [higher education] should lead society in generating global knowledge to address global challenges, inter alia food security, climate change, water management, intercultural dialogue renewable energy and public health." (UNESCO 2009)

In response and even in the face of limited resources, some countries are investing heavily in building high-quality institutions that focus on research and knowledge development. They are responding to business needs by creating partnerships to assure that education provides the needed skills and competencies that robust economic development requires. These include growing attention to conceptual skills needed for jobs in fields such as healthcare, information technology, and finance – in contrast to jobs in the manufacturing sector. It is captured by the current emphasis on "world-class" universities as emblematic of the hopes of many countries. A university is world class if it is characterized as combining a rich array of talent, significant resources, and strong governance structures. It produces highly qualified and sought-after graduates and cutting-edge research and contributes to innovation in technology as well as technology transfer.

All of this has meant a significant shift in the role of higher education. Until recently, higher education's primary role was described as educating students for life and for work, with a strong focus on intellectual development. Colleges and universities were sources of national pride as well as engines of culture and national identity. Now, however, the emphasis is on the role of colleges and universities as partners in economic capacity building, success in international competitiveness, assuring social equity, and sustaining international engagement.

Whatever the diversification of higher education, the needs of expanded access, and the challenge of economic development, all require evidence that the higher education functions at a high level of quality as well enhancing this quality over time. Diversification, access, and responses to economic development meet expectations only if they result in student success. Quality assurance is at the heart of assuring this result.

Quality Assurance Today

Traditional quality assurance has been the single most authoritative source about the quality of higher education for many years. Quality assurance emerged as a form of self-regulation: examining academic programs, faculty, and standards and answering to academic professionals.

A small set of core elements has defined traditional quality assurance in higher education for decades. While there are variations among countries, most have developed organizations or agencies specifically concentrated on academic quality. With the exception of the United States, these organizations are primarily government based, involving a mixed model of academic and government decision makers. Quality practices are grounded in self-evaluation and peer review. Evaluation of quality is primarily formative and qualitative, with professional judgment as paramount. Quality review is most often, but not always, periodic. It is aspirational: It is not enough for a college, university, or program to establish quality; this quality must be maintained and enhanced over time.

More than 117 countries either have fully developed in quality assurance operations or are developing this capacity (GUNI 2007). Most of these operations are

country based, although regional quality assurance organizations are emerging, and there is a growing interest in building capacity for international quality, perhaps through establishing a single set of worldwide quality standards. These country-based, regional, and international efforts constitute an international quality assurance community, involving such organizations as the International Network of Quality Assurance Agencies in Higher Education and its regional networks and the work of the UNESCO and the World Bank. This informal community meets regularly and engages in a productive and ongoing exchange of ideas and effective practices in quality assurance.

The culture and structure of quality assurance developed in the earlier environment of colleges and universities educating a select minority in various countries. In this climate where higher education served a small percentage of the population, the deliberate nature of quality review, its structure as a self-regulatory enterprise, and its emphasis on a collegial rather than a compliance approach to quality met the needs of both higher education and society. As access has grown, as more and more of the population engage colleges and universities, as an expectation of at least some higher education has become commonplace, and as higher education is viewed as essential to economic development, this long-standing culture and structure has been called into question. As higher education has made the extraordinary transition from a single-option to a multiple-option experience, quality assurance and quality improvement must make the transition as well.

Change in Quality Assurance

There are three principal drivers of change in quality assurance. These drivers are distinctive, yet overlap in some instances. They are as follows:

- Changes to quality assurance driven by actors external to these organizations: higher education institutions themselves, government, or society
- Changes driven by the quality assurance community itself or change from within
- Changes driven by the introduction of alternative means to judge quality, external to the traditional quality assurance community

Drivers External to Quality Assurance

Quality assurance practices change in response to changes in colleges or universities such as the diversification of types of institutions and offerings as described above. Practices also change as the result of modification of public policy or government action such as a decision to expand access or to initiate tuition charges. Practices are modified as the result of economic conditions such as the current affordability crisis in many countries. The advent of for-profit higher education, the

extensive use of online instructional delivery, and expanding international activity have all driven change in quality assurance. To date, change has occurred within the framework of the core elements described above. A key question for the future of quality assurance is whether future change will involve breaking with these fundamental features.

Public accountability is perhaps the most powerful recent example of change driven by external factors. "Public accountability" refers to the expectation from government, the press, policy leaders, and the general population that quality review of colleges and universities must, first and foremost, serve these constituencies. This is in contrast to self-regulation and the tradition that quality assurance's accountability is to fellow and sister academics. Calls for such accountability are usually couched in the language of demands of evidence of student achievement and transparency about both the results and operations of quality assurance organizations and the institutions and programs they review.

The centrality of public accountability has the potential to fundamentally alter the operation and role of quality assurance. It can change the relationship between quality assurance organizations and colleges and universities, between quality assurance organizations and government, and between quality assurance organizations and the business community. It means a shift in authority for judging quality away from academic professionals. Quality assurance mechanisms would now, first and foremost, be responsible to those outside the academic community. The effectiveness of quality assurance would, increasingly, be judged by its response to what government wants and what the business community wants – in contrast to academic preferences.

Both expansion of access and the perceived lack of affordability of colleges and universities have provided significant justification for public accountability. Calls for access have been accompanied by the realization that at least some higher education is needed for more and more jobs and for economic well-being. The lack of affordability of higher education is often viewed as evidence of the refusal of colleges and universities to develop greater efficiencies of service and create new, more effective business models. Quality assurance is part of addressing these issues.

Public accountability has been a significant part of the impetus behind the European Bologna Process created by ministers of European countries in 1999. These government officials sought to create a European Higher Education Area in which student mobility and success are enhanced through systems of higher education that are comparable, compatible, and coherent (EHEA 2013). Approaches were developed to assure convergence across countries. These included the European Credit Transfer and Accumulation System that enables students to move credits among institutions. They also included the European Standards and Guidelines for Quality Assurance and the European Qualifications Framework to further shared understanding of higher education quality and qualifications across the continent.

In the United States, both federal and state governments have moved with alacrity to establish greater direct authority over the accreditation bodies that are responsible for quality assurance, although these organizations are, legally and financially, nongovernmental. Over the past 5 years, government has been engaged

not only in evaluating whether accreditation organizations are sound and reliable but also in taking on an oversight role in judging quality extending oversight to a detailed examination of the day-to-day practices of these organizations, accompanied by increasing instances of judging the accreditation decisions that they have made.

Public accountability poses a significant challenge to quality assurance bodies because it involves a response not only to external change but also to a shift in authority for judging quality. How this issue is ultimately addressed will have significant impact of the role that quality assurance plays in the future.

The Driver of Change from Within

Most of the changes that emerge from within the quality assurance community are focused not on policy or financial considerations but on the quality review process itself: standards, procedures, and practices. For example, a number of countries that used to practice "self-accreditation" or an initial quality review of a college or university followed by an institution taking full responsibility for its quality culture without additional external review. This has shifted to the practice of periodic review by quality assurance organizations.

Second, quality assurance in many countries was initially conceived primarily as "audit" or an examination of institutional processes to determine if they were effective in promoting quality. This practice is giving way to evaluation that includes evidence of not only process but also results: institutional performance described primarily in terms of student achievement and success. Third, quality assurance review was traditionally conceived as an event that took place at specific time intervals such as every 5 or 7 years. It is now framed as continuous contact with a college or university, seeking evidence of performance on an ongoing basis.

Typically, changes driven from within have taken place with the framework of the core elements of quality assurance described above: self-study, peer review, and formative evaluation. There has been no break with the fundamental features of traditional quality assurance. Change comes about slowly, requiring consensus from both the quality assurance and the academic communities.

Alternative Approaches to Quality Assurance as Drivers: New Accountability Tools

During the past 15 years, a number of alternative approaches to judging quality have emerged: external to traditional quality assurance and a challenge to the long-held role of quality assurance organizations as ultimate authority for higher education quality. The new "accountability tools" include rankings systems, qualifications frameworks, web-based interactive data tools to examine comparability, regional quality standards, and, potentially, international quality standards. While many

cautions are offered about relying solely on these tools to judge quality and make important life decisions such as what college or university to attend, the tools play an increasingly central role (ENQA 2011).

Ranking systems are the most visible and influential of the new tools. "Rankings" are a hierarchical ordering of the performance of institutions or programs, based on a set of indicators that address, e.g., research, funding, or student characteristics. Based on the methodology employed and the indicators used, rankings can produce a range of results for the same college or university. Ranking systems may be launched by governments or by the private sector. More than 50 countries now use rankings, accompanied by ten international and some regional rankings (Hazelkorn 2011). The *Academic Ranking of World Universities*, established in 2003, relies heavily on indicators related to research (ARWU 2012). *US News and World Report* in the United States uses indicators related to levels of funding and selectivity of admissions practices (U.S. News and World Report 2013).

It is becoming common practice for colleges and universities that are ranked well to offer this information to the public as an indication of quality. Rankings are used by students, the public, and governments to make decisions about college selection, to judge whether institutions from one country may operate in another country, and to assist one institution to determine whether to enter into partnership with another. The uses of these tools continue to grow.

Qualifications frameworks are a means of arraying expectations of student competencies by level of education. They may be comprehensive, from primary grades through graduate education. Or, they may focus on a specific level such as higher education, helping to establish common expectations across institutions. Qualifications frameworks have been developed by governments or regions. Some 70 countries now used this tool. Country-based frameworks have been developed in, e.g., China, South Africa, Thailand, New Zealand, Ireland, and Australia (Lewis 2009).

Online interactive data sets are another accountability tool that is increasingly popular. This web-based capacity allows students and the public to obtain and compare key features of various institutions such as available funding for students, graduation rates, or retention. As with rankings and qualifications frameworks, this tool enables students and the public to make judgments about the quality of a college or university. Students and the public are able to create individual, customized data sets for decision making. Europe, for example, has developed *U-Multirank*, a multidimensional ranking system for universities that include indicators addressing teaching and learning, knowledge transfer, international orientation, and research (U-Multirank 2012). This is accompanied by a classification system, *U-Map*, that allows for comparisons based on student characteristics and degree levels (U-map 2012). In the United States, the federal Department of Education has established *College Navigator* that allows comparisons based on federal student aid, admissions practices, and tuition at various colleges and universities (USDE 2012).

With regard to international standards, significant progress has been made in this area by the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development's AHELO or the Assessment of Higher Education Learning Outcomes (OECD 2012).

These international indicators of student achievement may serve as a means of enhanced international communication about what students learn and perhaps lead to common expectations across borders of the performance of colleges and universities.

The public now has more options to judge the effectiveness of colleges and universities than ever before. To date, the traditional quality assurance community has chosen mostly not to adopt these tools, although there are indications that some organizations are beginning to move in this direction. Because these tools do not fit with the core elements of traditional quality assurance, they can mean a significant transformation of quality assurance.

What Likely Future for Quality Assurance?

Taken together, these three drivers of change have the potential to transform quality assurance, its core elements, practices, and role in society. What might be the result of these drivers and what might quality assurance look like in the future? Several results seem highly probable.

1. *Self-regulation*, *defined as quality assurance organizations as answerable to academic professionals*, *is likely a thing of the past*. The press for public accountability, the greater attention by governments to the performance of higher education, and the focus on value for money all make it more and more difficult for quality assurance to claim that its self-regulatory approach meets societal needs. Colleges and universities that lay claim to quality based on a traditional review that has concentrated on the academy examining and passing judgment on itself is increasingly viewed as inadequate. Higher education quality is now viewed too important to be left to its own devices or to rely on its judgment alone. At best, self-regulation will become shared regulation, with government and the problem sharing authority for judging quality with quality assurance organizations.
2. *The public good/private benefit debate will continue and put additional pressure on quality assurance*. Absent the development of alternative business models to fund higher education, there is likely to be continued conversation about what is at the heart of this debate: Who pays for higher education? To the extent that higher education enjoys public subsidy, the public will demand a greater accountability that goes beyond the traditional approach of quality assurance. To the extent that higher education is viewed as a private benefit, it will be seen as enlarging the perceived gap in the quality of different types of higher education providers and put additional pressure on quality assurance organizations as they seek to maintain at least threshold quality, no matter who the provider. And there will be much discussion of an increasing polarization of higher education, where affluent students enjoy the best colleges and universities unavailable to many others in the population because these institutions are unaffordable.
3. *Governments are likely to be increasingly involved in quality assurance and judging the quality of colleges and universities*. The stakes are high for national

governments that seek to improve economies and to be internationally competitive and rely on higher education to provide capacity for success. With the shift in emphasis in the expectations for higher education – less focused on intellectual development and more focused on economic development – this government interest in judging quality will continue to grow, accompanied by less interest in the results of the self-regulatory efforts of colleges and universities.

4. *Country-based quality assurance is likely to remain*, *but will become both more influenced by and subordinate to regional or international quality assurance expectations*. As higher education's involvement in international activity continues to expand, whether through student exchange, faculty exchange, research, online learning, branch campuses, and interinstitutional partnerships, more and more attention will be paid to regional quality standards. The European Bologna Process, already a powerful model to address regional cooperation, is being replicated in other areas of the world. Other regions will find ways to coordinate country-based quality assurance standards with regional standards. The OECD AHELO project will, in a similar manner, offer a prototype for international standards that can be aligned with country-based standards.

   The continued growth of rankings, especially regional and international systems, will also increase the emphasis on quality standards independent of individual countries. International rankings may ultimately emerge as the basic international quality currency. Already, some countries are requiring that a college or university have achieved a certain ranking in order to operate in those countries.

5. *The accountability tools described above – rankings*, *qualifications frameworks*, *and interactive data sets to determine quality – will likely be incorporated or even come to dominate what has been traditional quality assurance*. As of now, the accountability tools that have been discussed exist mainly apart from traditional quality assurance. To sustain credibly and relevance in the future, traditional bodies may integrate some of these tools in their quality review activities. In the United States, the Lumina Foundation, a private philanthropic organization that has been extremely generous in its work with higher education, is testing the application of its Degree Qualifications Profile to regional accrediting organizations (Lumina 2012).

These likely results may mean that quality assurance is well positioned to use evidence of student achievement as means to address today's diversified higher education environment. Regional or international standards can assist with the increasingly mobile student population and students who pursue education through online offerings. Institutions operating in a number of countries can develop curricula subject to agreements about student achievement reflected in qualifications frameworks. Reliance on comparability tools will grow as well. Students and the public will know more about what they are the quality they are likely to experience for the tuition dollars they pay.

Public accountability will be accommodated through a quality assurance community that can affirm that higher education can fulfill expectations associated with economic development, success with regard to student achievement and transparency.

New accountability tools integrated with traditional quality assurance can mean that quality review is more accessible and understandable to the public. This can bring some order to expectations associated with international competitiveness.

At the same time, these likely results will come at the price of at least some of the core elements of traditional quality assurance. To the extent that peer review is diminished and that authority for judgment about quality moves away from academics, higher education can be undermined. These results also likely mean greater standardization of higher education, a potential development that is a cause for considerable concern within the academic community.

Summary

The diversification of higher education, expansion of access, weakened economies seeking robust economic development and international competitiveness, public accountability, and the availability of additional means to judge academic quality are coming together and resulting in significant change in quality assurance. Quality assurance will no longer be modified primarily from within. The quality assurance organization of the future is likely to be built on a foundation of some features of its traditional core elements, accompanied by the new accountability tools, greater scrutiny by government and the public and the application of this scrutiny to the greater and greater diversification of higher education.

Tomorrow's quality assurance organization will likely have as its primary purpose the provision of timely and reliable information about the performance of colleges and universities to the higher education community, students, prospective students, appointed and elected officials, the press, and the general public. It will continue to rely on self-evaluation, but the evaluation will be more concentrated on the results of an educational experience: specific indicators of institutional performance such as graduation, completion of educational goals, successful transfer, and entry to graduate school or job placement. Peer review would continue to be important, but no longer dispositive. And the peer reviewers would more likely be experts in their fields, rather than generalists, joined by a significant number of individuals from the public or government.

As this entire Festschrift is demonstrating, Philip Altbach has been a keen observer of how higher education as changed and evolved over the past 40 years. He has been instrumental in bringing to light how these changes may and, then, do impact higher education institutions and systems around the world. His academic contributions have served to focus attention to questions about what is coming and why. In terms of quality assurance, the impending changes on the horizon will likely be accompanied by a vigorous debate about the movement away from traditional quality assurance and the implications of these changes not only for quality assurance organizations but also for higher education and society. Whether change will mean improvement will emerge over time and will be an area for discussion among scholars who will undoubtedly have benefitted from the path originally cut by scholars such as Phil Altbach.

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Chapter 17
Tuition Fees, Student Loans, and Other Manifestations of Cost Sharing: Variations and Misconceptions

D. Bruce Johnstone

My association with Philip Altbach began in the mid-1980s, when I was a college president writing about the economics and finance of higher education, and he pressed me into service as an adjunct professor at the University at Buffalo teaching a graduate course in financing higher education. At about the same time, I began extending my interest and writing on the international comparative aspects of higher education finance and policy, drawing heavily on Phil's encouragement, knowledge, and networks. After leaving the State University of New York Chancellorship for the University at Buffalo in the mid-1990s, I began a serious collaboration with Phil—by now at Boston College—and in 2000, with support from the Ford Foundation and our colleague Jorge Balan, began the International Comparative Higher Education Finance and Accessibility Project at Buffalo. The particular niche of the ICHEFP (2013) has been an examination into the nearly worldwide shift of higher education finance from a predominant (sometimes even an exclusive) reliance on governments and taxpayers to a sharing of higher education costs with parents and students. As the costs and revenue needs of higher education continue to surge throughout the world, and as the competition for scarce public revenues increases commensurately, increasing revenue from parents and students (what Americans call *tuition* and what the Brits and most of the rest of the world call *tuition fees*) becomes virtually imperative—albeit deeply contested both ideologically and politically.

Thus began more than a decade of exploring what has come to be known as *cost sharing*: project conferences in Dar es Salaam, Nairobi, Arusha, Prague, Moscow, and Wuhan; World Bank consultancies in Morocco, Romania, the United Arab Emirates, and the Eastern Caribbean States; and the compilation of a substantial body of literature on tuition fees, financial assistance, student loans, means testing,

D.B. Johnstone (✉)
Higher and Comparative Education, State University of New York at Buffalo,
284 Rivermist Drive, 14202 Buffalo, NY USA
e-mail: dbj@buffalo.edu

and other topics relating to the worldwide attempt to reconcile the imperative of securing more nontax revenue for the support of higher education with the need to maintain higher educational accessibility (Johnstone and Marcucci 2010; Johnstone 2004, 2009a). In the course of these studies, I have come across many beliefs and policies regarding higher education finance—and especially regarding the ideologically and politically contested charging of tuition fees—that I believe to be incomplete or misunderstood. Thus, when the organizers of this Festschrift came to me with license to write an essay in Phil's honor, I thought I would expound upon a few of the variations and misconceptions regarding tuition fees, student loans, and other manifestations of cost sharing.

Variations on Tuition Fees

To begin with, there are significant variations on the very concept of a tuition fee—which we shall define as a charge imposed by the university or the state on students to cover a portion of the costs of their instruction—as opposed to a fee to cover one-time costs of, e.g., registration or graduation or the costs of add-ons like transportation, recreation, or technology (Johnstone and Marcucci 2010, pp. 102–128; Marcucci and Johnstone 2007). Considering only public full-time undergraduate (or first degree) students, three significant variations of tuition fees are:

- *Program-specific* tuition fees, which might feature higher fees for high-demand programs like business or computer science or for especially costly programs like laboratory science, engineering, music, or nursing—or *unitary* fees, which would be the same for all regularly admitted students: Most US colleges and universities feature unitary tuition fees; China and many African countries charge higher fees for some high-demand programs. (Program-specific tuition fees are frequently proposed for US college and university undergraduates, but the idea is most often discarded due to the prevalence of the common undergraduate general education core, as well as the policies designed to ease changes in majors.)
- *Single-track* tuition fees, which are applicable to all regularly admitted students, (whether program specific or unitary), or *dual-track* fees, which feature much higher, usually full-cost, tuition fees for students not academically qualified for regular admission: Dual-track tuition fees are common in Russia and most other transitional, or post-communist, countries (with the exception of China, Mongolia, and Vietnam), as well as in many East African countries, where constitutions or framework laws require higher education to be free to all "regularly admitted" students, but where the great need for other-than-tax revenue provides a loop hole for tuition fees to be charged to students who score below a cutoff point on the standard entrance examination. (In other words, regularly admitted students are defined to include only those who pass the entrance exam at a score set high enough to admit only the number of students that the government is prepared to matriculate without the payment of tuition fees.)

- *Up-front* tuition fees, payable at the time of matriculation, most frequently by parents (if financially able), or *deferred* via a loan and paid for by students after completion: England and Australia feature deferred tuition fees; the United States, Canada, China, Japan, the Netherlands, and most other countries that have tuition fees feature up-front payment.

Dual-Track Tuition Fees

The assumption in the dual-track countries is that if a country can no longer afford free or very low tuition fee public higher education for all—as in Russia and the other countries of the former Soviet Union, as well as the countries of formerly communist East and Central Europe, East Africa, and elsewhere—it is still preferable to provide free or very low-fee public higher education for as many as is financially possible, beginning with the most academically meritorious. The problems with dual-track tuition fee policies are two (Johnstone and Marcucci 2010, pp. 106–107; Marcucci et al. 2008).

In the first place, dual-track tuition fee policies are generally considered to exacerbate the inequities that are already present in virtually every system of higher education: the disproportionate representation of students from already privileged families. It is true that by providing low or no fee higher education to the most academically able, such policies are able to accommodate some of the poorest students—provided only that they have excelled academically in their secondary schools. At the same time, academic achievement and ambition in every country, at least to a degree, are socially and culturally constructed. Sons and daughters of the privileged have the likely advantages of better secondary schools, more academically ambitious peers, and the cultural capital that comes from homes with educated parents, books, and the like. A dual-track (or what is referred to in Kenya as a parallel track) tuition fee policy takes care of the most academically able of the poor. Meanwhile, the children of the privileged, both the academically able and the less able, are always taken care of: if not in the most prestigious universities, then in one of the growing number of private colleges or universities or in the essentially private tracks of the public universities. It is the student from the low-income family who is academically able and ambitious, but not quite enough to get into the governmentally sponsored tracks, who is denied the opportunity of higher education because the family cannot afford the high tuitions either of a private college or university or the private, fee-paying, tracks in the public institutions.

The other problem with the dual-track policy is that the very low (or no) tuition fees charged to the governmentally sponsored students are simply too low—that is, lower than they need to be and therefore foregoing additional revenue in the governmentally sponsored track—while the high fees are too high and thus deny opportunities to students from low-income families in the fee-paying tracks. Dual-track tuition fee policies are deeply rooted in political and ideological cultures and are resistant to change. As the university-qualified applicants get more and

more numerous, however, and as financial austerity continues to limit the numbers admitted in the governmentally sponsored tracks, and as the proportions of students in the fee-paying tracks also continues to rise, there may come a time when the numbers in the governmentally sponsored ranks are small enough to resemble a set of generous merit-based scholarships. At that point the much-criticized inequality of the dual-track policies is similar to, and certainly no worse than, the also much-criticized (at least by most academics and policy specialists) increase in merit-based scholarships in US public universities—also a product of politics and of a culture that wants to reward merit more than assist those considered less academically deserving, but for whom the aid or the low tuition might actually make a difference. At this point, the maintenance of accessibility, as in virtually all countries, depends on a combination of low to moderate tuition fees plus means-tested financial assistance.

Deferred Tuition Fees

If a country can no longer afford free or very low-fee public higher education (as more and more countries, even in Europe, seem to be realizing), then some countries—most noticeably Australia and England—maintain that higher education should remain free at the time of first degree matriculation and the payment of tuition fees then deferred until after graduation. The repayments are deducted by employers from wages and salaries, like the withholding of income taxes, insurance, or pension contributions. The misconception, at least as set forth by some proponents of the Australian/English deferred tuition fee schemes, is that such a policy is fundamentally unlike an up-front tuition fee paid via a loan—when in fact it is very much like a tuition fee and a loan, but with important, and frequently unrecognized or unacknowledged, differences.

The cardinal feature of the English scheme—that higher education should be free at the time of matriculation—is attractive to many students because it releases parents from the obligation of paying tuition fees and thus treats all students as financially independent (even if generally impecunious) adults (Barr and Crawford 2004). However, the downside of that supposed advantage is that it shifts a financial burden that in most non-Nordic countries (and in the UK from 1997 to 2006) is (or was) considered an appropriate obligation of *parents*—at least for those able to pay—instead to *students* (in addition to the living costs that students may also be having to bear). A special downside to low-income students is that any means-tested grant or tuition fee reduction that is (or was) based on the family's low income no longer applies. Thus, when England changed in 2006 from an up-front but means-tested tuition fee paid by middle-, upper-middle-, and upper-class families to a deferred fee paid by all students, the *winners*, of course, were the parents who were no longer expected to pay, and the *losers* were the students, especially the students of low-income families, who (or whose parents) had not previously had to pay any tuition fee.

Income-Contingent Loans

A second feature of the deferred tuition fee as practiced in England and Australia is that the deferred tuition fees are repayable as a percentage of future earning rather than repayable on a fixed schedule of payments, like a mortgage or a conventional consumer loan. Policy analysts, politicians, students, and many economists have been fascinated for the past 50 years over the idea that student loans might be repaid not on a schedule of fixed repayments, but as an obligation to repay a certain percentage of earnings until the debt was repaid with interest or until (for low earners) a certain number of years had passed while repaying this percent of earnings, but without being able to discharge the full debt, at which time any remaining debt would be canceled. Economists tend to be especially intrigued by the pure form of income-contingent borrowing, in which the surplus interest paid by high earners covers the shortfalls from low earners and/or defaulters (i.e., the losses both from defaults and from an inability of the low earners to repay at the full rate of interest), effectively turning a student loan into a form of equity, where students are viewed as selling shares of their future earnings in return for the capital needed to invest in their educations.

The high risk of generally available student lending, the problem of *adverse selection* (whereby students who plan a low-earning career such as the ministry or public service will rush to participate, while those who believe they will earn high incomes tend to decline), and the difficulty of capitalizing or securitizing income-contingent loan notes have limited the adoption of income-contingent student loans except for governmental loans (in which losses are covered by tax-payers). The most noted of these are the Australian and English models, which combine the presumed advantages of deferred tuition fees (i.e., higher education free at the time of matriculation) with the presumed advantages to students of income-contingent repayment obligations. (The presumed advantage extends as well to politicians, who generally wish to please the students, especially when venturing into the politically treacherous waters of tuition fees.)

Although loans with income-contingent repayment obligations may be thought to be greatly superior to conventional loans with fixed schedules of repayments, it is first important to note that most students will repay exactly the same amount—measured in true simple interest, or the discounted present value of the payments—on the income-contingent schedule as they would have on an equivalent conventional, or mortgage-type, loan on a fixed repayment schedule. This is because a loan is *cheaper* only to the degree that it will be repaid at a lower rate of interest, and there is nothing in an income-contingent repayment schedule that makes it any more subsidized, or cheaper, at least for most borrowers, than a conventional loan—although the payments indeed may be more *manageable*, as long as a constant percentage of income is assumed to be more manageable than a fixed, known, schedule of repayments.

Also, all income-contingent loan schemes have some maximum repayment period after which the remaining debts of borrowers who have had low lifetime

earnings and who have been unable to fully repay their obligations will be forgiven. The *generosity* of an income-contingent loan scheme depends on the percentage of earnings that are to be repaid (usually monthly) and the number of years a borrower can be held to continue repayments. A high percent of earnings owed each month together with a long maximum repayment period would constitute an *ungenerous* loan, meaning that a borrower would have to be quite destitute over his or her earning lifetime to trigger the forgiveness of any remaining debt.

Conversely, a repayment contract featuring a low percent of earnings for the monthly payments and a short maximum, or extended, repayment period would probably mean that many borrowers could reach the end of the maximum repayment period with a remaining debt to be forgiven. The point is that any repayment obligation—fixed schedule or income contingent—can be made cheaper with a lower rate of interest (i.e., a larger subsidy), and any conventional repayment schedule can be made more manageable by extending the repayment period and by providing easy refinancing, deferment, or forbearance in the event of unemployment or low earnings (as the US fixed-schedule student loans now do). In short, some proponents of the income-contingent form of repayment obligations portray the income-contingent form as better for all students. But more accurately, the form is clearly better only for some students, and the degree of *better* and the proportions of borrowers for whom the form will in fact be better depend on the elements of governmental subsidization that are built into a particular income-contingent scheme—not, in the end, unlike subsidies that can be built into other forms of repayment obligations.

Nor is an income-contingent repayment necessarily better for the lender. Income contingency in the Australian and English models is sometimes mistakenly equated with the collection of payments by the employer at the point of wage or salary payments, as in income tax withholding or pension contributions. However, a government that can obligate employers to collect the income-contingent loans of their employees can presumably do the same for student loans of a conventional variety. And there may even be a downside to employer-collected student loans. For example, the income-contingent repayment option that has existed for many years in the United States is not collected by employers (nor is it particularly generous) because the US Internal Revenue Service does not want to jeopardize its high level of voluntary income tax compliance by attaching a task unrelated to the collection of taxes onto the laws and regulations of income tax withholding. This is not to disparage a loan scheme that relies on employers to collect (although such collection is difficult to impose on the self-employed and those working out of country). The point is only to disassociate *employer collection* from *income contingency*.

An important downside, however, of income-contingent loans to the lender—meaning the governments in England, Australia, and all other countries that currently provide generally available income-contingent student loans—is that the government, having financed the lending from its operating budget, comes into possession of assets in the form of contracts or notes by which the student borrower pledges to repay a certain portion of earnings until the debt is repaid at a certain rate of interest or until so many years have passed. Unlike conventional fixed-schedule loan notes,

however, which have a market value and which can be sold in a secondary market or securitized to raise capital from the private capital markets, these income-contingent obligations have, at least through early 2012, almost no market value. Governments can keep them on their balance sheets as assets of indeterminate value. But if the point of the deferred tuition fee in the first place was to provide a nongovernmental, supplemental source of revenue to the country's public colleges and universities, it helps little if the deferred tuition fees must be expensed on the government's operating budget and required to compete with all other public expenditures. England and Australia can borrow this money and add it to their debt—comforted, perhaps, by the knowledge that there are some counterbalancing assets on their balance sheets, even if of uncertain value and worth little on the world capital market. For a low-income country that is heavily constrained by its existing debt as well as by the competing claims on the government's operating budget, the assets of deferred tuition fee obligations may be of very little help.

In the end, student loans of the income-contingent variety are clearly more acceptable to students and politicians as well as to many economists and policy analysts. There are clear advantages, as well, although some of the advantages, such as employer collection at the time of wage and salary payment, are not strictly a feature of income contingency, and there are other ways short of income contingency to protect the low earner from unmanageable debt. Thus, my rebuttal to the too frequently passionate advocates of income-contingent loans is not that the advocates are altogether wrong, or that this type of loan is necessarily bad, but that the concept of the income-contingent student loan is too frequently misunderstood as well as oversold (Johnstone and Marcucci 2010, pp. 175–179; Johnstone 2009b).

Public and Private Benefits of Higher Education

The presence, absence, or extent of tuition fees is often attributed to whether the prevailing political ideology holds the benefits of higher education to be private as opposed to social, or public. However, in spite of the attention that economists and policy analysts have given to private and social benefits, neither the debate nor the answers of the moment seem to have much influence on the national policies of public college and university tuition fees. Obviously, the benefits of higher education—and significantly, it matters little whether the reference is to public or private higher education—are both.

Private benefits to students include greater productivity and greater lifetime earnings, as well as greater status, prestige, and sociopolitical influence, in addition to a wider choice of careers, mates, domiciles, and other life options. Parents of students also receive benefits, including the satisfaction that their children have all of the aforementioned advantages, as well as the added capacity to care for them if necessary in their elder years. Decades of studies have documented and even attempted to place monetary values (sometimes expressed as a return on investment) on these undisputedly private benefits. Such research invariably concludes that the

private benefits are generally high, but also that they vary according to the benefit being measured as well as by student characteristics, by program and degree level, and by country. But perhaps the most vivid demonstration of private benefits (or at least the perception of private benefits) is the simple fact that parents and students all over the world are paying large amounts of money—to public institutions with tuition fees as well as to private institutions and to private fee-paying tracks within public institutions—to access institutions of higher education.

Just as obviously, there are *public,* or *social, benefits,* or *positive externalities,* to higher education as well, including the economic growth and prosperity as well as the enhanced quality of life and social and civic virtues such as toleration and enhanced political participation that are generally assumed to *spill over* to populations far outnumbering the students who received the higher education—and to some analysts, well in excess of the private benefits presumably received by them. In this way, the benefits of higher education are not, for the most part, private *or* social. Rather, the social benefits are extensions of much (although not all) of the private benefits from public and private higher education.

The Politics and Ideologies of Public Sector Tuition Fees

There is clearly some link between the presence and level of tuition fees and a country's prevailing political and ideological assumptions about the appropriate size of government, the proper extent of transfer payments, the acceptable level of direct and indirect taxes, and the role of markets versus governmental regulation and steering. There is clearly some truth to this association. The United States, England, Australia, and some of the Canadian provinces have relatively high public college and university tuition fees, and they also tend to embrace more readily the privatization of public services generally, to exhibit more faith in markets, and to elect governments at national and state or provincial levels that endorse smaller governments and lower taxes. At the other end of the political/ideological continuum, the Nordic countries, with their strong welfare economies and their acceptance of high levels of taxation, are almost the last remaining bastion of free higher education. And most of the rest of the European continent features low or no tuition fees, larger governments, and little in the way of private higher education.

At the same time, while the United States along with the United Kingdom are indeed associated with a more aggressive form of capitalism and the acceptance of higher public college and university tuition fees, the level of fees in the various US states has been quite independent of the dominant politics of whatever political party or ideology is prevailing at any moment. The acceptance of relatively high public sector tuition fees throughout the United States is very much influenced by three factors: (a) the fact that public higher education in the United States is the province of the states, which are unable to run deficits in their operating budgets and which are therefore led to make up shortfalls in state revenue with higher fees; (b) the extensive private sector of higher education, which varies by state in its

dominance, but which features very high tuition fees and which has accustomed the public to both the appropriateness of tuition fees as well as the need to plan for them; and (c) an established and well-funded system of grants and student loans from federal, state, institutional, and other private sources totalling in 2011 more than $227 billion, nearly $104 billion of which was in subsidized (means-tested) and unsubsidized student loans (College Board 2011, Table 1), which preserves higher educational accessibility in the face of high and rising tuition fees, even in the public sector.

In contrast, the Nordic countries, which continue to boast of totally free higher education and no officially expected parental contributions even to the costs of student living, pass most of the very high costs of student maintenance on to students in the form of student loans. And England and Australia, as we have noted above, while boasting of public universities that are free at the point of matriculation, defer their considerable tuition fees in the form of student loans—in addition to loans that are taken out to cover the costs of maintenance. Finally, some of the highest public university tuition fees in the world are found in the fee-paying tracks in the public universities in Russia and other of the so-called *dual-track* tuition fee countries, also discussed above.

At the same time, there is no denying in the Nordic countries the private benefits to higher education. Similarly, there is no pretense in Russia, Romania, Uganda, or other dual-track countries that the public at large derives all of the benefit from the higher education of the governmentally sponsored students—any more than there is a notion that there is no public benefit derived from the so-called fee-paying track. These systems are maintained by framework laws or constitutions that governments hesitate (or are politically unable) to amend as well as by cultural norms that approve of the reward of an expensive (to the state) higher education going to those who have achieved at the highest academic level by the age of university entry, even though those admitted as governmentally sponsored are disproportionately from middle and upper-middle class families with university-educated parents.

In fact, the bulging fee-paying tracks in the otherwise public universities of the dual-track countries support the notion of very great private benefits to higher education, with the free or nearly free higher education an artifact, not so much of a belief in the predominantly public value of higher education as it is of a resilient political ideology that higher education is to be free—even if only to a few of the most fortunate. In short, the politics and ideology of tuition fees need to be viewed in a total context of parent- and student-borne costs, both of instruction and of maintenance and including both tuition and other mandatory fees, the many variations of tuition fees (e.g., up-front, deferred, or dual track), and financial assistance of all forms. With all of these factors considered, the level of tuition fees reveals relatively little of the prevailing views about private as opposed to social benefits of higher education.

In sum, higher education finance in any single country, and vastly more so in international comparative perspective, is an enormously complex topic. The reliance in any country on tuition fees to bear part of the rising costs of public higher education is influenced in part by the particular histories, cultures, and dominant political and

ideological currents of the country and the moment. But higher education—regardless of ideology or political system and regardless of the presumed mix of public and private benefits—is expensive everywhere. More alarming than the high per-student costs is the rapidly increasing, and seemingly unsustainable, trajectory of these costs, pushed upward, especially in middle- and low-income countries, by a combination of high birth rates and surging rates of higher educational aspirations. Thus, virtually all countries are struggling with these surging costs, the volatile politics of tuition fees, the competing needs for scarce governmental revenues, and the complexity of student loans, along with the need to reconcile the economic and social imperative for quality higher education with the political and moral needs to increase higher educational participation.

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Chapter 18
The Contribution of Universities to Innovation: Insights from a Comparative Study of the Leading OECD Nations

David D. Dill and Frans van Vught

Introduction

As Philip Altbach's work has emphasized, research universities have become central institutions of the globalized economy in the twenty-first century (Altbach and Balán 2007), and their positive contribution to innovation and technical change applies equally to both middle-income and low-income countries (Altbach and Salmi 2011). Research on National Innovation Systems (NIS) in the mature economies highlights the contribution that academic research, PhD training, and technology transfer make to industrial innovation (Mowery and Sampat 2004). Consequently, governments in many countries have come to believe that "entrepreneurial" universities, which proactively engage in knowledge transfer, are engines of economic development and that the effective steering of the university sector is a critical means of improving national innovation (Laredo and Mustar 2001). The leading developed countries therefore are adopting national innovation policies that have begun to shape and supersede traditional science and technology policies and are now wielding a significant influence on universities. What are the impacts of these new national innovation policies on research universities, and how might these results inform the design of effective higher education policy in all countries?

D.D. Dill (✉)
Public Policy, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill,
27599-3435 Chapel Hill, NC, USA
e-mail: david_dill@unc.edu

F. van Vught
European Commission, European Centre for Strategic Management of Universities (Esmu),
Helmerstraat 201, 7546 PD Enschede, The Netherlands

Netherlands' House for Education and Research (Nether),
European Institute of Technology Foundation (EITF), Brussels, Belgium
e-mail: f.a.vanvught@utwente.nl

Following the important contributions of academic researchers to military innovation and technology during World War II, national science policies were guided by the influential "linear" or "science-push" model of innovation. That model assumed that if government invested significant sums in university basic research, then applied research, technical developments, innovation, and benefits in the form of wealth, health, and national security would follow automatically. Some scholars of science policy (Martin 2003) have suggested that the post-World War II euphoria with basic science and the strong belief in the linear model strengthened the voices of those within Europe who had always advocated for a more pure and autonomous form of academic research. As a consequence they argue research to meet the needs of society and the economy, which had been a traditional focus of the eminent technical universities of Germany, Switzerland, and the Netherlands, came to be perceived in European universities as a less central, if not deviant, form of knowledge production.

Recent economic research on National Innovation Systems has revealed that industrial innovation is decidedly a nonlinear process. Instead, innovation is best understood as an interactive, reciprocal process involving different actors and organizations (Nelson 1993). This research confirms that academic institutions play a critical role in the NIS, and the evidence suggests that, if anything, their influence on technical innovation has grown over time (Mowery and Sampat 2004). However, while the tangible outputs of academic research—publications and patents—are important, equally significant to successful innovation is the contribution of highly skilled human capital in the form of new science and engineering (S&E) and research doctoral graduates (Cohen et al. 2002). The quality and the productivity of research doctoral training are critical, not only because research doctorates are an essential input to academic and industrial research but also because mobile doctoral graduates are an important means of communicating new theoretical insights and emergent research methods to the larger society (Cohen et al. 2002). Most importantly, and in sharp contrast to the linear assumptions of the science-push model, the recent research stresses the role of linkages among the various actors and organizations that participate in the overall innovation process (Edquist 1997; Nelson 1993). These linkages include not only formal knowledge transfer arrangements between universities and industry, such as science parks and joint university-industry research ventures, but also soft linkages—the many channels of communication such as publications, meetings, and consultants—by which knowledge is exchanged.

Reflecting this new focus on national innovation, we conducted and recently published a comparative study (Dill and van Vught 2010) of these policies and their impacts on universities in the leading countries of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD). We titled our study "National Innovation and the Academic Research Enterprise," adopting this latter term as a means of focusing on the activities of academic research, research doctoral training, and knowledge transfer that have been discovered to be so influential on industrial innovation (Balzat 2006; Schmoch et al. 2006; OECD 2005). The Academic Research Enterprise (ARE) now performs a substantial and growing portion of national research and development (R&D), is the essential source of research human capital,

and is a primary channel by which new knowledge contributes to social and economic betterment (Altbach and Balán 2007). In our remarks to follow, we will outline what we learned in our study about the contributions of universities to innovation as well as the impacts of current national innovation policies on university behavior.

Impacts on University Research

The combination of research assessment and competitive research funding policies newly adopted in many of the OECD countries is leading universities to develop more specific institutional strategies in the three basic segments of their research mission: research, research doctoral training, and knowledge transfer. Global forces and the market competition introduced by these new policies have also led to major reforms in the internal organization and governance of publicly supported universities. Universities in all of our examined countries are now being encouraged by government to adopt a more corporate type of organization, with a stronger central administration and better ties to external stakeholders, and have been awarded greater autonomy in the management of their internal affairs. This organizational form closely approximates the sociologist Burton Clark's (1998) conception of an "entrepreneurial university."

The national emphasis on competitive financial instruments for the ARE has also affected the internal research allocations of universities. The typical reaction of individual universities to the national research policies is to increase the quality and size of their successful research fields and hence to focus and concentrate their academic efforts in certain specialized areas. The outcomes of these institutional specialization and concentration processes, of course, differ according to the conditions of the various institutions. Previous academic performance, the affiliation of top-level researchers, and in particular the financial resources of a university are still of crucial importance in developing an institutional research profile. But the general effect appears to be a trend within universities toward "focus and mass," toward specialization and concentration.

The new policies also appear to be making universities in nearly all our examined countries more productive in their output of publications and research doctoral graduates as well as in their patenting and licensing activities. Marked improvements in the organization and management of university research activities and programs were also reported in most of our cases. It is likely that this improvement in the management of university research programs is due not only to new national research policies but also to the general reductions in funding for publicly supported universities that have occurred in conjunction with the massification and expansion of higher education in most countries (Williams 2004). As a consequence, universities in many of our studied countries have necessarily become more highly motivated to pursue alternative sources of revenue for their research programs and therefore have been required to develop the research centers and internal research management processes necessary to survive in this now more competitive market.

A reported negative impact of the new policies is the diminishment of research support in particular fields, often in unanticipated ways. Historically, the social sciences and humanities have received substantially lower levels of research support in most leading countries than have the basic sciences, medical sciences, and engineering. The current concern with national innovation and economic development, as well as the use of more directive means of supporting academic research, has further disadvantaged research in these "softer fields." Although research support for the social sciences and humanities has historically been stronger in the many countries that subscribed to a dual-funding model for universities, these fields have also suffered because of the observable shift of national research funding from General University Funding (GUF) to research councils and the increasing national emphases on the applied sciences and technology. In recognition of this problem, both Canada and the United Kingdom have recently established research councils in the humanities and social sciences.

Less obviously, our national analyses suggest that the strong emphasis on research programs in the applied sciences and technology along with performance-based research funding can also result in inadequate support for research in some basic science subjects, such as chemistry, physics, and mathematics, which serve as the critical foundation for many technical and applied fields (Cohen et al. 2002). In the United Kingdom, for example, the concentration of research funding brought about by the Research Assessment Exercise has led several universities to reduce or eliminate basic science departments that do not receive the highest rating. In the United States, despite a recent initiative by the National Science Foundation to increase funding for the basic sciences, shifts in research priorities by the large, mission-oriented agencies like the Department of Defense and NASA (the National Aeronautics and Space Administration), which fund significant amounts of academic basic research, may still result in reduced funding in foundational science fields. These concerns suggest that the more competitive and dynamic environment of the ARE, which national innovation policies have helped create, may now require national governments to take more active steps to define particular subjects as in the national interest and to assure that these fields receive adequate support for research and doctoral education.

Impacts on Research Doctoral Training

As previously noted, research doctoral training, particularly in the sciences and technology, is an important contributor to national innovation, and this has motivated the development of new policies designed to enhance research doctoral education in our studied countries. This effort has been largely successful, and our analysis indicates increases both in the numbers of PhDs and in program completion rates, primarily because of policies focused on financial support for doctoral students. In Europe the focus on research training has clearly been strengthened. In the recent

European Union innovation strategy (called: EU 2020), the European Commission claims that the EU will need at least one million more researchers. Also, in several European countries policies encouraging the adoption of more structured, "taught" research doctoral programs appear to have been a particularly valuable and influential development. Initially, in order to make structured research training more practical and economically viable, many European universities developed collaborative, cross-institutional doctoral training in selected fields. The Finnish National Graduate School, the National Research Schools in the Netherlands, and the joint doctorate networks in the European Union are examples of the efforts by universities and government policy to combine research specialization with sufficient critical mass to make taught doctoral programs more feasible. But there is some evidence from the experience in the Netherlands and Finland that single university-based graduate schools, which permit better institutional control over the design, development, and assurance of quality in PhD programs, may ultimately be found superior to decentralized research doctoral networks or schools.

There is also some evidence from the United States (Dill 2009) that well-designed research doctoral rankings may be particularly influential instruments for improving PhD programs in the increasingly competitive global market for doctoral training. The research doctoral rankings of the National Academy of Sciences, which are supported by the National Science Foundation and the National Institutes of Health, are in fact the only government-supported university rankings in the United States. These rankings have been designed by leading social scientists in the United States and in international comparison are noteworthy for the attention to the validity and reliability of their measures. As a consequence, these rankings have had a measurable impact on the improvement of research and research doctoral programs at the leading US universities. The surveys conducted as part of these rankings are now contributing to the development of a national data based on research graduate programs that can help develop doctoral programs in all US universities.

Finally, while the necessary critical mass for a first-rate research doctoral program remains a controversial issue, our analysis supports a policy emphasis on concentrating research doctoral education in those universities with proven, high-quality programs of research. In a number of our study countries, financial support for research doctoral programs is increasingly linked to indicators of research quality, such as numbers of publications, competitive grants received, existence of centers of research excellence, and assessments of subject and/or research doctoral program quality.

Impacts on Knowledge Transfer

Our analysis suggests a major impact of the new national innovation policies is that knowledge transfer has become an accepted and valued element of the general mission of most universities. Despite initial reluctance and even controversy in

some institutions, most of our country studies comment on the significant changes in university culture that have occurred over recent decades. A much more entrepreneurial and utilitarian orientation to both university education and research programs has emerged. Universities now increasingly focus on their potential role as regional partners in innovation "clusters"; they develop programs with business and industry; they open up technology transfer offices; they offer consultancy and training activities in order to assist entrepreneurs in making use of new knowledge; and some even adopt an innovative entrepreneurial character as an institutional identity. In Europe a group of "entrepreneurial universities" have organized themselves into a cooperative network, the European Consortium of Innovative Universities (ECIU). But in general, the European universities still clearly lag behind their counterparts in the United States and Japan in the field of knowledge transfer (van Vught 2009).

As with publications and doctoral students, our analyses confirm increases in knowledge transfer activity indicated by the numbers of patents, licenses, and industrial start-ups in our study countries. However, the economic benefit to society of this substantial growth in knowledge transfer activity has yet to be clearly established.

A much-debated topic in the context of knowledge transfer is policies on intellectual property rights (IPR). The original changes in the IPR legislation in the United States—the so-called Bayh-Dole Act—were motivated by a desire to speed knowledge to market. Patent and licensing rights were therefore reallocated to universities through new laws designed to increase university incentives for knowledge transfer. The policy was never expected to create a major new source of funding for the ARE. However, with the growing competition for academic research monies in the United States and around the world, universities in all the countries we examined are more aggressively seeking research revenues from other sources and, in many instances, have interpreted new IPR legislation as an exhortation to "cash in" on their research outcomes.

The evidence from our study is that the majority of universities in the OECD countries are at best breaking even, and many are suffering net losses from their investments in technology transfer offices and affiliated activities. While many universities see their technology transfer expenses as a necessary investment that they expect to bear significant fruit over time, research in the United States (Geiger 2007) suggests that over the longer term, the institutions that do reap some financial benefit from patenting and licensing are the most highly ranked and best-known research universities. But even in these institutions, there tends to be a natural ceiling to the amount of such revenue that can be earned, because patents and licenses are influential on industrial innovation in a limited number of fields.

One unintended impact of public policies that emphasize IPR as a means of stimulating academic knowledge transfer is their influence upon the core processes of academic science. Because of increased incentives for universities to patent and license their discoveries as a means of raising revenues, some theoretical results and research tools that have traditionally been freely available to other scholars and researchers are now being restricted. This constriction of open science may in fact

lessen the economically beneficial "spillovers" that are a primary rationale for the public support of basic academic research. Policy instruments intended to provide incentives for knowledge transfer, therefore, have to be designed with particular care to maintain the benefits of open science.

Research on sources of innovation in industry raises additional questions regarding the effect of national knowledge transfer policies on the "hard" artifacts of academic research (Cohen et al. 2002). As previously noted patents and licenses are influential on innovation and profits in a relatively small number of industries and technical fields, biotech being the most prominent example. More influential for most industries are the "softer" knowledge transfer processes, such as publications, meetings, the use of consultants, and the hiring of new PhD graduates, whose added expertise is a primary means of transferring academic knowledge to industry (Agarwal and Henderson 2002; Cohen et al. 2002). Therefore, public policies that highlight the "hard" outputs of academic research are likely to undersupport knowledge transfer that is beneficial to society (Geiger 2007).

Finally, our study also suggests that "one size fits all" national government policies can steer universities away from the type of knowledge transfer that fosters regional economic development. Comparative research involving several of our focal countries (i.e., Finland, Japan, the United Kingdom, and the United States) revealed that the knowledge transfer processes—patenting, licensing, and new business formation—favored by national innovation policies were often not the most important contributors to local and regional development (Lester 2007). While some "global" universities produce technology artifacts that are transferable world-wide, effective knowledge transfer for most universities is a more local process and depends upon the nature of industrial development occurring in the regional economy. Universities do contribute to the creation of new businesses, but much more commonly they help to upgrade mature industries, support the diversification of existing businesses into new fields, and assist in the transplantation of industries. In these roles traditional publications, the provision of skilled S&T graduates for the regional economy, and technical problem-solving with local business and industry through consulting and contract research are much more significant channels for influencing technical innovation than patents and licenses (Agarwal and Henderson 2002; Cohen et al. 2002). Universities also play a crucial role in the creation of regional "creative hotspots" (Kourtit et al. 2011) by providing a "public space" in which, through meetings, research conferences, and industrial liaison programs, local business practitioners can appropriately discuss the future direction of technologies, markets, and regional industrial development.

This contribution to regional development is potentially a role all universities with scientific and/or technical faculties, not just "world-class" institutions, can perform. National policies encouraging this type of local and regional focus would therefore also promote the development of socially beneficial diversity in the ARE. Such policies should provide incentives for universities to focus less on their possibly wasteful investments in conventional technology transfer and more on developing a strategy for encouraging innovation in their region. This approach would encourage universities to systematically assess the circumstances and development

of local industry, the research strengths of the institution, and the most appropriate channels for aligning the university's capabilities with the needs of the local economy (Lester 2007). The Finnish National Centres of Expertise Programme provides one well-regarded national model for developing universities as nodal points in regional networks of innovation by helping them better integrate their research expertise with local industry and business along the lines I have just suggested (OECD 2007).

Conclusion

What then can be deduced from this research about the nature of the policy "macro environment" (Altbach and Salmi 2011) in which research universities best develop? Our study confirms that in the new era of heightened global academic competition, universities require the capacity to be "nimble" if they are to contribute to social and economic betterment. While the international research reputation of the distinguished US private universities would not be possible without access to the generous research funds competitively available through the federal government, these universities also possess managerial autonomy that, all other things being equal, provides them a competitive advantage over all other universities, both domestic and foreign. Recent research underscores the continuing substantial variation in university autonomy across nations as well as across states and provinces within federal systems (Aghion et al. 2005, 2007; Martins et al. 2007). In terms of strengthening the ARE, the critical dimensions of this autonomy appear to be university control over academic programs (i.e., self-accrediting status), control over hiring and wage setting of academic staff, and control over the sources and structure of funding (e.g., the capacity to independently set and retain tuition and fees).

A crucial policy challenge, therefore, is to define the level of institutional autonomy and flexibility publicly supported universities truly require in a manner that is genuinely efficient for society. Individual academic ambition is of course a major force for new knowledge production and should be protected and stimulated. But while this academic ambition may be beneficial at an individual level, collectively it means that the academic staffs of all universities worldwide seek to make their institution a world-class research university. This combined ambition helps drive the rapidly escalating and expensive international academic arms race of university investments in research, research facilities, and PhD programs. As in health care, there is a danger that the social costs of this worthy professional ambition may quickly come to exceed the social benefits.

Some form of public higher education and research policy will be needed to prevent this tension between social benefits and social costs to become negative. In designing the appropriate framework conditions for entrepreneurial universities, it is therefore important that policy makers attend not only to political and academic ambitions but also to what we are learning about the means by which universities best contribute to innovation.

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Chapter 19
International Higher Education: Bridging Academia and Global Policy Development at the World Bank

Roberta Malee Bassett and Jamil Salmi

It is not unusual, regardless of field or issue, for research done by academics not to make an impression or impact on global policy development. The discourse on forging the links between research and policy is not new, highlighting the challenges of bringing often theoretical or seemingly peripheral knowledge into applied, practical policy initiatives. This challenge is particularly relevant in examining higher education as a sphere of international development policy over the past 40 years.

Higher education is in the midst of an ongoing evolution—from a local concern of the elite class to an area of national interest, to an emerging academic research area, and, finally, to a global policy arena. This chapter will utilize the experience of the World Bank to illustrate these latter two evolutionary 'stages' in higher education, the links between academic research and international higher education policy. Further, to serve the context of this Festschrift, the following chapter will conclude by highlighting how the work of Philip Altbach has been relevant to the higher education efforts of the World Bank, most notably in the past decade, illustrating in this pointed way the genuine influence Altbach has had on higher education around the world.

Introduction: Higher Education Research and Policy

Higher education as a field of academic research is still relatively young—emerging most notably in the post-World War II, as higher education and research were emerging as tools for fighting the Cold War. Questions about who should be

R.M. Bassett
The World Bank, Europe and Central Asia Region,
1818 H Street, NW, MSN: MC7-715, Washington, DC 20433, USA
e-mail: rbassett@worldbank.org

J. Salmi (✉)
Independent Consultant, 11422 Dorchester Ln, 20852 Rockville, MD, USA
e-mail: jsalmi@tertiaryeducation.org

educated through higher education and why, what the role and 'uses' of the university (Kerr 1982) should be, and how research should be supported within higher education framed the emerging academic discourse on higher education. Academic researchers in sociology, philosophy, political science, economics, and other more traditional academic fields began to focus their research on higher education and, with this work, built the academic field of higher education.

Aside from some notable exceptions—where research was conducted by well-known, respected practitioners, as in the case of Clark Kerr, for instance—this research has not, necessarily, permeated the policy landscape that has seen rapid expansion of higher education systems globally. Undoubtedly, challenges faced and errors made in one country context were repeated in others during this expansion, even when research existed that illuminated the issues and offered alternatives. So, an important consideration is to try to understand why.

Peter Scott (2000) offers three main reasons for the weak links between higher education research and policy:

- Higher education research is perceived as irrelevant—because researchers are examining the 'wrong' issues; because the research takes too long to be completed, thereby missing the time imperatives often underpinning policy development; or because the forms and language of research is directly towards academia and not towards the policy community.
- Higher education research is perceived to be of low quality—since higher education research has historically been interdisciplinary or, when centred anywhere, based within schools of education, the researchers have often not been affiliated with the most respected areas of academic research.
- Higher education research is perceived as having embedded biases, due to the connection of the expansion of higher education research to the expansion of higher education systems, and with this, the focus on system building and not on institutions or individuals within the institutions (pp. 125–126).

The challenge, then, appears to be familiarizing policymakers with the quality and opportunities research can offer towards improving their work. John Kingdon (1984) elaborated on the policy process as having three main 'streams': the *problem* stream, where the issue/question is raised; the *policy* stream, where potential solutions to the problem are offered; and the *political* stream, where legislation and rules are developed in response to the other streams. When these three streams converge, there is policy reform. The contribution of researchers can be to illustrate the opportunities at this point of convergence, providing the evidence and road maps policymakers and leaders need to enact effective and sustainable reforms (Teichler and Sadlak 2000). El-Khawas (2000) explores this further by explaining precisely where academics can play a policy role in each stream:

- In the problem stream: define the problems, show if/how it is worsening, document long-term trends, and/or critique current and previous attempts to solve the problem.
- In the policy stream: present the most recent and relevant data related to the problem, provide assessment of all potential solutions to the problem and offer

alternatives based on evidence, identify issues that would affect policy choices, and expose unexamined issues or gaps in the proposed solutions.

- In the political stream: persuade political leaders that the problem must be solved, demonstrate the political relevance among stakeholders/constituents, and document impact of scope of the effect of any policy response on citizens or social groups (pp. 44–45).

It is at this convergence where the World Bank experiences its most direct engagements between academic research (qualitative and quantitative) and policy development at the national level of its client countries.

The World Bank's Evolution in Higher Education for Development

Although the first World Bank project in education (1963, Tunisia) included a teacher training component, for many years the Bank did not consider higher education a priority area for education investment. In the decades between 1963 and 1994, the education sector within the Bank was guided by internally developed 'rate of return' formulas that discouraged investment in higher education in favour of primary and secondary education (Psacharopoulos 1973). Scepticism over the comparative value of investment in and reform of higher education in borrower/client countries led, in parts of the Bank, to the purposeful exclusion or, at best, minimization of higher education within lending for the education sector. Over the past 20 years, however, three pivotal works emerged from the higher education leaders within the World Bank and transformed the commitment to and influence of the World Bank on global higher education for development: the 1994 *Higher Education: the Lessons of Experience* (*Lessons*), 2000s *Higher Education in Developing Countries: Peril and Promise,* and, most significantly, 2002s *Constructing Knowledge Societies: New Challenges for Tertiary Education.*

Acknowledging that higher education 'is of paramount importance for economic and social development' (World Bank 1994, p. 1), *Lessons* marked the public turning point in the Bank's commitment to improving higher education capacity in its client countries (Salmi 1994). In *Lessons*, the Bank outlined four key directions for reform for higher education in developing countries: diversification of institutions, including private institutions; diversification of funding sources, including student fees, and linking funding with performance; re-examining the links between government and higher education; and focusing policy developments on quality and equity objectives (World Bank 1994, p. 4). *Lessons* does not indicate so much a transition of focus from primary/secondary to higher education as it does a realization that higher education serves a separate and equally important function in broad social-economic development, requiring a distinct level of attention and expertise.

Lessons cited contributions from key higher education thought leaders including Martin Carnoy (Stanford University), Burton Clark (UCLA), John Fielden

(Association of Commonwealth Universities), Roger Geiger (Yale and Pennsylvania State Universities), Katherine Namuddu (Rockefeller Foundation; Makerere, Nairobi, and Kenyatta Universities), Paul Romer (University of California, Berkeley/ University of Chicago/Stanford University/New York University), and Edita Tan (University of the Philippines).

Following *Lessons* and the subsequent emergence of higher education as a stronger area of interest for the Bank's education endeavours, the Bank and UNESCO convened an independent task force to examine the specific challenges facing higher education in developing countries at the turn of the twenty-first century.

Higher Education in Developing Countries: Peril and Promise (2000) emerged from two years of detailed research as well as discussions and interviews of relevant issues with actors around the world. The focus of the report is the crises that higher education in developing countries must manage in order to fulfil its mission of promoting sustainable cultural, social, and economic development. Major areas of concern included privatization, access (particularly for women), diminished government funding, and increased demand. Of greatest consequence in the short term are the decline of funding at a time of dramatically increased demand and the understanding that effective development depends on becoming an active participant in the international 'knowledge economy'. The task force was led by and inclusive of an array of highly regarded members of the global academic community. The project was led by Professors Henry Rosovsky (Harvard University) and Mamphela Ramphele (University of Cape Town), codirected by David Bloom (Harvard University) and Kamal Ahmad (private attorney) and included researchers, policy analysts, and government officials of higher education from 13 countries.

The report expounds upon four main areas in which immediate action is needed, including the following: funding (focusing on mix source models), resources (using physical and human capital to its greatest advantage), governance (promoting structures for good governance and effective management techniques for environments with limited resources), and curriculum development (with focus on complementary elements such as general education and investment in science and technology). These issues are, by and large, reminiscent of the issues of focus in *Lessons*, exposing the inherent challenge of effectively addressing deeply embedded issues, regardless of awareness of or commitment to the necessity of taking such action.

Peril and Promise provides both qualitative, anecdotal evidence of the problems plaguing higher education development and quantitative data supporting comparative analyses on the demographics of higher education around the world. The report takes a stance supporting comprehensive investment in higher education as a vital component of sustainable development in a global knowledge-based economy and political environment. It concludes that policymakers and the higher education community must focus on two, highly broad issue areas: increasing resources for higher education and managing those resources better and more efficiently.

Finally, in 2002, the Bank published a comprehensive and ambitious examination of higher education as a tool for poverty reduction, development, and participation in the global knowledge economy in *Constructing Knowledge Societies: New Challenges*

for Tertiary Education. Constructing Knowledge Societies emerged from a thorough data collection and research process that not only focused on the efforts of the Bank directly but also examined the experiences of relevant actors outside the Bank. As noted in the foreword of the report, 'The team sought advice at the beginning of the process from a group of distinguished scholars, including Philip Altbach, Jose Joaquin Brunner, Elaine El-Khawas, Carmen Garcia Guadilla, Daniel Levy, and Alan Wagner' (p. xiii). The bridge between academic research and policy development was built from the outset, to ensure that the end result was inclusive and of best possible practice. And, by bringing together these different perspectives, *Constructing Knowledge Societies* offers a broad analysis of the current issues facing the higher education sector across developing and transitional countries. *Constructing Knowledge Societies* also presents predictions and recommendations for the future of higher education in these countries.

Between the publication of *Lessons* in 1994 and *Constructing Knowledge Societies* in 2002, the most challenging issues facing higher education reform had changed very little. 'Unresolved challenges' at the time of the publication of *Constructing Knowledge Societies* included: the need to expand the higher education sector to meet the rapidly growing demand, inequality of access and outcomes, quality assurance concerns, and the need for more effective and relevant governance and management structures. The range of findings of *Constructing Knowledge Societies* span from more traditional concerns such as promoting higher education as a tool for human (cultural), economic, and social development to more modern challenges such as utilizing higher education as a means of participating in an increasingly service- and technology-driven world and facing the myriad challenges of globalization.

The Bank, as a lending and knowledge-sharing institution, is in a unique position to promote mechanisms to assist countries in addressing all of these issues within higher education reform policies. *Constructing Knowledge Societie*s presents the basic principles that the Bank follows in supporting specific activities within any one country and notes that the support should be appropriate to each country's circumstances, be based on strategic planning at the national and institutional levels, promote autonomy and accountability in the higher education sector, focus on capacity enhancement and regional sharing of successful experiences and models, sequence activities in a manner consistent with the entire development agenda for any one country, and acknowledge and account for the political nature of higher education reform (pp. 119–120).

In its conclusion, *Constructing Knowledge Societies* does not attempt to present ready-made solutions, per se, to the challenges originally outlined in *Lessons* and reiterated in *Peril and Promise*. Indeed, in *Constructing Knowledge Societie*s the Bank explores more thoroughly than in previous publications the need for locally driven higher education initiatives that can be supported and enhanced by the international expertise offered by a multilateral organization like the Bank.

At the same time, however, *Constructing Knowledge Societies* identifies significant global public goods that countries on their own may not be able to handle effectively, including human capital migration (brain drain), intellectual property

concerns, the challenge of quality assurance for borderless higher education, the digital divide, and the impact of the global trade in services on higher education. *Constructing Knowledge Societies* makes the case that merely modernizing the higher education system will no longer be enough. To play their role effectively, higher education systems must be locally relevant yet globally aware, adaptive and evolving, flexible, and of high quality. *Constructing Knowledge Societies* underscores the continuum of engagement in higher education development that the Bank has undertaken and the direction in which the Bank anticipates a long future of related efforts.

Moreover, Bank-supported research and policy papers over the past decade or so, including those analysed in this document, cast doubt on the validity of Psachoropoulos' 'rate of return analysis' as the main approach for measuring the value of investment in tertiary education. By focusing exclusively on the private returns of government spending, the methodology had excluded broad social benefits such as research externalities, entrepreneurship, job creation, good economic and political governance, and the effect of a highly educated cadre of workers on a nation's health and social fabric (Bloom et al. 2005, p. 20). When taken together, the rate of return assessment no longer validates an idea of pitting education level spending against each other but, instead, gives governments a tool for assessing public spending areas against each other (e.g. defence spending versus education).

Since the publication of *Constructing Knowledge Societies*, the Bank has produced a wide array of publications related to higher education across every region of the Bank's operations, including: *How Universities Promote Economic Growth* (World Bank 2007), *Accelerating Catch-Up: Tertiary Education for Growth in Sub-Saharan Africa* (World Bank 2008), *The Challenge of Establishing World Class Universities* (World Bank 2009), *Financing Higher Education in Africa* (World Bank 2010), *The Road to Academic Excellence* (World Bank 2011), and *Putting Higher Education to Work: Skills and Research for Growth in East Asia* (World Bank 2012). In these and most other World Bank publications related to higher education since 2000, significant contributions have been made by top academic contributors—academic staff from renowned institutions around the world, whose research findings are immediately relevant to the policy directions being sought by World Bank client countries. Philip Altbach was even the co-editor of one of them, *The Road to Academic Excellence*.

Scholars including, but by no means limited to, Daniel Levy (SUNY-Albany), Luc Weber (University of Geneva), Shahid Yusuf (the George Washington University), Narayana Jayaram (Tata Institute of Social Sciences), Nian Cai Liu (Shanghai Jiao Tong University), Pamela Maricucci and D. Bruce Johnstone (SUNY-Buffalo), and, of course, Philip Altbach (Boston College) have served as contributors and consultants across the full array of scholarly work on higher education produced by the World Bank in recent years. Dozens more have had their works utilized and cited within World Bank policy and project documents. Indeed, through these and other documents generated as collaborative project between World Bank and outside scholars, World Bank projects have been able to leverage such learning into on-the-ground practice.

Using Policy Documents in Practice

While it is difficult to measure the direct impact of World Bank publications on how countries have reformed their higher education systems, these policy documents can and do serve as catalysts for initiating reforms. In Pakistan, for instance, after the publication of *Peril and Promise*, the government established its own Higher Education Task Force whose findings and recommendations guided the launch of a comprehensive reform in 2003. In Yemen, the government received a small technical assistance loan ('Learning and Innovation Loan') from the Bank in 2004, that facilitated the launch of a nationwide consultation effort and the preparation of a long-term strategy for higher education reform. And, since 2009, client countries around the world have sought Bank support in their, sometimes inadvisable, efforts to establish a national world-class university. Fortunately, *The Challenge of Establishing World Class Universities* (World Bank 2010) offered a broader message about the pitfalls that can accompany such an effort, providing a solid road map for navigating this challenging issue using well-detailed research findings and data.

In addition to the expanding array of policy documents and statements on higher education, the Bank has been expanding its programmatic engagements around the world. The main types of activities supported by Bank projects come under one or more of the following headings, tailored to the needs of the country and the specific requests of the national authorities and the higher education community:

- Vision development, strategic planning, and consensus building at both the national and institutional levels
- Finance reforms (e.g. allocation of recurrent budget, competitive funding, cost sharing, student loans, scholarships)
- Governance and management reforms (creation of policy bodies, mergers, adoption of academic credit systems, management information systems)
- Quality improvement (strengthening of existing programs, evaluation and accreditation systems, innovations in program content and delivery, innovations in academic organization, information and communication infrastructure)
- Institutional diversification (establishment or strengthening of polytechnic or technical institutes)
- Science and technology development (strategy development; capacity for monitoring and evaluation; reform of resource allocation mechanisms; competitive funding; promotion of research in priority areas; joint public–private sector technology development; capacity for metrology, standards, and quality testing; intellectual property rights)

The combination of policy dialogue, analytical work, and financial assistance has facilitated the implementation of comprehensive reforms in the higher education sector in countries as diverse as Argentina, Chile, China, Vietnam, Egypt, Tunisia, Ghana, and Mozambique. Often, governments use the resources made available through multilateral loans as incentives for institutions willing to break new ground after thorough strategic planning and/or self-evaluation efforts.

The Bank continues to act as a bridge builder, bringing to the table stakeholders who do not routinely talk to each other. In several countries, for example, the Bank was instrumental in initiating a dialogue between public and private universities, between universities and technology institutes, or between universities and employers. Similarly, in countries where the relationship between the government and the university sector is tense or even conflictive, the Bank sometimes manages to facilitate a constructive policy dialogue on key issues, as happened in 2003 in Bolivia around the themes of quality enhancement and accreditation. Another notable example of the Bank as a linking pin organization between policymakers and academia occurred in 2009, when a Bank team facilitated a global study tour of research universities by a group of high-ranking government ministers from Kazakhstan—directly connecting scholars, university presidents, and other major stakeholders in some of the best university systems in the world with the national leaders in the process of building a new flagship university for this Central Asian nation (JERP Partnership Development Tour 2009).

The capacity of the World Bank to play these roles of convenor and facilitator is due to several factors. The Bank is able to rely on direct experience across a wide range of countries and situations. It interacts with client countries from a multi-sectoral perspective and has learned to cooperate with multiple stakeholders and seeks to integrate its higher education work into the overall economic and social development framework of the concerned countries. As of March 2013, there are 53 active World Bank lending projects and dozens more technical assistance programs with higher education component areas providing support for higher education reforms and capacity building in every region around the world. In its best practice as a global convenor, the Bank accesses and utilizes—in person and in writing—the very best research findings developed in the higher education academic community as well as the international development community to best deliver on these engagements, serving its clients and contributing to innovation in global best practices in higher education as much as possible.

Conclusion

> The tragedy of the world is that those who are imaginative have but slight experience and those who are experienced have feeble imaginations. Fools act on imagination without experience. Pedants act on knowledge without imagination. The task of the university is to weld together imagination and experience.
>
>   Alfred North Whitehead (1967)

There is no question that bridging higher education research with policymakers and practitioners remains challenging in countries across the globe. While academics exist in a somewhat 'siloed' environment, where their work is deliberative, inwardly focused, and contained, policymakers seek quick and thorough answers to questions that are often more public, outwardly directed, and politically relevant.

Within higher education policy and practice over the past few decades, decision-makers have not, necessarily, sought inputs directly from scholars who have been asking and trying to answer questions that would be relevant to their policy domains. Instead, researchers and scholars have worked with linking organizations, such as the World Bank (Bassett 2010), to build these bridges and create the avenues to bring the relevant research to the policy arena.

Returning to El-Khawas' three streams of influence mentioned earlier, where research can best serve stakeholders—at the problem, policy, and political levels—the World Bank has served as a bridge to outside research and researchers, bringing their questions, ideas, and potential answers to the attention of client countries and working directly with them on projects. Philip Altbach has been at the forefront of this new relationship between higher education research and on-the-ground impact, working the Bank and numerous other influential policy bodies, providing the knowledge and insights gleaned from over four decades studying the field.

Dr. Altbach has published works used by nearly all academic programs in international higher education, thereby influencing a cadre of international higher education professionals. Moreover, he has personally overseen the training of dozens of doctoral students who have gone on to work as professionals in organizations such as the World Bank, UNESCO, the OECD, ACE (in the USA), the Ford Foundation, and government agencies and colleges and universities around the world. And he has provided consulting services—officially and unofficially—for higher education policy practitioners in every region of the world, spreading his influence truly globally. The dramatic reach of his work can be seen in the breadth of contributors to this book, but, even more so, in the range of academic and policy publications that have cited his own writings. His presence is noted in each of the three driving World Bank publications, through which Dr. Altbach contributed to a sea change in higher education policy development in the client countries of the World Bank and beyond.

There is no question that Dr. Altbach, himself, has been a bridge to link research and policy, and for those working in the field of international higher education, his works remain a primary source for information and inspiration as we envision making higher education better and more relevant for the entire global community. As James D. Wolfensohn, former World Bank president, noted in 2000:

> It is impossible to have a complete education system without an appropriate and strong higher education system… You have to have centers of excellence and learning and training if you are going to advance the issue of poverty and development in developing countries… … the key …is higher education, not just on the technological side, but to create people with enough wisdom to be able to use it.

Philip Altbach has spent his entire career working under this premise, offering insights into how and why higher education can be better, can serve more people, can be more equitable, and can make the world better. His legacy is a field of research that has become embedded in practice, and the global higher education community has benefited immensely because of it.

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Part VI
World-Class Universities

Chapter 20
Forms of Capitalism and Creating World-Class Universities

Jennifer Olson and Sheila Slaughter

Introduction

National ability to innovate and stimulate economic growth in the global knowledge economy is continually linked with higher education and the creation of "world-class universities" (Altbach 2004; see Sadlak this volume). In this chapter, we compare the USA's efforts to maintain its position in the world-class university stakes and Germany's efforts to enter the race. The emphasis on world-class universities can be found in documents ranging from the USA's *Rising Above the Gathering Storm* (National Academy of Sciences et al. 2007) and *Research Universities and the Future of America* (National Academy of Sciences 2012) to the European Commission's recent Communiqué (September 2011), *Supporting Growth and Jobs – An Agenda for the Modernisation of Europe's Higher Education Systems* to Germany's Excellence Initiative (EI). These agendas focus on the need to increase competencies, primarily in science and technology, and to spur national and regional economic growth. The USA has traditionally been a leader in this race, with its success linked to the number of foreign-born PhD students it attracts who become US researchers (Altbach 2007; Stephan 2012). The desire for host countries and their higher education institutions to attract high-quality international students is coupled with international students' desires for quality education and other personal externalities.

J. Olson (✉)
Faculty of Educational Science, University of Oslo, Oslo, Norway
e-mail: jenn.r.olson@gmail.com

S. Slaughter
Department of Higher Education, University of Georgia, Athens, GA 30602-6772, USA
e-mail: sheila.slaughter@gmail.com

In this chapter, we argue that national attempts to create "world-class universities" are strongly influenced by political economic contexts, particularly varieties of capitalism, currently the globally dominant economic system. The rise of neoliberalism in Anglo-American countries was a political economic process, quite different in each country, yet nonetheless consolidating around a strong preference for solving social and economic problems, including many related to higher education, through markets or quasi-markets.

It is seldom possible to apply an institutional model or a specific policy from abroad directly without considerable modification and adaptation. Thus, a comparative approach to rankings and assessments of "world class" status may "raise consciousness and indicate direction, but it is seldom possible to simply graft external solutions onto a domestic problem" (Altbach 1998, p. 57). However, comparisons can create spaces to "borrow" and adapt ideas, especially within a historically grounded understanding of the institutions. Although policy makers emphasize the importance of national success in the research area as crucial for innovation, development of new technologies, economic growth, and winning the competition for larger shares of global markets, we focus our comparison narrowly on the stage prior to research success—the competition for international graduate students, postdocs, and faculty as well as competition for research inputs and outputs (funding, publications, patents, etc.) because these are key factors in international ranking schemes that determine world-class standing (see Knight 2013).

Varieties of Academic Capitalism

USA: Embedded Liberal vs. Neoliberal Market Society[1]

Anglo-American countries developed what Blyth (2002) calls embedded liberalism in response to the Great Depression. It was characterized by activist governments that tried to smooth out the rough edges of capitalism and provide a social safety net. After World War II, embedded liberalism created new regulations, agreements, and institutions such as Social Security, the National Labor Relations Board, the Bretton Woods Agreement, and promoted government spending to stimulate the economy. In the USA and UK, government funding took the form of the Keynesian welfare-warfare spending or butter and guns stimulus. This had great consequences for research universities in that defense-related agencies (DOD, NASA, DOE in the USA) committed substantial amounts of sustained federal funding to universities for research and fellowships in science and engineering (Greenberg 1967; Chomsky 1969), providing the basis for Anglo-American world dominance in research.

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[1] The theorists we draw on for the Anglo-American case emphasize the political as much or more than the economic, while theorists from the EU emphasize the economic. In the spirit of careful comparitivism, we have used the theorists characteristic of the nations we are addressing.

In the mid-1970s, the ideas of the embedded liberal state were challenged by neoliberalism, which proposed that markets could better accomplish most of the tasks for which government is responsible. The roles of ideas and business leaders were crucial to this transformation. Many ideas were generated in universities: Friedman's theory of monetarism, Laffer's supply-side economics, and the law and economics movement (Teles 2009). These ideas were promulgated by conservative think tanks such as the American Enterprise Institute, the Hoover Institute, and the Heritage Foundation and taken up by corporate PACs that supported politicians who embraced them. By the mid-1990s, these ideas had become a sort of "market fundamentalism" that characterized many Republican *and* Democrats in the USA.

Germany: Coordinated vs. Liberal Market Society

Germany's post-World War II system of organized capitalism could be described as a coordinated market society (CME), an ideal type whereby collaboration and coordination were prized over competition (Hall and Soskice 2001). What evolved was a duel-system of education with vocational education being organized and funded by the government and firms, while academic education was directed by universities. The state took on a coordinating role for education and training, allowing companies and individuals to take a long-term perspective on employment and invest in gradual innovation. Liberal market economies (LMEs), in contrast to CMEs, are characterized as dependent on market-based relationships, arms-length agreements, and institutions promoting the formation of general, transferable skills (Hall and Soskice 2001). LMEs are characterized by an open higher education system that allows individuals and firms continually to redefine the skills that are needed. The state reduces its intervention in the education system and shifts to a role of increasing the protection of private property rights, a free market, and free trade in order to promote radical innovation (ibid). In essence, an LME, as an ideal type society, supports a neoliberal perspective, where individuals are able to pursue the initiatives they see fit within a market that is not influenced by a regulatory state (Harvey 2005). Within these two ideal types (CMEs vs. LMEs), capitalism takes on different forms depending on the "culture" or national economy (Streeck 2009). Institutions can be analyzed within a particular capitalist system as they follow a national system of social rules and actions, formal laws, as well as incorporating normative, accepted practices.

Under a CME, the network of large German firms and banks formed a united business sector that served to protect national interests and the public good. In the late 1970s under pressure from global competition, their collective commitments were reduced in order to facilitate privatization and become internationally competitive (ibid). A growing group of individuals who were disconnected from public careers, including previous business leaders and CEOs, led the promotion of the private market approach and connected to the international discourses (Streeck 2009). The shift in conceptions of public goods and private goods by powerful

actors can be understood as altering the benefits society and individuals "deserve" to receive within the capitalist system.

University behavior now parallels the earlier movement of German banks and large industries toward a more market-based economy. Universities are significant factors in a nation's economic structure because they are grounded in systems of innovation and technology transfer. In Germany, universities have traditionally operated within the coordinated market economy, working with other institutions to provide education and training and with the government to provide tuition-free education. The liberalizing reforms of the European Commission and German federal government is shifting the economy, encouraging market-like behaviors and relationships to renegotiate the notion of public good. The current German higher education reforms are loosely modeled on higher education reforms on the American system, or the ideal of the system, in order to compete with US universities and with one another. Altbach (2006) notes that in the race to create world-class universities, competition is a key (and often new) factor inserted into higher education systems. It is therefore not surprising that many of the initiatives can be compared to American organization and management systems, especially in terms of competitive research funding (Münch 2011).

The changing economic and social philosophy that aligns higher education with the production of private goods also causes a corresponding realignment of university system dynamics. Questions begin to arise: Are universities similar to firms? Are universities transforming into profit centers for knowledge-based services? The adaptation of universities to neoliberal market logics in the 1980s has been theorized as academic capitalism and is highly visible in Anglo-American contexts (Slaughter and Leslie 1997; Slaughter and Rhoades 2004). Changes included competitiveness legislation, altered governing mechanisms, immigration laws, demands for quality assessment, and alterations to universities' structures. Academic capitalism describes these structural changes in several of the Anglo-American public research universities and highlights an ongoing repositioning of the academy within the knowledge society (Slaughter and Rhoades 2004).

In contrast to the Anglo-American context, the European move toward academic capitalism was accomplished in a highly scripted manner (Slaughter and Cantwell 2011). European Union member states' national governments and the European Commission have promoted higher education as an engine for economic growth and called for significant changes to universities' practices, structures, and course offerings through a series of frameworks, programs, funding, and ideological discourse. German higher education participated in and responded to discourses and programs at the EU level, as did other EU member states.

Quasi-Market Competition for International Students

According to neoliberal and LMS logics, states' provider roles are best served by competitive funding rather than through block grants to public and nonprofit entities. Quasi-markets characterized by competition come to occupy the space between

market and state. Market logics expect quasi-markets to cut down on government waste, encourage efficiency, and create equity (Le Grand 1991; Kahkonen 2004). In the USA, grant and contract funding for research is a quasi-market. Of course, competitive grants and contracts predate the neoliberal turn, but the magnitude and intensity of competition has increased greatly. The US research establishment has increased by a factor of 12 over the past 50 years, and the pool of funds in quasi-markets provided by the mission agencies sustain 70 or so research universities engaged in intense competition for these S&E dollars (Greenberg 2001; Stephan 2012). International students and postdocs are central to universities' ability to compete successful for R&D funding (Stephan 2012). Increasingly, the EU and nations within the EU, such as Germany, are also turning to quasi-market competitions to allocate the research and development (R&D) funds that are so crucial to winning high rankings that indicate world-class status. European universities too seek increased numbers of international graduate students and postdocs to serve on teams that compete for funding.

US: Research Universities and the Future of America

The National Academy of Sciences (NAS) most recent report, *Research Universities and the Future of America*, notes that "institutions abroad are increasingly competing for international students, researchers and scholars" (2012, p. 3). *Research Universities and the Future of America* has three broad goals,[2] the third of which is ensuring "a pipeline of future talent in science, engineering and other vital research areas…leveraging the abilities…of citizens and attracting the best students and scholars from around the world" (2012, p. 4). To do this, the report recommends increasing visa efficiency, streamlining the processes for researchers to obtain permanent residency, perhaps even granting residency to non-US citizens who earn a doctorate in area of national need from a research university. The federal government is charged with "proactively recruit[ing] international students and scholars" (p. 19). To ensure success in these areas, NAS recommends that the federal government move beyond its pattern of bursts of funding followed by periods with low or no increases to steady, incremental, and generous inputs of government funds to university research.

Germany: Excellence Initiative

Germany's approach to competing in the race for world-class university status was a federally funded program designed to push universities to become globally visible and competitive entities. Through the Excellence Initiative, Germany lays out its interest

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[2] As noted above, we are focusing only on competition for international students, postdocs, and faculty, so are not analyzing the other goals.

in creating a differentiated higher education system that is internationally competitive in terms of research and high-quality graduate training. To accomplish this, the federal and the 16 *Länder* (state) governments contributed 1.9 billion Euro to the first round of applications (2005/2006) and an additional 2.7 billion Euro for the second round of applications (2006/2007) to support selected universities, departments, and faculty for their proposed 5-year projects. The competition is organized to fund three different areas: Graduate Schools, promoting a "modern" path for young scientists and researchers; Clusters of Excellence, promoting interdisciplinary and innovative research; and Institutional Strategies, which "reorganize the university radically to enable it to compete against the strongest international standards" (Fallon 2008, p. 16). International commissions review the English-language applications to select the "best" programs. Of the 253 first-round proposals for the graduate school competition, 39 projects were selected and each was awarded five million Euros per year for 5 years. The Cluster of Excellence competition received 280 proposals with 37 winning 6.5 million Euros per year for 5 years. And, lastly, nine universities of 47 applicants received the institutional concepts awards of 14 million Euros per year for 5 years. Rules stipulated that only universities that received both an award for a Graduate School and a Cluster of Excellence could apply for and receive the Institutional Strategy award. Thus, the nine Institutional Strategy universities received more than 21.5 million Euros per year for 5 years. These nine universities have been dubbed the "elite" or "best" German universities.

The stated aims for the EI were threefold: to reinvigorate the university research centers (in reaction to the growing trend toward funding the extra-research institutes such as the Max Planck Institutes), to strengthen the role of universities in Germany, and to increase universities' international visibility (Kehm and Pasternack 2008). The less explicit goals, although cited by many scholars, have been to infuse notions of competition and differentiation into the German higher education system and extend Germany's position to the global arena (see, e.g., Kehm and Pasternack 2008; Münch 2011). The EI is designed to boost the entrepreneurial spirit and challenge the traditional view that all German universities are of equal quality and standing.

In a recent study of the changing logic of German higher education internationalization, interviews with the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD) and professors, administrators, and students in three German universities offered insights into the shift in German university practices as they adhere to a more academic capitalist approach to EU and national higher education initiatives (Olson 2012). The DAAD, along with other coordinating organizations (i.e., the German Rectors Conference, the German Research Council, the Accreditation Council, the Science Council, and the Association of University Professors), bridges the federal higher education priorities with the German state (*Länder*) governments and the higher education institutions that are under the direction of the states. The DAAD along with the other coordinating organizations provides an influential network that facilitates university internationalization efforts through programs, funding, and policy. The selected universities in the study represent various dimensions of the

German higher education system, namely, different size, prestige factors (as denoted by the excellence initiative), number of international students, and their fields of study, disciplinary offerings, historical/cultural characteristics, and geographic location.

Although some scholars and stakeholders argue that there were always differences between the "quality" of German universities, a DAAD representative involved in international programming confirmed:

> I think traditionally in Germany the idea to compete, it doesn't really sound very sympathetic. People feel shy about it or they didn't want to admit they were doing it, etc. That's what I feel, that somehow with the Excellence Initiative now suddenly the spirit is different and somehow people dare to say we're trying to be good and we're also trying to be better than the university next door. Maybe in a ways its less hypocritical than it use to be. Of course, I mean, I don't think we have [been] so democratic and egalitarian as we pretended to be in the past.

Whether these principles were in fact the reality, this explanation postulates an acceptance of highlighting nine "elite" institutions and devoting resources to begin propelling them into a group of top-ranked universities.

Germany's aspiration to develop world-class universities in the knowledge economy requires having powerful knowledge economy industries able to compete with the other leading countries. Although the EI purports to select the top universities, Münch (2011) argues that success is not necessarily decided by the quality of the research; rather it is based on where the research is conducted and published. This does not imply that the nine "elite" universities are not world-class institutions; rather it suggests that Germany is devoting billions of Euros to promote—substantively and visibly—only nine of their 105 universities, many of which have outstanding departments in various fields.

Critics of diversification efforts come from two camps. Some see diversification as "too little, too late" if the goal is to compete with the top research universities in Anglo-American countries. Others question whether competition is beneficial for the German higher education system as a whole. A senior professor at a regional German university described the situation:

> In a way it is something like this: there are 100 people walking through the desert, some guy has water and he says 'I want to do them some good I give them some water' and if you want to give them water in a way which is really optimal, you take them and give them an amount and let them drink…. That is tedious and you don't see the water anymore after it was drunk. So what you can also do is to take a whole bucket, the whole water, pick out one guy and pour the whole bucket over that guy and say 'lets make a photo, look how much water I spent.' That guy is completely wet, all over wet, everybody can see how much. But first of all it was only one guy and second he is wet, it should have gotten inside. Being wet and having the water all over is those universities, which have been chosen as excellent universities.

By devoting significant resources to nine universities, there is a fundamental shift in research funding and priorities. Research that was once based on the intrinsic interest of faculty is now subsumed by a strategic institutional mission. Many faculty members remain ambivalent about engaging in the EI and other competitive

endeavors for fear of losing their faculty autonomy. However, they recognize that not every faculty member sees competition as a burden; rather a growing number understand the competitive structures as opportunities to gain resources and prestige. Kehm and Pasternack (2008) suggest that under the EI the higher education system will soon fragment into a small group of top universities in the "elite cluster": a mid-level group which are strong research universities, but unable to move into the top stratum, and a large faction of teaching-intensive Universities of Applied Sciences (*fachhochschulen*) and less research-focused universities. Faculty members are pushed into the competition to avoid being relegated to the bottom tier of teaching institutions.

The consequences of the EI competition extend beyond a vertical differentiation of institutions. This policy also reaches into the internal workings of universities' by supporting strong leadership and a clear perspective for an institution's mission. Current research into German university personnel reveals that university staff has been changing, which is not a direct result of the EI; however, the changes support the EI's goals. Between 1994 and 2004 data show that universities have moved away from employing middle-grade administrators such as clerical workers, secretaries, technical staff, and others without a higher education degree. Instead, upper-grade and higher-grade staff proliferated with their numbers growing by 10.5 % and 23.9 %, respectively (Krücken et al. 2009). These changes contribute to establishing key aspects touted for contributing to the development of world-class universities (Salmi 2009).

Academic Capitalism

US Model

The US model of academic capitalism reflects many aspects of the US neoliberal political economy. Faculty in STEM fields at the 17 world-class universities, and perhaps others as well, are given generous start-up packages that enable them to set up laboratories and are also provided with funding and several years to initiate their research programs. After 3 years, they are expected to support their own research and receive no more funding from the university. Medical school faculty are increasingly expected to raise research funds that cover their entire salaries, not just salaries for the summer months (Stephan 2012). STEM field faculty who do not obtain grants are generally not tenured, and if they are tenured but do not continue to bring in grant money, they are reassigned to teaching duties, usually as lecturers for large undergraduate classes (Metcalfe and Slaughter forthcoming).

Professors spend most of their time writing grants or engaging in entrepreneurial science (patenting, consulting on technology development, participating in startups, etc.) and thus depend on graduate students and postdocs to do the bench science.

Since the late 1980s and early 1990s, one out of two US graduate students is an international- or foreign-born student. In 2008, engineering, math, and computer science had more international students than US graduate students, whereas in the physical sciences 44 % were international and in life sciences 33 % (Stephan 2012). Postdoctoral students are 60 % international.

US universities depend on international STEM graduate students and postdocs because these fields are relatively unattractive to US students. Faculty pay is low in STEM fields compared to fields such as finance and law, as is the pay for STEM researchers in industry. Moreover, there are few jobs for faculty, given the rise in the number of postdocs, non-track faculty, and adjuncts. Nor is industry hiring researchers in large numbers (Stephan 2012). However, US graduate stipends ($25K, sometimes with top ups from industry funds) look good to students from China, India, and South Korea, from where the majority of international graduate students come, as do postdoc salaries ($45–50K). Most Chinese and Indian students stay in the USA, while a number of South Koreans return home. The same patterns generally hold true for faculty. As of 2008, at least 26 % of faculty were foreign born and had received their PhDs in countries other than the USA (ibid).

Over all, pursuit of world-class rankings in the USA, marked by indicators that privilege grants and contracts, and research productivity as indicated by publication and patents, has resulted in greatly increased competition and increased external and internal stratification. The increased centrality of rankings illustrates external stratification that is both national and global. Given that federal funds generally do not cover the cost of research, universities' strategic commitment to STEM fields to maintain position in world-class rankings means that universities generally subsidize these fields at the expense of other fields, such as the arts and humanities, contributing to internal stratification. The neoliberal variety of academic capitalism has been successful in creating and sustaining world-class universities by rewarding the "successful" research universities in world-class rankings and has shown little concern with equity among or within institutions of higher education.

German Model

Shifts in university practices follow the ongoing movement in political, economic, and social spheres previously described. The change processes create layers of ideology and practices that are built on one foundation, which holds the system together. Change agents therefore must "work around some institutional features that are locked in, but they can add on other elements in ways that do not just reproduce or extend the old institutions, but actually *alter the overall trajectory*" (Thelen 2002, p. 102). Even though German universities refrain from charging tuition fees, which is one of the primary drivers of academic capitalism in the USA, competition and market-centered incentives proliferate and challenge the traditional perception of knowledge as a public good. Not surprisingly, the introduction of

academic capitalism into higher education produces winners and losers. For the time being, the "winners" are the EI universities. The "losers" are harder to identify at this stage, as the concept did not previously exist. As yet, the changes are new and few factors may recognize that it is possible to lose, much less that they may be the losers.

Despite the parallel paths, the move toward academic capitalism in Germany is quite distinct from the trajectories in the USA as it seeks to create world-class universities. The US reliance on international graduate students is one example. While Germany has attempted to eliminate barriers for international students in terms of applying and studying in Germany and improve regulations so as to make it easier for students to work in Germany after graduation,[3] there is no concrete proof that these changes have indeed increased the number of international students in STEM areas. What is clear is that transformations in the German higher education landscape is moving universities away from a public good ideology toward an academic capitalist approach, which is in line with the country's overall shifting dynamic (Olson 2012). Thus, the incentives and pressures of academic capitalism are affirmed by the larger ideological shift and, based on that alignment, actors then perceive them as legitimate.

Germany's current path is full of various country-specific practices, cultural norms, and traditions despite its transition away from its coordinated market economy. The historical legacy of German higher education influences the change process and the resulting academic capitalism. Thus, even as our analysis of change processes uses Slaughter and Rhoades' (2004) terminology and understanding of academic capitalism, Germany's introduction of competition through the EI is leading to a distinct form of academic capitalism. German academic capitalism, as compared to an Anglo-American approach, entails a more scripted transition. The rhetoric relies on a channeled competition and the idea that supporting nine elite universities will benefit the whole system. The centrally formulated political programs such as the EI assume a prominent role in the German variant of academic capitalism because they purvey and translate rhetoric into practice. In keeping with the German political economy, competition and market mechanisms have been strengthened within the higher education system. In contrast to the Anglo-American system, Germany has not followed engaged in a great deal of deregulation. Efforts at coordination have been upheld in the German economy as well as in the higher education system. It is therefore plausible to categorize German higher education as following a path toward *coordinated academic capitalism* (Olson 2012).

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[3] The federal government made changes to its immigration laws in 2005 and 2007. The changes introduced a green card program targeting information technology specialists from non-EU countries; enabled highly skilled international workers to immediately obtain permanent residency upon finding a job; and granted international students the opportunity to work during their studies and a 1-year residence permit after graduation to find work. Through these changes the federal government is committed to opening Germany to highly skilled students and their potential as qualified workers. These actions, according to the German Interior Minister, "give us the opportunity to take part in the race for the world's best brains" (cited in Tremblay 2005, p. 10).

Conclusion

German higher education transformations through the EI and the US emphasis on maintaining a position of world leadership in scientific innovation are heightening competition for international students. In Germany this is in contrast to its higher education traditions of equality of resources and university standings. The new emphasis on differentiation within the German system creates more than a top, middle, and bottom tier of universities. It creates a system stratified by resources, which in many aspects is the foundation for creating world-class universities. Altbach (2004) notes that in focusing on USA's "tiny pinnacle of institutions" that are world-class separates even the universities that are part of the Association of American Universities (AAU), which are considered the club of the elite. Elite status is most often defined, both in Germany and the USA, by research, which in turn creates the idea of world-class universities. Research success, however, as Münch (2011) argues for the German system, does not only depend on a researcher's ability rather there are external factors (i.e., access to data, availability to equipment, involvement with key networks, and the field of study). The resources and effort put into attaining world-class status therefore may actually divert resources away from productive teaching, research, and learning in the race for acquiring the necessary external factors. The focus on creating "winners" may actually have more dysfunctional consequences than positive outcomes (Altbach 2004).

In a world where diversity of thinking and learning are often celebrated as a central part of globalization, "the concept of a world-class university reflects the norms and values of the world's dominant research-oriented academic institutions—especially those of the United States and the major western European countries" (Altbach 2004, p. 1). Even the US universities that are in many cases the basis for the current university reforms are "failing to achieve diverse academic goals because almost all were trying to become like Harvard, Berkeley, and a few other key research-oriented institutions" (ibid). A single model of higher education does not take into account the variety of societies and the needs within them. Generally, rankings create centers and peripheries, as Altbach's (2012) work has emphasized, and reaffirm the positions of the powerful and rich countries. Furthermore, in devoting an increasing amount of resources into a few universities with only a rough idea of what it takes to create a world-class university, systems may eventually weaken the underlying base of support for higher education, creating more "losers" than "winners" (Altbach 2012).

Varieties of capitalism likely influence various forms of academic capitalism. While neoliberalism and competition to win high standing in world-class universities may be predominant in Anglo-American countries and beginning to emerge in Germany and perhaps other EU countries, varieties of capitalism can change. Currently capitalism in both the EU and the USA, if not Germany, seems on shaky grounds. Economic stagnation or market destabilization may bring opportunities for new forms of capitalism. Should faculty and others seek change (and lest we be considered economic determinists), it should remember that many of the ideas that were central to neoliberalism emanated from academe found corporate sponsors

and then political supporters. Crisis may open the way for new ideas and new sources of funding for them that could win powerful political support—or perhaps the sequence might be somewhat different, new ideas might win powerful political support that could then be translated into sources of funding for ventures that could incorporate new varieties of capitalism. However, change is unlikely unless faculty are currently crafting new ideas that may lead to alternatives for the economy and the academy.

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Chapter 21
Development and Prospect of World-Class Universities in East Asia and Beyond

Qi Wang and Nian Cai Liu

Introduction

World-class universities, also commonly known as research universities, are regarded as cornerstone institutions of any academic system and imperative to develop a nation's competitiveness in the global knowledge economy. Such universities create and disseminate knowledge, educate a highly skilled workforce for technological and intellectual leadership, and serve the needs of society (Altbach 2009; van der Wende 2009). The development of world-class universities is high on the policy agenda of various stakeholders across the globe (Altbach and Balán 2007; Huisman 2008). This policy concern has been reinforced and intensified with the proliferation of international league tables in the past few years (Salmi 2009), not only in developed countries but also in developing countries.

Recognizing the role of higher education in nation building in the global competition, developing countries, often regarded as nations in peripheries, have outlined reform to boost their higher education both in quantitative and qualitative terms (Postiglione 2005; Lo 2011). Higher education, especially in East Asia, has undergone massification with rapid expansion and increased privatization. Further, some transition economies desire to pursue excellence in quality through building world-class universities in recent years. It is true that most world-class universities are located

Q. Wang (✉)
Graduate School of Education, Shanghai Jiao Tong University, 231 Chen Rui-Qiu Building, 800 Dong Chuan Road, Shanghai 200240, China
e-mail: qimwang@sjtu.edu.cn

N.C. Liu
Graduate School of Education, Shanghai Jiao Tong University, 231 Chen Rui-Qiu Building, 800 Dong Chuan Road, Shanghai 200240, China

Center for World-Class Universities, Shanghai Jiao Tong University, 231 Chen Rui-Qiu Building, 800 Dong Chuan Road, Shanghai 200240, China
e-mail: ncliu@sjtu.edu.cn

in a few developed countries, which can also be shown on any of the recent world rankings of top universities (Altbach 2009).

The emergence of these fast-growing world-class higher education institutions in developing and transitional countries has created heated and continuous debate worldwide: what is a world-class university, to what extent does a developing country need such universities, how to build a world-class university in transition economies, and whether this trend reflects the nature of the global hegemonies in higher education. Focusing on these questions, this chapter will open with a discussion on defining the notion "world-class universities," followed by a review and analysis on current development and future trends of such universities in East Asian countries and regions. This will be followed by a discussion on hegemony and self-determination in developing countries.

Defining World-Class University

The term "world-class universities," often used interchangeably to refer to research universities or flagship universities, has been firmly embedded in governmental and institutional policies, to promote national competitiveness in the increasingly globalized world. The underlying paradox of this race for world-class stature, however, is that the concept has been widely employed without an explicit, clear definition. Altbach (2004) argues that "everyone wants one, no one knows what it is, and no one knows how to get one." It is commonly agreed that world-class universities are academic institutions committed to creating and disseminating knowledge in a range of disciplines and fields, delivering elite education at all levels, and serving national needs and international public good (Altbach 2009; Liu 2009).

Among scholars, institutional administrators, and policymakers, one of the common attempts to identify "world-class" status is through the proliferation of league tables, such as the Academic Ranking of World Universities by Shanghai Jiao Tong University, the Times Higher Education World University Ranking, and the QS World University Rankings. Despite different methodologies being used in evaluating universities in the international rankings, it is not difficult to find that these indicators focus heavily on quality of education, internationalization, research output, prestige, and impact (Salmi 2009; Deng et al. 2010).

Seeking to define the term, scholars have identified key attributes that world-class universities have and which regular universities do not possess, including highly qualified faculty, talented students, excellence in research, quality teaching with international standards, high levels of government and nongovernment funding, academic freedom, autonomous governance structures, and well-equipped facilities for teaching, research, administration, and student life (Altbach 2004, 2011; Liu et al. 2007; Yang et al. 2007). Based on the above elements, Salmi (2009) proposes three complementary sets of factors at play in world-class universities: a high concentration of talent, abundant resources, and favorable and autonomous governance. That is to say, a world-class university will be able to select and attract the best

students and the most qualified professors and researchers, to possess abundant and diversified funding sources and offer a rich learning and research environment, and to provide favorable and autonomous governance and encourage strategic vision and innovation, so as to respond effectively to the demands of a fast-changing global market.

The Demand for World-Class Universities in East Asia

Seeking world-class university status has been a global phenomenon in the past decade (Mohrman et al. 2008; Altbach 2011). Not only in developed countries but also in those economies in transition, governments have conducted comprehensive reform to restructure their higher education systems through this "world-class movement" (Deem et al. 2008; Altbach 2009). Such effort to encourage higher education growth has been particularly witnessed across the East Asian countries and regions, including mainland China, Korea, Japan, Taiwan, and Singapore. Notions of innovation, quality, and competitiveness have been emphasized in and closely linked to the discussion of world-class universities in an integrated global environment. Higher education, especially world-class universities, is believed to take on a significantly important role in educating and training skilled labor and to serve as the engines of research, promoting knowledge creation, innovation, entrepreneurship, and productivity (World Bank 2012).

Since the late 1990s, East Asian countries and regions have experienced a remarkable "economic renaissance." With its continuous growth, East Asia has become the most open trading zone and the largest destination for foreign direct investment (FDI) in the world (Gill et al. 2007). Through this ongoing process of social transformation, some governments have gradually shifted the economic focus from labor-intensive to knowledge-intensive industries, which require the higher education systems to provide relevant knowledge and skill training. Governments have realized higher education, instead of its basic education system, will contribute more return or value-added outcomes to communities in this current era of innovation-based economy (Altbach 2009). Massification, along with higher education expansion and restructure in East Asia, now defines the sector and has produced a great quantity of skilled workforce (Brown et al. 2001; Lo 2011).

In terms of quality, however, higher education is not yet fulfilling its potential in East Asia, particularly in some low- and middle-income countries and regions. First, research has found gaps in thinking, technical, and behavioral skills among graduates and young professionals in East Asian countries and regions, and the supply of workforce with creativity and innovation skills is still in short (World Bank 2012). For example, only one-tenth of the engineering graduates have the potential to become qualified and effective workers in multinational companies in mainland China, while 44 % of executives report insufficient talent and a widening gap between skill demand and supply as the main challenges for reaching global ambitions, according to the McKinsey Quarterly (Lauder et al. 2008). Second,

indicators from international rankings and research output imply that the East Asian higher education systems have not yet provided research of adequate quality and thus not contributing to the technological advancement of industry and commerce (Schwab 2010; World Bank 2012). Apart from a few more advanced countries, such as Korea, Japan, and mainland China, spending on research and development (R&D) as a share of gross domestic product (GDP) is relatively low and should be increased. One of the indications is that further improvement in these aspects will depend on the role of world-class universities in developing knowledge workers, creating and managing knowledge.

Meanwhile, as noted above, the desire for world-class universities has been further stirred up by the emergence of global league tables and rankings. Higher education systems are under great pressure from global competition, to attract talent, sustain resources, and ultimately gain their market share and reputation. Both governments and higher education institutions, including those in developing countries, are dedicated to having their universities positioned in the ranking charts or being considered world class (Altbach 2011). Whether governments and university leaders should adopt university rankings in policy reform and practices still remains critical discussion; however, undoubtedly, rankings have reinforced awareness of global competition and have become part of the evidence for quality evaluation.

Responses and Strategies in East Asia

Based on the above-mentioned contexts, governments and top universities in East Asian countries and regions have adopted various strategies and approaches in pursuit to perform well in international rankings and enhance their global competitiveness. In spite of many social, cultural, and economic differences among the East Asian countries and regions, three main strategic foci can still be recognized, that is, competitive funding schemes, internationalization, and governance reform at both governmental and institutional levels.

National Initiatives and Competitive Funding Programs

A number of strategic funding programs have been implemented to promote excellence by East Asian governments. Selected universities in these countries have been provided extra and concentrated funding to develop excellence of teaching and research.

For example, the mainland Chinese government has adopted a national policy advocating the building of globally prominent universities over the past decade and has launched a group of specific national initiatives and competitive funding programs, such as the 211 and 985 Projects, to develop a number of world-class universities. The 211 Project aims at developing about 100 universities and a number of

key discipline by the early twenty-first century and places its focus mainly on four aspects of development, that is, disciplinary and interdisciplinary programs, digital campuses, faculty development, and university infrastructure. To further strengthen the development of excellence, the 985 Project emphasizes to explore new mechanisms for higher education governance and to develop a path for transforming a few top universities to attain their world-class status. Both projects have provided the selected universities with abundant resources to boost teaching and research quality and with autonomy in institutional governance and management.

Also, challenged by the increasing competition from its neighboring countries, the Japanese government has put forward the idea to foster world-class universities through competitive funding schemes since the early 2001 (Oba 2008), such as the Twenty-First Century Centers of Excellence, the Global Centers of Excellence, and the World Premier International Research Center Initiative. Although government and ruling party changes might have led to some alterations in these funding programs, the orientation to pursue excellence in Japanese universities remains. Concentrating resources from the government enable a small number of universities and research centers to promote new ways of thinking and patterns of behavior, involving reforming internal management and governance, encouraging international collaboration and exchanges, strengthening university-industry cooperation, and revitalizing the entire education-research environment (Yonezawa 2007; Deem et al. 2008; Yonezawa and Watanabe 2011).

Similar trends and developments are also taking place in Korea (the Brain Korea 21 and World-Class University Initiatives), in Taiwan (Development Plan for World-Class Universities and Research Centers of Excellence), as well as in Singapore (World-Class Universities program) and Malaysia (Accelerated Program for Excellence). Despite the different organization and management approaches, these initiatives all propose clear aims for excellence, provide adequate funding to "cherry-picked" institutions and research centers, and ensure essential policy support from the governments. Furthermore, these competitive funding programs are proposed, agreed on, and legislated by government and its associated organizations. The legislation processes turn these education initiatives into regulations and laws, which strengthen the authoritative and compulsory nature of the policies. In addition, these funding programs have raised awareness of international competition among institutions (Yang et al. 2007; Wang 2011).

Internationalization Dimensions

Promoting internationalization is another common approach in East Asia in its pursuit of excellence. The practice can be addressed in the aspects of curriculum reform, student and faculty mobility, and cooperation and partnership in administration.

To develop high-caliber talent with a global vision and understanding, curriculum reform has been encouraged in top universities. For example, topics on environmental

protection, peace and development, and respect for different cultures have been integrated in instructional content in mainland Chinese universities, which not only extends universities' capacity for international cooperation but also strengthens students' understanding on international cooperation and human values (Mohrman 2008; Yuan 2011). Bilingual education and English as medium language have been encouraged in teaching, to equip students with proficient language skills to communicate in the global world. The capacity to offer programs in a foreign language, particularly English, can be a key determinant to attract international students (Salmi 2009). Japan's Asian Gateway Initiative is set in such a context to attract elite international students (Yonezawa and Watanabe 2011). In addition, joint programs and study abroad programs are offered to students, so as to enrich their learning experience with a multicultural dimension and raise awareness of global citizenship.

High-quality faculty recruitment, as an important part of internationalization, has also been encouraged by both national policies and institutional visions. These leading academics and researchers are believed to be able to contribute to upgrade existing department or establish graduate programs and research centers in areas of comparative advantages (Salmi 2009). Altbach and Salmi (2011) point out that the East Asian universities managed to attract, recruit, and keep leading academics from the world, which truly distinguishes them from the rest of the world. These leading academics include overseas professors and experts, as well as diaspora who have received education and training in the best universities in North America or Europe. Such activities can only be accomplished through strong governmental and institutional support, as shown in mainland China, Korea, Hong Kong, Japan, and Singapore in particular.

To further facilitate the progress of transforming world-class universities, a number of leading universities in East Asia have formed productive partnership with prestigious universities in industrial world, by forming dual-degree programs and joint institutes. Exploring and utilizing optimal educational resources, East Asian universities aim to learn from other research universities with world-class standards, to draw reference to those institutions' governance and management, experience their curriculum design, and develop high-skilled workforce with international competitiveness. In addition, top East Asian universities have actively participated in university consortiums consisting of leading universities in the world, such as Universitas 21, Academic Consortium 21, and the Association of Pacific Rim Universities. These consortiums have been employed as platforms for student and faculty exchange, resource sharing, and idea sharing (Yonezawa and Watanabe 2011).

Governance Features

Appropriate governance is another key element that determines the performance of higher education systems and research universities. Governance issues embrace a range of features: autonomy, inspiring leadership, regulatory framework, clear strategic visions, competitive environment, and organizational culture (Salmi 2009).

Recent reform on university management and governance regarding these features can be observed in East Asian universities in relation to building world-class universities.

Research shows that Asian countries and their higher education systems are relatively less autonomous, however, compared to other regions, though recent efforts have been made to improve system governance and institutional autonomy by these countries (World Bank 2012). Although governments in East Asia continue to manage higher education institutions from central ministries of education through policy instruments, such as national strategic planning, budget allocation, and quality assurance, the waves of decentralization since the late 1990s have been offering institutional autonomy to a few selected top universities. In other words, these top universities are allowed increasing freedom and flexibility to make their own choices and determine their own paths to develop excellence (Bladh 2007).

According to research conducted by the World Bank (2012), most universities in East Asia manage to practice both substantive and procedural autonomy, particularly in high-income and middle-income countries. Substantive autonomy indicates that East Asian universities are able to define their academic program, design curriculum, and decide admission policy, which was historically more restrictive. For example, Singapore and Hong Kong offer autonomy for their institutions in curriculum design and faculty recruitment to a significant degree and a relatively less autonomy in student enrollment. Japanese universities may be able to recruit students and faculty, but consult the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports and Science and Technology to set up new departments and faculties. Procedural autonomy mainly concerns financial, nonacademic issues. This research finds that high-income and middle-income countries in East Asia manage to offer higher education institutions autonomy to some extent in areas of tuition fee, staff salaries, and infrastructure ownership. It also highlights that competitive funding programs which are mentioned in the previous section have further enabled the selected universities flexibility to spend as to their demands, while performance criteria are attached to assure accountability and quality (*ibid*).

Meanwhile, quality assurance systems have been established and strategic visions and plans have been proposed at both national and institutional levels in East Asia. Hong Kong has adopted and upgraded its strategic vision since the 1960s, which has placed high emphasis on research performance. In the last 20 years, Hong Kong higher education has conducted several research assessment exercises, based on the UK model, to monitor research performance and quality (Deem et al. 2008; World Bank 2012). Universities are required to identify their roles and missions, analyze major strengths and weakness, and further enhance their research quality. Mainland China's *Medium- and Long-Term Education Reform and Development Plan* acts as the nation's strategic visions, guiding its higher education system development. In recent years, top universities in China have initiated the drafting of strategic planning and university missions, which have been considered as a milestone for university governance reform (Xiong et al. 2011). Benchmarking exercises against international peers have been welcomed and adopted in mainland Chinese universities, which can be seen as part of internationalization process.

It has inspired changes and development in universities. Notions of "international standards" and "quality enhancement" have been reiterated, which has laid a solid basis for universities' future policymaking and management reform.

Challenges of Building World-Class Universities in East Asia

The previous section shows that East Asian governments and their higher education systems have aspired to develop world-class universities as the key elements for socioeconomic transformation and as the key actors to engage in the global knowledge network (Altbach 2009). However, governments and universities face severe challenges in their pursuit of excellence.

Altbach (2009) points out a range of factors among problems faced by world-class universities, which are universally applicable but with different scope and depth in different countries. These issues include funding, research, market force, autonomy and accountability, globalization of science, academic freedom, and academic profession. East Asian countries and regions are no exception, facing the above-mentioned issues and problems in terms of building world-class universities. Bearing in mind that there are many social, political, economic, and historical differences among the East Asian countries and regions, the following discussion will focus on the common challenges.

From the perspective of resources, with the increasing cost of operating a world-class research-oriented university, the East Asian governments manage to support their top universities with concentrated funding to promote excellence. However, two issues need to be taken into consideration. On the one hand, the recent economic crisis leads to a question: to what extent could the funding to research universities be sustainable. On the other hand, while the top end of the higher education system are heavily invested through national initiatives, the other members at the bottom of the systems might not obtain adequate support from the government, which might undermine the overall quality of massification of higher education (Altbach and Wang 2012). With the latest year data available, a recent research by the World Bank (2012) shows that East Asian countries and regions still have fairly low overall education spending as a share of GDP, with most of the countries' spending below the world average (except for Mongolia and Vietnam), and a few East Asian countries and regions' public expenditure per higher education student as a share of GDP per capita are also lower than their counterparts in other regions. Policymakers at national level shall ask how many world-class universities are desirable and affordable as a public sector investment (Salmi 2009).

From the perspective of research and intellectual quality, there is still a gap remaining between East Asian universities and world-class universities. While research shows rapid growth in the number of papers published internationally by East Asian universities, especially those receiving extra funding, there has been limited progress in terms of paper quality reflected by citation data and in terms of leading academic research that has a significant international impact. Marginson

(2011b) adopts the publication and citation data produced by the Center for Science and Technology Research at Leiden University and argues that 14 Asian universities are ranked in the top 80 by total number of papers published in-between 2004 and 2008, while the leading East Asian universities lag behind by citation per paper, with Tokyo University ranked at 261st. Cheng (2011) uses mainland China as an example and analyzes that the top Chinese universities have little significant increase in publishing in Nature and Science, the two comprehensive scientific journals publishing cutting-edge research in various disciplines. Concentrated research expenditure might be one of the elements impacting on intellectual quality, but the character of research culture and institutional autonomy and academic freedom are also indispensable (Altbach 2004, 2009, 2011; Marginson 2011a).

From the perspective of governance, how to deal with the tension between autonomy and accountability in the context of neoliberal economic consensus can be seen as a core issue, which also impacts on other parts of a university in East Asia. Significant governance reform has been observed across East Asia, as mentioned in the previous section. Private investment in tuition fees and diversified funding resources enable the East Asian governments to invest selectively in research, to pursue research excellence, and to cope with the increasing cost of operating world-class universities. However, as post-Confucian nations, a strong nation steering and control model indicates the possibility that research priorities are decided and shaped by the governments (Altbach 2009; Marginson 2011a). Also, in relation to diversifying funding resources, commercialization of research brings about significant challenges: market forces and commercial interests can generate potential conflict between traditional academic norms and commercial interests and between basic research and applied and often profit-oriented research (Altbach 2009).

The problem of academic corruption can be counted as another challenge, which might undermine any academic environment. For example, it has been found in mainland China that researchers tend to invest more of their energy in making connections with officials who have great influence over the funding decisions and control of the resources (Shi and Rao 2010). Also, after granted funding from innovation research applications, some researchers divide and subdivide the funding and pursue other research topics or projects with their own interests and with less challenges, different from their original proposals considered as innovative project (Cheng 2011). In these cases, financial resources can be wasted, innovation and the quality of research can be impeded, and unethical competition can undermine research culture. There is some room for both policymakers and academics to reflect on how to enhance excellence and intellectual quality while dealing with academic freedom, corruption, and bribery, so as to promote funding efficiency.

From the perspective of talent concentration, world-class universities require highly trained professors, scholars, and scientists devoting their full professional attention to teaching and research at the universities. One of the challenges facing East Asian universities, especially in middle- and low-income countries, is to provide reasonable remuneration and employment security to staff, not only academic but also administration staff, so as to guarantee their time and work commitment and to guarantee facilities and infrastructures to make their creative research

possible (Altbach 2009; Altbach et al. 2012). Under the "publish or perish" context, limited practices have been instituted for professors to balance their teaching and research responsibilities (Deem et al. 2008).

As mentioned earlier, special programs have been adopted in East Asia to recruit overseas elite scientists and diaspora, resulting in another unanticipated issue: salary compression (Altbach and Ma 2011). These appointed professors may not fully understand the local academic culture, even for those diaspora who can speak the local language. Unequal salaries and better working conditions for these overseas professors may also create conflict interest against the domestic peers, particularly when the overseas professors' work contribution is limited. It proves that to develop optimal academic profession requires not only financial support but also academic culture and job security.

From the perspective of national languages, the English language is still dominant in the global academe, for both instruction and research (Altbach 1986, 2011; Marginson 2004). To engage in global competition, world-class universities must function in the international languages of science and scholarship. Although East Asian universities continue the progress of internationalization, there will be still a while before the scholarship is translated into global English on a large scale (Marginson 2011b). Meanwhile, world-class universities also have responsibilities to develop research to serve the demand from local communities, to disseminate research in their local contexts, and to support and develop local languages (Altbach 2009).

The experience and challenges of building world-class universities in East Asia confirm Salmi's (2011) argument that a complete analysis of operating world-class university needs to take into consideration the ecosystem within which institutions evolve. The ecosystem includes the elements of macro environment, leadership at the national level, governance and regulatory framework, quality assurance framework, financial resources and incentives, articulation and information mechanisms, location, and digital and telecommunications infrastructure. Some of these factors might be absolute requisites and others might not be entirely indispensable, due to each country's cultural, socioeconomic, and political context. Nonetheless, all of these factors are significant (Altbach and Salmi 2011). Countries and their higher education systems need to carefully assess their needs, resources, and long-term interests and design their strategies based on these models (Altbach 2004).

Developing World-Class Universities in East Asia and Beyond: Continued Western Hegemony?

Altbach (1987) adopts the concepts of center and periphery to describe the hegemony, inequalities, and marginalization of the international knowledge system and to understand the national and international role of universities. He argues that unequal distribution of academic resources in the contemporary world has resulted

in a divide between intellectual "centers" and "peripheries." Intellectual "centers" mainly indicate Anglo-American universities, which control and occupy most of the means and resources of knowledge creation, and thus "give direction, provide models, produce research, and in general function as the pinnacles of the academic system" (1998, p. 30). Oppositely, intellectual "peripheries" suggest institutions from developing world, which tend to replicate policies and development strategies from abroad and generally depend on and follow the prominent universities in the developed world. The emergence of fast-developing East Asian countries and regions and their "world-class" movement, among recent events and broad issues of societal development, however, has changed the landscape of international higher education and has further raised questions to reflect on the adequacy of the center and periphery approach (Gopinathan and Altbach 2005; Postiglione 2005; Lo 2011; Marginson 2011a).

Some argue that, under the impacts of globalization, the pattern of inequity has been exacerbated. The global movement of building world-class universities can be interpreted as another form of western hegemony and dominance, with developing countries to some extent still dependent on the global academic system (Deem et al. 2008; Altbach 2011). East Asian universities have transplanted policy, strategies, output, and quality measures from the West to the East, with the goal of pursuing excellence, such as benchmarking university performance against western universities. University performance has been largely evaluated based on league tables, citation indexes, and performance measures. English language continues to be adopted as the medium of instruction, while researchers are expected to publish in English academic journals based in the west. In other words, the quest for world-class universities and its criteria are predominantly defined by the intellectual centers. It not only creates a new form of dependency culture and reinforces the dominance of western hegemony but also further pushes developing countries to a disadvantaged position (Deem et al. 2008; Altbach 2011; Lo 2011). This analysis provides one way to understand East Asian universities' quest for world-class status.

On the other hand, taking the historical, social, economic, and cultural traditions into consideration, it is pointed out that, while the framework of center and periphery may still be viable, East Asian universities' experience presents another pathway to transformation and modernization (Postiglione 2005). Marginson (2011a) proposes the term "post-Confucian" states to discuss the rise of East Asian countries and regions. The Confucian Model systems are featured as strong nation-state steering and control over higher education development on the one hand and characterized by rapid development in both educational participation and research quantity, while also improving the quality of the leading institutions and research on the other. This post-Confucian dynamism, distinguishing itself from other education systems, implies the possibility of generating a number of "centers" in places conventionally known as peripheries (Postiglione 2005). In this sense, the center-periphery framework seems to provide limited explanatory power to analyze the local agency and its aspiration and self-determination in response to external forces (Quy 2010; Lo 2011).

In spite of the difference in the above arguments, it can be recognized that both stances do not depart from the claim that inequality exists between the developed and the developing countries. Attracted to the world-class status, East Asian countries and regions considered here have undergone significant governance reforms accompanied with massification, marketization, and corporatization and will become more influential at both national and global levels. Regardless, there is still a long road ahead.

Conclusion

This chapter has examined issues and debates on current development of world-class universities in East Asian countries and regions. Three common strategies – competitive funding schemes, internationalization, and governance reform – have been adopted at both national and institutional levels. With the rapid development and progress achieved across East Asia, challenges are yet inevitable. How to sustain financial support, how to develop a small number of elite institutions while ensuring the quality of the rest of the higher education system, and how to provide an optimal academic environment are all questions to be asked and examined when attempting to purse excellence. East Asian countries and regions' experience may raise challenges to the center-periphery framework and draw attention to a new form of academic hegemony; however, the discussion in this paper also suggests that there is still a long way for universities in East Asia to catch up their counterparts in the west. In addition, the analysis throughout the paper confirms that, while transforming their higher education, developing countries need to take the specific cultural, economic, and political environment into consideration, so as to propose realistic aspirations and goals to develop world-class universities – the central institution to provide access to global science, producing basic and applied research and educating leaders of the academe and society (Altbach 2009).

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Chapter 22
Aspiring to 'World Class' Universities in Australia: A Global Trend with Intended and Unintended Consequences

Lesley Vidovich and Jan Currie

Introduction

Philip Altbach, in 1994, asserted that 'American higher education is in a period of unprecedented decline' (p. 225). In his chapter on the American academic profession, he charted academics' increasing workloads, burgeoning accountability for productivity and more bureaucratic administration that together signalled a decline in autonomy and collegiality, as well as a shift in power to administrators. In terms of the impact that these trends were having on academics, he noted that a recent poll found that two-thirds of academics described faculty morale as fair or poor. Approaching two decades later, there is growing evidence of the push to corporatise universities. Writing for *The Economist*, Schumpeter (2011) challenged American universities to face the current crisis of rising costs by slimming down, embracing technology and becoming more businesslike or cease to exist. Altbach et al. (2009) highlighted how higher education is no longer a local business but has become a global business where universities have to confront competition from around the world. In this regard, international university rankings are firmly implicated in this global competition. Altbach (2006) wrote extensively about the concept of 'world class' universities. He pointed to institutions of higher education around the world emulating United States' top-ranking universities. This chapter focuses on Altbach's conceptualisation of 'world class' universities and examines how it is playing out in Australian higher education as a powerful force in government and university policies and its impact on the changing nature of academic work.

L. Vidovich (✉)
Graduate School of Education, University of Western Australia,
M428, 35 Stirling Highway, Crawley, WA 6009, Australia
e-mail: lesley.vidovich@uwa.edu.au

J. Currie
School of Education, Murdoch University, South Street, Crawley, WA 6160, Australia
e-mail: J.Currie@murdoch.edu.au

There is value in examining specific policies and practices in particular countries to focus on the global–local dynamics of higher education trends. As Marginson (2007) argued, 'situated case studies' provide greater insights into the processes of globalisation than generalised descriptions of 'global' policy patterns. This chapter looks at Australia's research assessment as an instrument to achieve 'world class' status for its universities. Our argument, then, is that ill-conceived government policies can severely undermine the original intent of enhancing the 'world class' status of universities and also undermine the very creativity and innovation purportedly characteristic of a global knowledge era.

We organised this chapter into four main sections. First, we provide a contextual framework with a discussion of how neoliberal globalisation has framed the discourse on how universities should change to meet current challenges, highlighting international league tables as a primary stimulus for research assessments around the globe. Second, we focus on research assessment in Australia as a particular example of national policy intended to move more Australian universities upwards in the international rankings to achieve 'world class' status. Through analysis of the *Excellence in Research in Australia* (ERA) policy, we examine how the Australian government has engaged with 'global' trends, albeit with a uniquely Australian flavour. We point to both the arbitrary nature of this ERA policy and the potentially destructive effects. Third, we cast a broader gaze over the changing nature of academic work which has been forged by a wider ensemble of Australian policies designed to achieve 'world class' status for its universities. Here we make use of the benchmark Carnegie International Survey of the academic profession across 14 countries that Altbach (1996) described as we make comparisons with changes that have occurred in Australia since the mid-1990s to reshape academics' working conditions (Currie and Vidovich 2009). The final section concludes by questioning the 'world class' discourse, highlighting the importance of valuing localised diversity, creativity and innovation.

Globalisation, University League Tables and Research Assessment

The fundamental force underpinning neoliberal globalisation is the privatisation of the economy (Currie 2005). This movement to shift substantial resources from the public sector to the private sector began simultaneously in the United States with the Reagan government and in the United Kingdom with the Thatcher government, and then spread to other Anglo-derived countries, and more globally. In higher education, governments have reduced funding for universities and they have forced them to become more entrepreneurial and corporate in nature (Marginson and Considine 2000) as the trend towards privatisation has accelerated. However, these trends have not been universal. For example, many European countries resisted the trend towards the privatisation of the university sector (Currie et al. 2003).

While the image of globalisation is often of homogenisation or Americanisation – marching to the same tune – globalisation is not an inexorable process that sweeps

all nations down the same path. Globalisation creates a space that is not completely constructed; there is an uncertainty with it and often contradictory meanings and trends. In the university sector, despite the increasing interconnectedness of different jurisdictions forged by international organisations such as the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) (Rizvi and Lingard 2010), higher education policies and practices often take on different 'shades' in specific localised contexts with their different historical traditions, cultures and deeply embedded public policy structures and processes. Recently Owen (2011), writing in the context of the United States, remarked on the growing idolatry of market forces and the reengineering of traditionally open intellectual and social spaces of the university to spaces of control and regulation. He argued that for US universities, the post-9/11 era has created a strange hybrid of neoliberalism and the security state, a condition where free market *laissez-faire* and increased state control collide. Thus, the impact of globalisation is complex and likely to vary across both place and time.

Global university rankings (Shanghai Jiao Tong Institute of Higher Education or SJTIHE, now Academic Ranking of World Universities or ARWU, and Times Higher Education Supplement or THES) that produce the most favoured league tables provide a powerful impetus for individual universities to become global actors. Attwood (2009) observed, 'Governments are swayed by them [rankings], universities fall out over them and vice-chancellors [presidents] have even lost their jobs because of them'. At the national level, in many countries, the drive for more universities to achieve 'world class' status has translated into new policies on research assessment, although not all countries have chosen to implement research assessment exercises. One interesting comparison is Mainland China and the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region (Yang et al. 2007) where Hong Kong followed its previous colonial master, the UK, in instituting a research assessment process and China gave universities greater autonomy and provided a few selected universities with additional funding to compete more effectively internationally.

It appears that many policy makers around the world identify research assessment exercises as a necessary force to make their universities more competitive in international rankings. However, as Altbach (2006) noted, 'the fact is that essentially all of the measures used to assess quality and construct rankings enhance the stature of the large universities in the major English-speaking centres of science and scholarship and especially in the United States and the United Kingdom' (p. 42). In a similar vein, Marginson (2006) observed, 'the model global university is English speaking and science oriented' (p. 27). This limits the number of universities that can truly compete to be 'world class' and points to the unequal playing field in the university rankings game. According to Robert Birnbaum (2006), entering 'world class university' in Google produced over 150,000 hits. He noted that even the University of Timbuktu (which apparently was a world class university in the twelfth century) has announced its intention of regaining that status. As more countries are competing in these rankings, the traditional sites of excellence are being challenged. By 2008, China already published more academic papers than the UK. *The Times* noted an exceptional increase in total papers published in 2008, driven largely by China, Brazil, India and Iran, the emerging nations.

Australia is a country where policy makers have been seduced by global university rankings, and competition amongst universities for higher rankings and more research funding has thrived. In the next section, we focus on contemporary Australian policy on research assessment as one specific case of national aspirations for 'world class' research.

Australia Aspires to 'World Class' Research: *Excellence in Research in Australia* (ERA) Policy

Since the 1970s, Australian higher education has been financed and centrally controlled by the national government. There are 39 universities some of which are organised into formal groupings, such as the 'Group of Eight' research-intensive universities, the 'Australian Technology Network' universities and the 'New Generation Research Universities'. There are also increasing numbers of private providers and branch campuses of international universities. In 2007, after a decade of national conservative coalition governments, a labour government was elected. It established two major reviews of higher education in 2008 (Bradley 2008; Cutler 2008), and then it released its policy response, *Transforming Australia's Higher Education System* (Australian Government 2009). This policy was justified as 'essential to enable Australia to participate fully in, and benefit from, the global knowledge economy' (Australian Government 2009, p. 5). In all, the policy represented a significant increase in the accountability of universities to central government in an attempt to enhance the country's standing in the global marketplace. A new research assessment mechanism known as *Excellence in Research in Australia* (ERA) was announced in 2009, with the first assessment scheduled for 2010 and the second for 2012. When the ERA was announced in 2009, Australia had no universities in the top 50 in the Academic Ranking of World Universities (ARWU), although three 'Group of Eight' universities were in the top 100. The policy intent was to significantly grow the number of 'world class' universities in Australia.

Australia's ERA policy further shifted the focus in research assessment from quantity to quality of publications. The Minister for Innovation and Research indicated that the primary reasons for replacing the earlier Research Quality Framework with the ERA were that the former lacked transparency and that the achievements of Australian researchers needed to be more visible. ERA assessments would lead to performance funding of research after 2012, thereby accelerating research concentration which was deemed to be in Australia's strategic interest. The Minister claimed, 'Australia will at last have a streamlined and authoritative mechanism for identifying research strengths, weaknesses, gaps and opportunities' (Carr 2009, p. 36).

A central element of Australia's first ERA in 2010 was journal rankings, on the assumption that the quality of any individual paper is closely related to the ranking of the journal in which it is published. Journals were ranked on a scale from A*, to A, to B and finally to C, with the latter meaning that the journal (and hence the paper) was not considered of international standard. Journal rankings and the proposed assessment of the economic and social impact of research were two

elements of the ERA that were particularly controversial and contested, resulting in a series of sector backlashes and national government policy U-turns. With regard to measuring research impact, after much debate about the weakness of relying on isolated descriptive case studies of 'impact', the Minister removed it from the 2010 ERA, only to put it back on the agenda in 2011 when his Department recommended a feasibility study on measuring 'impact'. Reactions from the sector about measuring research impact were divided, but the Executive Director of the Australian Technology Network universities argued that 'there is a strong view that for the sake of our global competitiveness Australia needs a method of assessing how our research is making a difference' (Thomson cited in Rowbotham 2011a, p. 25).

However, at the time this book was finalised in early 2013, no policy decision had been made about including impact in national research assessment in Australia, although initial trials by the Australian Technology Network and Group of Eight (research-intensive) universities had been reported. Again, the difficulties and the need to continue to try to measure impact were highlighted. Given that the UK will move to a research impact measure in 2014, and also given the frequency of policy borrowing from that source for Australian higher education, it is unlikely that the issue of impact measures in research assessment will disappear from the Australian research policy agenda any time soon. Furthermore, there was a ministerial decision prior to the 2012 ERA (the second national ERA exercise) to remove the highly controversial A*, A, B and C rankings of journals, although many in the sector were then concerned that de facto rankings in the minds of assessors would continue to occur but would be less transparent and less open to contestation. The criticisms of journal rankings which led to a ministerial policy reversal (Vidovich 2013) on this central element of Australia's initial ERA assessment in 2010 are considered in more detail below. Especially for international readers, they raise broader issues about research assessment policies which may well be a source of important 'policy learning' – in contrast to uncritical policy borrowing (Vidovich 2012).

Critiquing the ERA and Journal Rankings

After the results of the first ERA assessments were announced in early 2011, numerous criticisms were mounted against it. Martin (2011) identified a series of weaknesses with the ERA. First, he argued that as it was based not only on research outcomes but also inputs such as grants, the ERA was not a direct measure of research productivity. Second, he echoed a common complaint that it wasted time, especially reducing opportunities for research by senior academics as they became more involved in administration and assessment for the ERA. Third, the structure of the ERA (subdivided into eight discipline areas) meant that disciplinary research was privileged over cross-disciplinary research, despite the fact that the latter is purportedly valued in a knowledge era. Fourth, Martin maintained that the narratives required to be constructed to identify research groups were misleading – 'largely fiction' (2011, p. 100) – to provide the government evidence of research concentration. Fifth, he was concerned that the ERA was pitched to peers and

not the public, creating inward-looking research rather than engagement with government, industry and the wider community. Sixth, Martin highlighted that the ERA was susceptible to misuse, especially in the performance management of individual academics, when it was intended to operate at an institutional or discipline level rather than as a management tool within departments. Seventh, he maintained that as the ERA focused on competition rather than the cooperation, it worked against research collaboration. Finally, according to Martin, the ERA was about measurement rather than improvement, begging the larger question of whether measurement improves the quality of research.

Cooper and Poletti (2011) focused specifically on the journal rankings used for the first ERA in 2010 and offered a comprehensive critique. They argued, 'The ERA represents a full-scale transformation of Australian universities into a culture of audit' (2011, p. 57). Cooper and Poletti also identified a series of unintended consequences of the journal rankings. They highlighted methodological weaknesses, including lack of correspondence between the perceived quality of a journal and that of a particular paper due to the randomness of editorial decisions, overburdened reviewers who devote insufficient time to their assessments and long time frames for publication. They noted that journals are no longer necessarily the major access route to publications in a digital age where articles are increasingly uncoupled from journals as a whole, and researchers are easily able to locate articles on a particular theme of interest, rather than reading full journals. They identified the adverse impact of journal rankings on institutions and researchers, especially through punitive performance management practices within universities where trust was being eroded. They also argued that there was a negative impact on international research collaboration because the criteria for assessing publications are different in other countries, identifying a rift between international understandings of quality and the Australian definition. Finally, they described the instability of the journal rankings over time and the resultant confusion and inaccuracies. In essence, Cooper and Poletti (2011, p. 57) argued, 'collegiality, networks of international research, the socio-cultural role of the academic journal as well as the way academics research in the digital era are either ignored or negatively impacted by ranking exercises such as those posed by the ERA'.

Young et al. (2011) cited similar criticisms to those of Martin (2011) and Cooper and Poletti (2011) as they focused on the specific field of policy-related research. They conducted empirical investigations to support their claim that the ERA journal ranking system was 'strongly and negatively affecting the field [of policy research] and could lead to the diminution of the number of Australian journals and researchers, and the amount of Australian research' (p. 77) in that field. Young et al. (2011) pointed to the irony that while the ERA was meant to be an international benchmarking exercise, it could potentially contribute to lowered status and possible closure of national journals, the consequences of which would be harmful to social progress in Australia. They argued the need to develop measures which were more sensitive to the contexts of different disciplines.

Critiques such as those above were based on the 2010 ERA assessments. At the start of 2011, the government announced that the subsequent 2012 ERA assessment would be largely unchanged, albeit with some minor reshuffling of journals amongst

the rankings. However, after some serious lobbying from the sector (as reflected in the critiques above) and time spent by academics and their associations consulting about which journals should be placed in the different categories (A* to C), by mid-2011 there was a dramatic policy U-turn when the Minister announced that journal rankings would not be used for the 2012 ERA. Instead, a 'journal quality profile' would be one component of how evaluation committees would decide upon how to rank a publication from 1 to 5 in assessing research quality, but no details were released. Arguably, such a profile is even less transparent than the journal rankings for the 2010 ERA, despite the Minister originally highlighting that it was enhanced transparency which was one of the main rationales for the ERA in the first place.

In all, we would argue that the ERA was ill conceived by politicians and bureaucrats, with most academic involvement confined to the margins in trying to influence which journals were ranked in which categories (A* to C). Fault rests not only with the government's design of the ERA but also with the punitive performance management systems within universities where the ERA was often transformed from an institutional and discipline focus into a 'sledge hammer' to control individual academics and redirect their work. The stakes of the ERA are high as they determine research funding not only for cash-strapped universities and institutional reputations in the competitive global arena but also recruitment, retention, promotion and potential dismissal of individual academics. In the next section, we turn the focus to the changing nature of academic work in Australia, triggered by policies such as ERA.

The Changing Nature of Academic Work in Australia

As universities have become more integrated into the global knowledge economy (OECD 2008), the working conditions of academics have altered substantially with greater competition and pressure to be more corporate, more accountable and more international. Here we identify key features of the changing nature of academic work in Australia driven by a number of interrelated policy initiatives by the national government and universities as they aspire to 'world class' status. We refer to Altbach's (1996) reporting of the international Carnegie survey to compare changes over the last decade and a half. We focus specifically on reduced power and 'voice' of academics, increased workload, casualisation of staff and reduced staff morale.

A Loss of Academic Voices from Decision-Making in Higher Education

The locus of control for decision-making is moving outside of universities to national governments and from there to international authorities, such as the OECD. In Australia, while discourses of deregulation in the marketplace prevail with the uncapping of student numbers, centralisation and regulation is the predominant

trend in the assessment of 'quality' in both research and teaching-learning. Academics are rarely consulted about the direction of national policies and only occasionally at the local level as administrators and staff other than academics have increased in number faster than academic staff. Nonacademics represented 52.4 % of all staff in Australian universities in 2010 (Gallagher 2011). As universities scramble for 'world class' status in the international marketplace, they import corporate structures, making universities top heavy with managers paradoxically in a drive to enhance efficiency and effectiveness to gain a competitive edge. Governance structures in Australian universities were examined in the Carnegie study (Altbach 1996) and again in a 2007 Australian follow-up survey of academic work. Coates et al. (2008) found that universities were strongly characterised by a top-down management style, cumbersome administrative processes and a performance orientation.

Increased Workload

Australian universities are simultaneously pulling in two directions: increasing teaching workloads because of a target of educating 40 % of the population, especially gaining greater participation from low socioeconomic areas, while trying to produce 'world class' research (O'Meley 2011). As the Australian government increased undergraduate enrolments, it reduced its funding per student. As a result, universities turned overseas to aggressively recruit full-fee paying students, particularly from Asia, representing 28 % of all students in 2010. 'When international students are mentioned, Vice Chancellorial eyes … increasingly light up, seeing them as one means to strengthen the institution's bottom line' (Welch 2000, p. 15). As a result of this large proportion of international students, academics have been encouraged to internationalise their curriculum. At the same time, there is some concern about the reduction in academic standards with the influx of international students whose language is not English and the lower standard of entry for some domestic students with moves towards universal participation. These put additional burdens on academics who have to teach remedial English skills to students in addition to the subject content. Altbach (2005) noted that some academics, particularly in US universities, are not very enthusiastic about internationalising their programmes and are insular in their attitudes towards other countries. This is not so much the case in Australia with a new survey revealing a high level of support for international students, with 75 % agreeing they are important (Rowbotham 2011b), although recognising the extra workload involved.

Casualisation of Staff

To offset rising costs and to cope with increasing enrolments, Australian administrators want greater flexibility in hiring staff so there has been a move towards more short-term contracts with no guarantee of tenure. Even though student enrolments

have increased by 56 % over the decade from 2000 to 2010, there has not been an equivalent increase in the number of academic staff (overall 34 % increase), leading to a deterioration in the student to teaching staff ratio since 2000 to 21.7 for all universities in 2010. Research-only positions increased by 73 % in the race to enhance 'world class' status and teaching-only positions by 49 % as those deemed to be non-productive researchers were reclassified. Casual staff members now represent 21 % of academic staff (full-time equivalents) (Gallagher 2011). Staff concern is the high level of academics on short-term contracts who are not involved in research or administration. In a recent survey, 63 % of Australian academics agreed that too many positions have moved to fixed-term appointments (Rowbotham 2011b), undermining long-term commitment and planning.

Reduced Morale

As these policy agendas come from the national government and university administrators, morale is deteriorating, academics are ageing and 56 % are planning not to be working in universities within the next 5 years (Rowbotham 2011b). The future appears particularly bleak with a great deal of anxiety about where universities are heading. In this age of austerity and heightened competitiveness, Australian universities are unlikely to reverse their current direction or lighten the pressures on academic staff to be more productive by carrying higher teaching loads with greater responsibility for administrative tasks as well as producing 'world class' research. Altbach's (1994) assertion about the unprecedented decline of American higher education in the 1990s is echoed in Australia where the past two decades witnessed a severe deterioration in those academic values enshrined in notions of trust, professionalism, collegiality and shared governance.

Concluding Discussion

There are exciting opportunities for universities in an era of globalisation but there are equally a number of dangers lurking on the horizon. We have focused here on Altbach's conceptualisation of 'world class' universities and in particular on the roles of international league tables and national research assessment exercises to achieve this end. We examined Australia's research assessment as a case of aspiring to 'world class' research and identified the ERA's intended and unintended consequences. This ERA policy was tightly controlled by the Australian Government Minister for Innovation and Research. The fact that there were so many policy U-turns between the first ERA assessment in 2010 and the second in 2012 could be interpreted in several different ways. The more negative spin is that this policy was ill conceived in the first place and that failure to adequately consult with academics at the outset marginalised their deep knowledge of higher education and resulted in

an unworkable policy. The more positive spin is that the Minister was receptive to feedback from the sector and was prepared to modify the policy when significant problems emerged. The second interpretation would suggest cause for hope that academic voices have not been totally silenced and that there is a level of localised agency in Australian higher education policy processes. Perhaps both interpretations applied in the evolution of ERA policy.

In all, we would characterise the major impact of the ERA policy as further embedding a culture of performativity in Australian higher education, with serious implications for the nature of academic work. Despite modifications to the ERA policy by the Minister, the essence of the policy remains in place in 2012; yet the costs of the policy and its modifications have been high in terms of time and effort spent by the sector and in the confusion and negativity associated with the U-turns in the policy details. The devil is always in the detail. Most importantly, we suggest that the intent of the ERA policy – to enhance the 'world class' status of Australian universities – may well have been undermined. In particular the journal rankings were such an arbitrary and politicised indicator of research quality that they distorted and narrowed traditional notions of excellence in research. Referring to the UK, a common source of policy borrowing for Australian higher education since its colonial days, Baty (2007) asserted that the UK's Research Assessment Exercise (RAE) distracts academics from pursuing ground-breaking ideas in favour of low-risk options. Williams (1998) also maintained that the UK's RAE threatened to crush research creativity, careers and scientific integrity. Australia's reliance on the UK as a source of policy borrowing on research assessment is quite ironic, given that the 'gold standard' has clearly been established by US universities that dominate the rankings.

We would argue that Australia's ERA and similar research assessments in other countries are anathema to the creativity and innovation which purportedly characterise a global knowledge era. The drive for 'world class' universities must not mean that localised diversity and context-relevant differences are undermined. Furthermore, we maintain that there is an urgent need to reinvigorate the discourses of professionalism and autonomy in research and to recognise the intrinsic motivation which drives academics in their individual and collaborative research (Currie 2008). We also add a note on equity here. When institutional research assessment is translated into performance management of individual academics, there are particular vulnerable groups that seem to lose out in the ratings: females, younger academics, specific ethnic groups and those whose research serves professional, social and cultural communities (Clarke 2005; Boston 2004). Fostering the work of such marginalised groups will ultimately enhance research productivity. Marginson (2008) argued that rather than pursuing narrow research assessment policies based on compliance and extrinsic motivation, an alternative path in seeking to be 'world class' should be to foster creativity: 'examining the factors that attract highly creative people to particular places in numbers and diversity, and the freedom they need to produce brilliant ideas and talk about them in an engaging manner' (p. 33).

To conclude, while we focused here on research assessment, it is important to recognise that international league tables and the discourse of 'world class'

universities are having an increasing impact in the domain of teaching and learning as well, although detailed commentary is beyond the limits of the chapter. In a globalising knowledge era where students are highly mobile, Altbach et al. (2009) observed that league tables have become extremely important as students select a higher education institution. Competition between universities around the globe for the 'best and the brightest' students has significantly increased (de Wit 2009). Wildavsky (2010) documented in *The Great Brain Race* how international competition for the top talent is transforming the world of higher education with much greater mobility of students and staff, creating a new global meritocracy. In an interview for *The Australian Higher Education Supplement*, Altbach (2011) also commented on the important role of university branch campuses in extending their brand to recruit 'the best and brightest' for the home institution, in a kind of neocolonialism. With a greatly augmented flow of international students, internationalising the curriculum has also risen as a policy priority. Thus, there is a close nexus between international university league tables, striving for 'world class' status and policy reforms in research and teaching-learning.

In creating his Centre for International Higher Education at Boston College, Altbach saw the trends in the global higher education race before many others and was influential in charting the course of these international changes. In this chapter, we made extensive use of Altbach's work in our thinking on higher education and applaud his outstanding contributions.

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Epilogue: Philip G. Altbach—The Teacher

Chapter 23
Philip Altbach: Through the Eyes of His Students

David A. Stanfield

Philip Altbach will probably not be comfortable reading this essay. Although Phil may gain some satisfaction from knowing that his academic work and the Center for International Higher Education (CIHE) have had a positive impact on higher education globally, he is self-conscious about receiving praise, especially when it is personal. Nevertheless, current and former students feel that it is appropriate and necessary to reflect on the important and meaningful influence he has had on so many individuals during the course of his nearly 50-year academic career. Through anecdotes collected from a selection of Phil's 88 current and former doctoral advisees, the following essay offers perspectives on what it is like to work alongside the preeminent scholar in international and comparative higher education.

Those who have worked with Phil over the course of his or her career will likely find themselves recalling similar experiences. Others who did not have the pleasure of studying with Phil will find insights about what it is "really" like to be an Altbach disciple.

Some readers may wonder why this author—currently a doctoral student under Phil's tutelage—refers to Dr. Altbach by his first name. As a graduate student at the University of Chicago, Phil experienced an academic culture where graduate students were considered young scholars, and it was, therefore, natural to address faculty by their first names. Throughout his career, Phil has treated his graduate students in this same way. Of course, Phil's insistence on being called by his first name also speaks to his humility. Some students, particularly those from more formal cultures, have been uncomfortable with this informality and persisted in using the title of doctor or professor, but Phil is content with whatever is comfortable for his students.

While the anecdotes that follow come from different students, many reflect similar themes and experiences. Some memories are funny, some serious, while

D.A. Stanfield (✉)
Boston College Center for International Higher Education,
207 Campion Hall, Chestnut Hill, MA 02467, USA
e-mail: david.stanfield@bc.edu

others may even seem perplexing—all uniquely Phil. The anecdotes are divided into the four stages that every doctoral student experiences—the application process, life as a student, research and dissertation, and career.

As an Applicant: Before Boston College

Inevitably, most doctoral applicants interested in researching international higher education consider Boston College's higher education administration program. Philip Altbach's international profile put Boston College on the academic map, so to speak, as a highly sought-after destination for any scholar interested in comparative higher education. During the application process, potential students are often surprised by how accessible Phil is and how generous he is with his time. One student recalls his first conversation with Phil during the application process:

> When I was applying to PhD programs, I talked with Phil on the phone … to learn more about [Boston College and the Center for International Higher Education]. Near the end of our conversation, he asked what other programs I was considering. Rather than telling me how BC's program was preferable to those institutions, he provided me with helpful information (good and less-than-good) about the culture and curriculum at multiple programs, suggested faculty to contact, and put me in touch with colleagues at the other institutions!

There are other surprises. Phil is often seen riding his bicycle all over Boston. Students coming to Boston from warmer climates are chastened by Phil's fortitude in biking through all kinds of weather:

> I was in San Diego when I applied and came to meet Phil in person after several phone calls with him and arrived in the middle of a snowy January. I remember thinking "I don't know if I'm ready for this again, it was 75 degrees when I boarded on the plane." Then I got to Phil's office and saw that he had just biked in through the snow.

Another student expected someone of Phil's stature to drive a luxury car and was shocked to discover that Phil rode his bike to campus every day. The same student joked that perhaps the real reason he was offered a research assistantship at the Center was because he too was an avid biker.

Phil's publications and reputation draw applicants to Boston College but, as evident through these stories, interactions with him are what ultimately convince them to apply.

As a Student: In the Classroom and at the Center

Students have many stories to share about Phil's teaching and their experience as research assistants at the Center. One student sums up the classroom experience:

> I loved Phil's classes in that he was giving us both the history and context, but also the lived experience. We didn't learn about events in silos, rather Phil wove together a snapshot in time so that we understood the economic, political, and social factors that had led to what we were learning about.

Students remembered Phil's lecture-based approach to teaching fondly. Often, students find this teaching method a bit old fashioned, but students in Phil's classes listen eagerly as he shares knowledge and anecdotes from his years of research, publishing, and travel. One particularly memorable story came from Phil's stint as a visiting scholar in Russia during the Cold War. As an American, everyone Phil encountered was hesitant to interact with him.

Working at the Center as research assistants makes additional "face time" with Phil the norm. Phil is particularly sympathetic to the experience of students who face challenges in adapting to Boston and Boston College. A former research assistant reflects, "Phil was incredibly kind to take me under his wing as a research assistant in CIHE, to connect me with teaching opportunities, and to help me along as I struggled through the program."

Graduate students also gain important and relevant experience by working on Center projects that frequently result in an authorship of a new publication. Phil cultivates self-confidence in his students by treating them as scholars. Of course, these opportunities on top of the numerous responsibilities of a graduate student meant spending significant time on campus. Phil teased one student that she should bring in a bed and sleep at the Center to save on rent since she already spent so many hours there.

Well-known scholars from around the world come to visit Phil at the Center regularly. He makes it a point to include graduate students in many of these meetings, which is an opportunity to meet influential individuals in the field. One student shared a related story that demonstrates Phil's humor:

> CIHE often has visitors from faraway places who were here to study or meet with Phil. There have been several occasions when I was one of, or the only, American besides Phil. More than once, Phil introduced me and said, "She's from Iowa—it's like another country." Hopefully our guests found it as humorous as I did (if they knew where Iowa was).

Phil's travel schedule frequently takes him to the far reaches of the globe. His students frequently benefit from these trips:

> I always enjoyed show-and-tell after Phil returns from his international trips. He often comes back with interesting literature related to the field and gifts that were usually impressive and sometimes bizarre. The most memorable keepsake was a pen containing global university rankings. A hidden sheet of paper rolled up inside the pen revealed a list of the top 100 universities! Of course, many gifts were edible—European chocolates, Asian candies, etc.—and Phil would share these generously with his poor graduate students.

Another student recalled the eclectic collection of international goods on display in Phil's office:

> On his meeting table is a collection of fake foods—a plastic apple, a prune, a banana, and several pieces of sushi. Additionally, there is a miniature model of a guillotine and a toy pig. Visitors frequently notice a collection of amusing signs on the walls. One reads, "Commit no nuisance" and another states, "This hotel is open to all casts and creed." A sign in Spanish threatens to excommunicate anyone who steals books or scrolls from the library. Phil's collections always lead to interesting pre-meeting conversation.

As evident above, Phil's students value the contact with him as a teacher and a research supervisor. Furthermore, Phil has a "softer side" that has clearly left a lasting impression on his students.

Research and Dissertation Phase

Most doctoral students would agree that the true measure of an adviser is taken during the research and dissertation phase. Phil has a unique style that his advisees believe contributed to their ultimate success in an often-grueling process.

Phil can be blunt with his opinions. Although somewhat jarring at first, inevitably, students learn to appreciate this style. Phil's candor is experienced during this phase more perhaps than any other. Students can rely on unambiguous feedback on their research and writing. A current advisee sums it up well, "Phil's honesty, at times can be hard to swallow, but it is testament to his integrity and dedication to developing students—wherever they are."

From most professors, a comment such as "this is fine" or "this is okay" might be perceived as disheartening, but Phil's students know these statements represent genuine praise! Comments such as "excellent" or "good" are rare and embraced, as this student recalled:

> A compliment from Phil goes a long way. At low points when we needed to boost our confidence, [another student] and I, who journeyed through the doctorate and CIHE together, would point to a photocopy that hung over [his] desk. On the top was scribbled "Great!" That's all. It was Phil's feedback on one of his dissertation draft chapters. Such exuberant flattery was special coming from Phil. [He] had it in writing and that was worth a lot.

Phil is famous for the speed in which he provides feedback:

> I recall emailing [Phil] independent study papers and receiving grades and feedback within a few hours. The most memorable incident happened recently when I sent him a 72-page section of my dissertation and within 24 hours received "instantaneous feedback," as he called it. When I had a conversation with a non-CIHE colleague who was agonizing over the passing of a third week without feedback from her advisor, I bit my tongue … and counted my blessings.

Another student had similar sentiments: "[Phil's] feedback was always timely (regardless of what time zone he was in) and invaluable to the dissertation process."

Phil is also known for his practical approach to the dissertation, as this student recounts, "I distinctly remember being somewhere into Chapter 8 and thinking, I thought there were only supposed to be 5." Phil worries less about convention as he guides his students through the design and writing of their dissertation. His experience helps quickly organize any dissertation topic into its best structure. Another former student remembers Phil's constant reminder that the most important objective to keep in mind when writing a thesis is to get it done!

Throughout their tenure at Boston College, students benefit from Phil's extensive network of colleagues around the world. These connections are especially beneficial during the research and dissertation phase. A student conducting research in China noted:

> It's impossible to reach top-level people in China without a good connection. In the summer 2010, when I tried to interview prominent figures in Chinese higher education for my dissertation, I encountered many difficulties. I contacted the prospective interviewees to schedule appointments, but with little luck. One of the secretaries even told me that her boss

only talks to people with [a certain title] but since I was studying in the States she could try to arrange something in 6 months. I asked Phil for help after these setbacks. Phil was supportive and joked "No guan xi?" (a person's personal network and connections). Phil said, "Just tell them you are my student." Once I used Dr. Altbach's name the tone quickly changed and the process went very smoothly. I was able to interview the top people in the Chinese higher education system, and they were very cooperative, because I was Dr. Altbach's student.

Career and Life Lessons

As Phil's students wrap-up the final stages of the doctoral degree, he is generous in helping to identify career opportunities:

As I was preparing to return to the professional world, Phil was encouraging and helpful, connecting me to former students and individuals who shared common interests. I'm happy to return the favor now and meet with some of his current doctoral candidates who are looking to apply their training to new positions as they leave the program.

Another student notes:

I am in the job I have today because of Phil. Not just because of what and how he trained me as a professional in this field (That is why I am able to keep my job!). No, even more directly—I was able to access my organization (a very challenging one to break into) because of a phone call Phil made when I finished my dissertation defense. He made the call that got me noticed and opened a door that's very hard to push. And because he gave me the tools to do this job well, he is present every day as I strive to be the best at it that I can be.

Phil also makes it a point to keep in touch with his former students, whether he is just checking in for an update or with an opportunity for collaboration. Phil seems to take genuine delight in his students' career successes. One student notes:

While I've tried not to abuse the privilege, I have consulted Phil on several occasions about potential job opportunities. He's been remarkably quick to offer candid advice about everything from job descriptions and organizational culture to salary ranges and (when he can) even the personality quirks of the individuals doing the hiring! Phil's always keen to know how things are going, what it's like "on the inside" of different organizations, and what one's prospects look like for the future. And because he's always moving ahead professionally, with new projects and new partners, I've remained inspired to do the same. As my own career has progressed, Phil has evolved into a true colleague, but continues to provide the support of a treasured mentor. It's a very special dynamic.

Phil's teaching and influence goes beyond the classroom and official responsibilities as an advisor. One student recalls several life lessons he took away from his time with Phil:

It was not until I returned to China as a faculty member … that I realized how much Phil taught me about higher education, life, and society. Here are a few of the lessons I learned. Setbacks are often less drastic than we think; try your best to be nice, considerate, and respectful to everyone; and pursue your academic interests no matter what others think.

Furthermore, as a professor, still influenced by Phil, this former student now rides his bike to campus every day—no easy task in an overcrowded and polluted city like Beijing.

Conclusion

Students often first approach Phil with hesitation in light of his reputation but quickly discover that this internationally distinguished scholar is remarkably unassuming and authentic. He has a wonderful, sometimes quirky, sense of humor. Despite his dedication to extraordinary productivity, he has time to engage with the people around him and often enjoys chatting about issues ranging from the challenges of riding a bike in urban traffic to the best restaurant bargains. He is rarely what anyone expects him to be—an aloof, detached, haughty scholar with a capital "S." No, Phil is a sometimes abrupt, often warm and caring, funny, and brilliant man. He is the real deal—a genuine, complex, and always interesting human being. And as mentioned earlier, he is always uncomfortable as the focus of the much-deserved praise thrown his way, but his former students are happy to keep him on his toes—well, at least maybe just this once.

Chapter 24
Final Remarks

Roberta Malee Bassett and Alma Maldonado-Maldonado

The chapters that precede this one give ample evidence of the breadth and influence of the academic leadership shown and the contributions made by Philip Altbach to the field of international higher education. He has spent his entire career as a member of the academic profession (Part I), promoting analysis of higher education in comparative and international contexts (Parts II, III, IV, and V), examining the rise of the world class university, as a global marker of national competitiveness (Part VI), and, finally, serving as an exceptional teacher and mentor to nearly 90 doctoral students (Part VII). But, even with this extensive sweep across his myriad areas of scholarship and professional expertise, this book has merely scratched the surface of Phil's range in this field.

One particular lifelong academically and personally important area of interest for Phil is that of student activism. Phil was, himself, deeply engaged in student movements as an undergraduate at the University of Chicago in the 1960s. That experience profoundly shaped his education and life. As a genuine significant point of pride, Phil is known to have imported the peace symbol from the UK to the USA and promote its use across the myriad student activist organizations—for civil rights, for an end of war, etc.—that defined the unstable but dynamic student environment across university campuses during the 1960s. Anyone who has been involved in a student movement knows that the way these movements change your views and experiences are irreversible, and it was just so for Phil. And while we strove to include in this festschrift some updated perspectives on comparative

R.M. Bassett
The World Bank, Europe and Central Asia Region,
1818 H Street, NW, MSN: MC7-715, Washington, DC 20433, USA
e-mail: rbassett@worldbank.org

A. Maldonado-Maldonado (✉)
Departamento de Investigaciones Educativas (DIE), Centro de Investigaciones Avanzadas (CINVESTAV), Calzada de los Tenorios 235, Colonia Granjas Coapa, Mexico D.F.,
14330 Mexico City, Mexico
e-mail: almaldo2@gmail.com

student movements across the globe today, we will have to wait and hope that Phil himself will continue to engage on this issue and share his knowledge with us in the future.

Another topic we would have welcomed for inclusion here in this book is the significance of academic publishing on the "circulation and distribution of knowledge." Whether in the context of the methodological challenges of ascribing too much authority to global university rankings (due to their weighting of academic publications in English) or the importance of expanding academic publishing opportunities to developing countries, Phil has spent his career deepening his understanding of the role and importance of academic publications to both universities and individual academic faculty members. He remains one of the best known, most prolific, and most respected authorities on the subject.

More than that, in his efforts to expand accessibility to his and others' works in the field of higher education, he created one of the best publications on international higher education, the quarterly journal, *International Higher Education,* produced by the Center for International Higher Education at Boston College. The Center, of which Phil is the founding and continuing Director, also self-publishes, with funds provided through grants from outside sources, as many of the Center's publications as it can, in order to ship directly to research centers and individuals in developing countries. Knowing the cost of such publications can be prohibitive for many in the poorest countries, where so much of this work can be so immediately useful, Phil has made it among his most committee professional endeavors to get high-quality academic work available at the lowest possible costs. He both walks the walk and talks the talk on academic publishing and international development, at the point where those realms intersect.

In terms of national and regional works, a longer book (or encyclopedia on Phil's works) would certainly need to include more chapters on Africa, since Phil has been a lifelong advocate of the development of higher education in across the African continent. Indeed entire books could be written on Altbach's contributions to African or Indian higher education, but, of course, this is not possible in an all-inclusive festschrift. In balancing the breadth of his interests with the array of contributors and the limitations of the publication form, we had to make some very challenging and, at times, painful decisions.

To Phil and to those many authors who we could not include in this one book, we acknowledge how much more we could have included in order to fully represent Phil's comprehensive influence, and we apologize for the limitations that are apparent in this work. Nonetheless, we are very proud of the fantastic work that is included here and deeply grateful to the amazing authors who contributed their thoughtful work and time in producing their chapters for this book. It goes without saying that without them, there would be no book.

Finally, we want to close this examination of his works with a projection of the challenges that Phil leaves us to continue examining in the field of higher education. Phil's most recent works have focused on expanding some areas where he has previously worked such as academic salaries (previously he has worked on academic profession characteristics) or the role of research universities, now adding the most

current addition of the "popular" concept of "world class universities." In fact, we identified three main challenges: First, we need to keep discussing on the unsolved methodological challenges to produce *coherent, pertinent, sensitive, feasible,* comparative, and international higher education research. How to solve the paradox on when comparisons transcend the reproduction of positivist attempts to contrast mechanically two or more very different contexts or when comparisons do not to end in an extremely relativist view as the opposite answer to the challenge of comparison. Or how avoiding international studies either becoming a non-harmonic symphony made of singles disconnected soloists or the impossible symphony unable to mix sounds produced by unlike instruments just because of that difference.

The second challenge has to do with building theories as a result of comparative work. If there is something we could define as the "Altbach's method," it is putting together groups of well-known representative researchers, from several countries, to work on the same topic. This way to work has been extremely effective and it produced most of the comparative books coauthored (authored) by Phil; however, it always has complicated the next step: How to construct similar theoretical basis since the priority is to establish similar contextual bases to make feasible comparisons? This is something we need to continue debating.

A third challenge has to do with how to continue convincing developed countries, especially in the USA, in the importance of promoting comparative studies that include developing countries as points of comparison and contrast. The support to produce comparative and international higher education research has to do not only with convincing international, national, and regional agencies to continue sponsoring such studies but also with convincing in the importance of increasingly being part of Master's and Ph.D. in higher education programs everywhere. In that sense, the challenge is not only how to pursue these studies that includes to make them part of the content of graduate programs but how to convince key actors about the relevance of promoting developing-developed countries dialogue. Phil Altbach has been always a major promoter of this and perhaps one of his most effective ambassadors worldwide speaking.

Meanwhile, we will continue to celebrate Philip Altbach's legacy, his enormous contributions to understanding better the expansive opportunities afforded by studying the fields of comparative and international higher education and, especially, to providing ever-increasing legitimacy to this field of study. Whether continuing as academic researcher or moving into the many realms of higher education practitioners, Phil's "disciples"—his many doctoral students and other students who have been fortunate enough to learn from him—along with his peers, his colleagues, and the policymakers who continue to seek his counsel as they reform their systems have the great good fortune to have Phil as a critical and ever-thoughtful partner in their journey to make higher education better.

So, this book is, more than anything, an enormous "thank you" to our mentor, friend, and colleague Philip G. Altbach. We are better at what we do because he is so immensely gifted at what he does. And, without question or exaggeration, the world is, literally, a better place because of him.

About the Authors

Philip G. Altbach was J. Donald Monan, S.J. University Professor and Director of the Center for International Higher Education in the Lynch School of Education at Boston College; he is now a Research Professor. He was the 2004–2006 Distinguished Scholar Leader for the New Century Scholars initiative of the Fulbright Program and, in 2010, was an Erudite Scholar of the Government of Kerala in India. He has had awards from the German Academic Exchange Service, the Japan Society for the Promotion of Science, and others. His most recent book, coedited with Jamil Salmi, is *The Road to Academic Excellence: The Making of World-Class Research Universities.* He is the author of *Turmoil and Transition: The International Imperative in Higher Education, Comparative Higher Education, Student Politics in America* and other books. He coedited the *International Handbook of Higher Education.* Other recent books are *World Class Worldwide: Transforming Research Universities in Asia and Latin America, Leadership for World-Class Universities: Challenges for Developing Countries,* and *Trends in Global Higher Education: Tracking an Academic Revolution.*

Jorge Balán is a senior research scholar and adjunct professor at the School of International and Public Affairs, Columbia University, New York. He completed his undergraduate studies at the University of Buenos Aires and was awarded a PhD degree in sociology by The University of Texas at Austin in 1968. He was a professor at the University of Buenos Aires until 1997 and at other universities in Mexico, Brazil, and the United States. He was senior program officer responsible for the international higher education policy portfolio at the Ford Foundation in New York between 1998 and 2006.

His publications include *Latin America's New Knowledge Economy: Higher Education, Government, and International Collaboration*, editor, Institute of International Education (2013), and he also contributed to a special issue on the future of higher education in *Social Research: An International Quarterly* (2012). He edited with Philip G. Altbach, *World-Class Worldwide: Transforming Research Universities in Asia and Latin America* (2007).

Roberta Malee Bassett is a senior education specialist in the World Bank's Europe and Central Asia region. Prior to joining the World Bank in 2009, Roberta served as lecturer at the Centre for Higher Education Management and Policy at the University of Southampton, UK. She received her PhD in (international) higher education from Boston College, AB from Columbia University (Political Science), and AM from Stanford University (SSEP: Higher Education), where she served as assistant dean and director of Summer Session (1995–2000). She is the former managing editor of *Educational Policy* (2004–2005) and *The Review of Higher Education* (2000–2004), author of *The WTO and the University: Globalization, GATS, and American Higher Education* (Routledge, 2006), and coeditor (with Alma Maldonado-Maldonado) of *International Organizations and Higher Education Policy: Thinking Globally, Acting Locally?* (Taylor and Francis, 2009).

José Cossa, PhD—a blogger, "twitterer," podcaster, writer/author, researcher, (media) activist, and entrepreneur—is the founder and senior consultant at Maguiguane Consulting (Maputo, Mozambique) and is a scholar and consultant with interests centered on justice at the local and global level. Cossa holds a PhD in Cultural and Educational Policy Studies with a depth area in Comparative and International Education from Loyola University Chicago. He is the author of *Power, Politics, and Higher Education: International Regimes, Local Governments, and Educational Autonomy*, published in 2008 by Cambria Press. Cossa has held visiting assistant professor positions at Loyola University Chicago's School of Education and Colgate University; adjunct professor positions at Syracuse University's S. I. Newhouse School of Public Communication, Loyola University Chicago's School of Continuing and Professional Studies, and Dominican University's School of Leadership and Continuing Studies; and a lecturer and interim director positions at Cape Theological Seminary in Cape Town, South Africa.

Jan Currie is emeritus professor in the School of Education, Murdoch University, and works part time in the Pay Equity Unit of the Department of Commerce in the Western Australian State Government. She has written extensively on globalization and its impact on higher education and on the gendered nature of universities. She coedited *Universities and Globalization* (Sage, 1998) and coauthored *Gendered Universities in Globalized Economies* (Lexington, 2002), *Globalizing Practices and University Responses* (Praeger, 2003), and *Academic Freedom in Hong Kong* (Lexington, 2006). Her most recent publications are on pay equity audits in Australian and Swedish universities.

Hans de Wit is professor (lector) of Internationalization of Higher Education at the School of Economics and Management of the Hogeschool van Amsterdam, University of Applied Sciences, and as of 2012 "Director of the Centre for Higher Education Internationalisation" at the Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore in Milan, Italy. He is the coeditor of the "*Journal of Studies in International Education*." He has (co)written several books and articles on international education and is a consultant for organizations like the European Commission, UNESCO, World Bank,

IMHE/OECD, and ESMU. He has a bachelor, master's, and PhD from the University of Amsterdam. He is a founding member and past president of the *European Association for International Education* (EAIE) and a member of the Board of Trustees of World Education Services (New York), the ESL TOEFL Board (as of 2011), and the Consell Assessor de l'Institut Internacional de Postgrau de la Universitat Oberta de Catalunya. He is also cochair of the Special Interest Group Research in International Education of EAIE.

David D. Dill is professor emeritus of Public Policy at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. He has been a visiting research fellow at the University of Manchester Business School; a visiting fellow at Wolfson College, Cambridge University; a visiting professor at the Center for Higher Education Policy Studies (CHEPS) at the University of Twente, the Netherlands; and a visiting professor at the European University Institute in Florence, Italy. He has conducted research in academic and industrial settings; has consulted with academic and government organizations and agencies in the United States, Europe, and Asia; and has written numerous articles, chapters, and books. His most recent books are (with Frans A. van Vught) *National Innovation and the Academic Research Enterprise: Public Policy in Global Perspective* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2010); (with Maarja Beerkens) *Public Policy for Academic Quality: Analyses of Innovative Policy Instruments* (Dordrecht, The Netherlands: Springer, 2010); and (with Pedro Teixeira) *Public Vices, Private Virtues?: Assessing the Effects of Marketization in Higher Education* (Rotterdam: Sense Publishers, 2011). His research interests include public policy analysis, the regulation of academic quality, and research policy. He was director of the Research Program on Public Policy for Academic Quality (www.unc.edu/ppaq), a cross-national study of quality assurance policies in higher education supported by the Ford Foundation, and has served as a quality assessor for agencies and universities in the United States, Europe, and Asia. He is a member of the Association for Public Policy Analysis and Management and the Consortium of Higher Education Researchers and a fellow of the Society for Research into Higher Education.

Judith S. Eaton is president of the Council for Higher Education Accreditation (CHEA), which is a national advocate and institutional voice for self-regulation of academic quality through accreditation and is the largest institutional higher education membership organization in the United States. Prior to her work at CHEA, Dr. Eaton served as chancellor of the Minnesota State Colleges and Universities; was president of the Council for Aid to Education, Community College of Philadelphia, and the Community College of Southern Nevada; and served as vice president of the American Council on Education. She also has held full- and part-time teaching positions at Columbia University, the University of Michigan, and Wayne State University. Dr. Eaton is an internationally sought-after expert on quality assurance and currently serves on a range of boards and has authored numerous books and articles on higher education and accreditation topics.

Heather Eggins is visiting professor at the Institute for Education Policy Research, Staffordshire University; visiting professor at the University of Sussex, UK; and a senior member of Lucy Cavendish College, University of Cambridge.

She was a Fulbright New Century Scholar 2005–2006 working on the topic of "Higher Education in the 21st Century: Global Challenge and National Response" and edited "Access and Equity: Comparative Perspectives" 2010 Sense Publishers, which is a compilation of the research undertaken by her Fulbright Group. Currently, as a principal research fellow at Durham University, she is involved in a 3-year research project funded by the European Union which is examining the barriers to achieving quality in higher education. Her research interests lie generally in the area of policy and strategy in higher education, with a particular interest in access issues and the impact of globalization.

Martin Finkelstein is professor of higher education at Seton Hall University, South Orange, NJ. He received his PhD from the State University of New York at Buffalo in 1978. His most recent books are *Scholars in the Changing American Academy: New Contexts, New Roles and New Rules* (Springer, 2011 with William K Cummings) and *The Internationalization of the Academic Profession: Trends, Issues and Prospects* (Springer, in press, with Futao Huang and Michele Rostan). Most recently, he has served as codirector of the US component of the *Changing Academic Profession Survey 200–087*, a reprise of the 1992 Carnegie International Survey of the Academic Profession (Boyer and Altbach, 1996). Since then, he has focused on two "international" aspects of the academic profession: comparing the status, working conditions, and governance role of US faculty to faculty in Canada, Japan, and Western Europe and exploring the internationalization of faculty teaching and research in the United States and abroad.

James J.F. Forest, PhD, is professor and director of the Security Studies program at the University of Massachusetts–Lowell and a senior fellow with the Joint Special Operations University. He has published 17 books and dozens of scholarly journal articles on a wide variety of topics and is a graduate of the doctoral program at Boston College.

Robin Matross Helms has been at Center for Internationalization and Global Engagement's programs (CIGE) at American Council on Education (ACE) since March 2012, focusing on global higher education research initiatives, including the International Briefs for Higher Education Leaders series.

Robin has also worked in university administration and international education and as a consultant to a number of organizations including the World Bank, the Institute for Higher Education Policy, the Observatory on Borderless Higher Education, and Harvard Graduate School of Education. Her publications include *Inhabiting the Borders: Foreign Language Faculty in American Colleges and Universities* (Routledge, 2005), *University Admission Worldwide* (World Bank, 2008), *New Challenges, New Priorities: The Experience of Generation X Faculty* (Harvard University, 2010), and *Overcoming Publish or Perish: Fostering Faculty Engagement in Internationalization Through Tenure Codes and Other Employment Policies*"

(Institute of International Education, 2012). Robin holds an AB degree in East Asian studies from Princeton University and an MBA and a PhD in Higher Education Administration from Boston College.

N. Jayaram is fellow at the Indian Institute of Advanced Study, Shimla. He has earlier taught sociology at Bangalore and Goa Universities and research methodology at Tata Institute of Social Sciences, Mumbai. He was visiting professor of Indian Studies at The University of the West Indies, Trinidad, and director at the Institute for Social and Economic Change, Bangalore. He has written/edited/adapted 19 books and authored over 120 research papers and 300 book reviews. He is the managing editor of *Sociological Bulletin* (Journal of the Indian Sociological Society). He was on the panel to deliver the Keynote Address on "Sustainable Higher Education" at the Third G8 University Summit 2010 (Canada), at Vancouver, in May 2010, and is the recipient of ET NOW National Educational Leadership Award 2013.

D. Bruce Johnstone is a distinguished service professor of Higher and Comparative Education Emeritus at the State University of New York at Buffalo and director of the International Comparative Higher Education Finance and Accessibility Project. His principal scholarship is in higher education finance, governance, and policy formation in both domestic and international comparative higher education contexts. Dr. Johnstone has held posts of vice president for administration at the University of Pennsylvania, president of the State University College at Buffalo, and chancellor of the State University of New York system, the latter from 1988 to 1994. He holds bachelor's and master's degrees from Harvard and a PhD from the University of Minnesota.

Jane Knight Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, University of Toronto, focuses her research on the international dimension of higher education at the institutional, national, regional, and international levels. Her work in over 65 countries with universities, governments, and UN agencies helps to bring a comparative, development, and international perspective to her research, teaching, and policy work. She is the author of numerous publications on internationalization concepts and strategies, quality assurance, institutional management, trade, education hubs, and cross-border education. She is the cofounder of the African Network for the Internationalization of Education and sits on the advisory boards of several international organizations, universities, and journals. In 2010 the University of Exeter awarded her an Honorary LLD, in 2011 she was the recipient of the Outstanding Researcher Award from the European Association for Institutional Research, and in 2013 she received the Gilbert Medal from Universitas 21 for her work on higher education internationalization.

Nian Cai Liu took his undergraduate study in chemistry at Lanzhou University of China. He obtained his doctoral degree in polymer science and engineering from Queen's University at Kingston, Canada. He is currently the director of the Center for World-Class Universities and the dean of Graduate School of Education at Shanghai Jiao Tong University. His research interests include world-class universities, university evaluation, and science policy. The *Academic Ranking of World Universities*,

an online publication of his group, has attracted attentions from all over the world. His latest books include *Paths to a World-Class University: Lessons from Practices and Experiences*.

Alma Maldonado-Maldonado is a researcher at the Educational Research Department [Departamento de Investigaciones Educativas (DIE)] of the Center for Advanced Research [Centro de Investigaciones Avanzadas (CINVESTAV)] in Mexico City. Previously, Maldonado was an assistant professor at the University of Arizona's Center for the Study of Higher Education in the USA. Her research focuses on comparative higher education, international organizations, higher education policy, and research in Latin America—particularly on Mexico. She is the author of numerous journal articles and book chapters, and her most recent coedited book was *International Organization and Higher Education Policy: Thinking Globally, Acting Locally?* (2009) written with Roberta Malee Bassett. Maldonado holds an AB degree in education from the National Autonomous University of Mexico (UNAM) and a PhD in higher education from Boston College. Thanks to Phil Altbach's influence, Alma Maldonado bikes everyday to work, and she never misses tweeting and running.

Jennifer Olson is a postdoctoral researcher at the University of Oslo, Norway, Faculty of Educational Science, working within the project, *Horizontal governance and learning dynamics in higher education*. She previously worked as a researcher at the University of Jena, Germany. Olson completed her PhD at the University of Georgia, USA, in May 2012 with a dissertation entitled *From student mobility to market success: The changing logic of internationalization in German universities*. Her research interests include internationalization of higher education, the political economy of higher education, and university governance reform.

Patti McGill Peterson is presidential advisor for Global Initiatives at the American Council on Education where she oversees the work of the Center for Internationalization and Global Engagement. Previously, she served as executive director of the Council for International Exchange of Scholars, which administers the Fulbright Scholar Program. She is the president emerita of Wells College and St. Lawrence University. Her leadership positions have included chair of the US-Canada Commission for Educational Exchange and the National Women's College Coalition and president of the Association of Colleges and Universities of the State of New York. She has served as a board member of the UNCF International Development Partnerships and the Ford Foundation's International Fellowship Program. Her current board memberships include the Council for International Educational Exchange, CONAHEC, and the National Research University, HSE, Moscow. Dr. Peterson holds a BA from the Pennsylvania State University and an MA and PhD from the University of Wisconsin and did postgraduate study at Harvard University.

Liz Reisberg is an independent consultant working internationally on projects related to the improvement of higher education. Dr. Reisberg has more than three decades of experience working in university admissions as well as training admissions professionals. Her experience and research have focused on quality assurance,

internationalization, and higher education reform, most frequently in Latin America. She has worked with governments, universities, and international donor agencies throughout the world. She has been a research associate at the Center for International Higher Education at Boston College where she collaborated on Center grants and research. She was also the founder and executive director of The MBA Tour, a company that organizes professional recruitment tours throughout the world for graduate schools of business. She completed her doctorate at Boston College in 2007 and holds a BA from Bennington College and an M.Ed. from the University of Massachusetts–Amherst.

Laura E. Rumbley is the associate director of the Boston College (BC) Center for International Higher Education (CIHE) and a lecturer in the graduate program in Higher Education Administration at BC. She was previously deputy director of the Academic Cooperation Association (ACA), a Brussels-based think tank focused on issues of internationalization and innovation in European higher education. Laura has authored and coauthored a number of publications, including the foundational document for the 2009 UNESCO World Conference on Higher Education, *Trends in Global Higher Education: Tracking an Academic Revolution* (with Philip G. Altbach and Liz Reisberg). A former US foreign service officer, Laura currently serves on the editorial review board for the Journal of Studies in International Education. She is also on the board of the European Association for International Education's (EAIE) "Research in International Education" special interest group and sits on EAIE's Publications Committee.

Jamil Salmi is an independent expert for education and the former education sector manager for the World Bank in the Latin American and Caribbean region. He was also coordinator of the Bank's network of higher education professionals and was the Bank's official representative at the UNESCO World Conference on Higher Education in Paris, France, in October 1998. Dr. Salmi worked for 4 years in the education and social policy department of the World Bank, conducting policy research in the field of higher education. He was responsible for the preparation of the Bank's policy paper on higher education, published in July 1994. Dr. Salmi was previously professor of education economics at the National Institute of Education Planning in Rabat, Morocco. He has also served as a consultant to various ministries, national professional associations, and international organizations. Dr. Salmi holds a master's degree in public and international affairs from the University of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, USA, and a PhD in development studies from the University of Sussex, UK.

Simon Schwartzman is the president of the Institute of Labor and Society in Rio de Janeiro (IETS). He graduated from the Federal University of Minas Gerais, attended the Latin American School of Social Sciences (FLACSO) in Santiago de Chile, and obtained his PhD in political science from the University of California, Berkeley. He taught at the University Research Institute in Rio de Janeiro (IUPERJ) at the Getúlio Vargas Foundation and at the University of São Paulo and was president of Brazil's National Statistical Office, IBGE (1994–1998). He is a member

of the Brazilian Academy of Sciences. His recent books include *Brasil: A Nova Agenda Social* (with Edmar Bacha) (Rio de Janeiro, LTC Publications, 2011), *The Leading Latin American Universities and Their Contribution to Sustainable Development* (Sense Publishers, 2008), and *The Challenges of Education in Brazil* (with Colin Brock) (Oxford Studies in Comparative Education, 2004.)

Sheila Slaughter is the Louise McBee professor of higher education at the University of Georgia. Her research areas are political economy of higher education, science and technology policy, academic freedom, and women in higher education. She is coauthor, with L.L. Leslie, of *Academic Capitalism: Politics, Policies and the Entrepreneurial University* (Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997) and, with G. Rhoades, of *Academic Capitalism and the New Economy*: *Markets, State and Higher Education* (Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004). Among her most recent articles are the following: Mathies, C., & Slaughter, S. 2012. "University Trustees as Channels Between Academe and Industry: Toward an Understanding of the Executive Science Network." In press, *Research Policy*, and Taylor, B. J., Cantwell, B., & Slaughter, S. 2012. "Quasi-Markets in US Higher Education: The Sciences, Humanities and Institutional Revenues." In press, *Journal of Higher Education*. Slaughter received the Association for the Study of Higher Education Research Achievement Award in 1998 and the American Educational Research Association Career Research Achievement Award in 2000.

David A. Stanfield is a research assistant at the Center for International Higher Education and doctoral student in the Boston College Higher Education Administration program. Prior to joining the Center, David served as the director of Student Activities and First-Year Programs for 5 years at Carnegie Mellon University's international branch campus in Doha, Qatar. His primary research interests include cross-border higher education (specifically in the Middle East and East Asia) and student affairs. David earned a master's degree in College Student Personnel from Miami University in Ohio.

Ulrich Teichler is a professor at the International Centre for Higher Education Research (INCHER–Kassel), University of Kassel (Germany), since 1978, and former director for 16 years. He was born in 1942; he has a diploma and doctoral dissertation in sociology and is a researcher at the Max Planck Institute for Educational Research, Berlin. He had extended research periods in Japan, the Netherlands, and the USA; he was also part-time or visiting professor at Northwestern University, College of Europe, Hiroshima University, and Open University, UK. His research interests focus on higher education and the world of work, comparison of higher education systems, the academic profession, and international mobility. He had worked on more than 1,000 publications and had visited more than 80 countries. He is a member of the International Academy of Education and the Academia Europaea, former chairman of the Consortium of Higher Education Researchers (CHER), former president and distinguished member of EAIR, and vice president and fellow of SRHE and was awarded with the Comenius Prize of UNESCO and Dr. h. c. of the University of Turku.

Frans van Vught is currently a high-level policy advisor to the European Commission and president of the European Centre for Strategic Management of Universities (Esmu), president of the Netherlands' House for Education and Research (Nether), and a member of the board of the European Institute of Technology Foundation (EITF), all-in Brussels. He has been rector and president of the University of Twente in the Netherlands (1997–2005). Before that he was the founding director of the Centre for Higher Education Policy Studies (CHEPS) at Twente. He has contributed to several international projects of organizations like the OECD, UNESCO, and the World Bank. He is a sought-after speaker at conferences and an advisor to many governments and universities. He currently is one of the leaders of a global, user-driven, and multidimensional ranking project (U-Multirank), sponsored by the European Commission. Frans has published widely and in several languages on higher education and research. He is an honorary professor at the University of Twente and holds several honorary doctorates.

Lesley Vidovich is a professor of education at the University of Western Australia. Her primary research focus is education policy, in both higher education and schooling sectors. Her research extends from global trends to microlevel practices within educational institutions. She has conducted and published research in Europe, Asia, North America, and Africa—as well as Australia—in a wide range of educational policy domains, especially accountability, quality, equity, curriculum, and internationalization.

Qi Wang is an assistant professor at the Graduate School of Education of Shanghai Jiao Tong University, China. She received her MA in education (International Education) and PhD in education from University of Bath, UK. Her research interests include building world-class universities, skill formation and national development, and comparative and international education. Recently, she has been one of the key researchers in a research project on global competitiveness and research university development funded by the Science and Technology Commission of Ministry of Education, China.

Akiyoshi Yonezawa, PhD, is an associate professor at the Graduate School of International Development (GSID), Nagoya University. With sociological background, he is mainly researching on the comparative higher education policies, especially focusing on world-class universities, quality assurance of higher education, and public-private relationship of higher education. Before moving to Nagoya University in October 2010, he has worked at Tohoku University, National Institution for Academic Degrees and University Evaluation (NIAD-UE), Hiroshima University, OECD, and the University of Tokyo.