



MARKETING AND COMMUNICATION IN  
HIGHER EDUCATION

# The Marketisation of Higher Education

Concepts, Cases, and Criticisms

*Edited by*

John D. Branch · Bryan Christiansen

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# Marketing and Communication in Higher Education

This series seeks to critically address marketing and communication related issues in higher education. The series aims to be broad in scope (any aspect of higher education that broadly connects with markets, marketization, marketing and communication) and specific in its rationale to provide critical perspectives on higher education with the aim of improving higher education's emancipatory potential.

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John D. Branch · Bryan Christiansen  
Editors

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Marketing and Communication in Higher Education

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# Introduction

*Kai Peters*

## 1 THE INTRODUCTION OF HIGHER EDUCATION

*No better text for a History of Entrepreneurship could be found than the creation and development of the modern university, and especially the modern American university.*

Peter Drucker

The business origin of universities can still be seen in academic dress today. Indeed, professors' gowns originate in the robes of the mendicant medieval monks who taught in early European universities. Their sewn-up under-sleeves with an opening above, still prominent in most universities, were used to collect the alms and donations from the students who attended professors' classes. Medieval student satisfaction was measured in terms of immediate performance-based compensation (Rossano, 1999). It is fair to say, therefore, that professors and universities more generally have been in business since the beginning of universities.

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What has changed significantly, however, is that the full force of the market has come to bear on all aspects of the institution: intense marketing, commissions for student acquisition, strong centralised financial control, complex group structures to maximise income, minimisation of costs, tax avoidance, and work-force flexibility through hourly paid lecturers and the related precariat.

Much has been written about the marketisation of higher education, with various authors pointing to related originating causes. Most of the highly referenced articles such as Jongbloed (2003) whose case explored the marketisation of higher in the Netherlands, point to the role of the state, and suggest that in creating a market for higher education, social engineering and additional control were the driving factors. Writing about the United Kingdom, Furedi (2010) and Brown (2011) come to a similar conclusion. A related body of literature including Tomlinson (2017), Bunce (2017), and Nixon et al. (2018) point out that marketisation has led to students seeing themselves as ‘consumers’ of education. Most recently, McClure et al. (2020), Sporn (2020), and Brown (2020) reluctantly acknowledge that marketisation has occurred, and competition and privatisation is the new normal. While government policy has played a significant role in the shift to marketisation, one is left with a feeling that ‘it has been done to us’ by the state. There is, however, another perspective which is under-represented in the literature. In this introductory chapter, therefore, I should like to focus on three non-state areas which I believe deserve further attention when considering marketisation: the role of rankings, the advent of mergers and acquisitions, and the need to professionalise management.

## 2 RANKINGS

The shift from markets to marketisation, I contend, occurred with the 1988 advent of business school rankings in the American magazine *Business Week*. While not the first ranking of business schools or universities—everyone loves a list, after all—the *Business Week* rankings set off a chain of events which have altered the higher educational landscape for good in some ways, but for bad in many others.

Writing in 2005, Andy Policano, Dean Emeritus of both the business school at the University of Wisconsin in Madison and the business school at the University of California, Irvine stated that:

[f]ew people can remember what it was like before 1988—what I call the year before the storm (of *Business Week* rankings). It was a time when business school deans could actually focus on improving the quality of their schools' educational offerings. Discussions about strategic marketing were confined mostly to the marketing curriculum. PR firms were hired by businesses, not business schools. Many business schools had sufficient facilities, but few buildings had marble floors, soaring atriums, or plush carpeting. Public university tuition was affordable for most students, and even top MBA programs were accessible to students with high potential but low GMAT scores.

Since the 1988 launch, business school deans have had to come to terms with the myriad issues which are led by the MBA rankings. As noted, John Byrne launched them in 1988, when he was at *Business-week*. They were followed closely by *U.S. News & World Report* in 1990, and latterly by the *Financial Times* in 1999. In addition to these 'big MBA rankings', many other national and international rankings are also influential.

Writing in the *Journal of Management Development* in 2007, I showed why rankings matter. I calculated a 'rankings vs tuition' line of best fit MBA programmes. It clearly demonstrated that a significant price premium existed for the top schools, as did a tremendous increase in enquiries and applications for the top 20 schools. It was absolutely clear that excellent rankings led to increased demand, and an ability to increase prices. Because the rankings are not only theatre, but also big business, schools dissect each criterion, and try to optimise each one.

Consequently, 'working the rankings' in this way is now common. Students get admitted because their pre- and post-MBA salaries will maximise economic value-added, advisory boards are designed specifically to maximise internationalism and gender diversity, and professors are rewarded massively for publishing in the journals which count towards rankings. Perhaps some of these factors really do add value to a business school. Alas, it does not always stop there, and schools have also been caught by auditors from the Big 4 'gaming the rankings', which unfortunately have become a feature of the rankings world.

MBA rankings are largely international, whereas undergraduate rankings, or 'league-tables' as they are called in the United Kingdom, are more nationally oriented, because the largest numbers of undergraduate students are recruited nationally. In the United Kingdom, these rankings really began in earnest some years after the MBA rankings theatre



began. The *Times* ranking began in 1992, the *Guardian* in 1999, and the *Complete Universities Guide* in 2007. As with the MBA rankings, there are many more publications which have been in the rankings business over the years.

Given that rankings not only move markets but also shift publications, it is surprising that overall university rankings only began in the early 2000s. The Academic Ranking of World Universities by Shanghai Jiao Tong University began in 2003, and was quickly followed in 2004 by the ever-enterprising duo of Nunzio Quacquarelli and Matt Symonds—the Q and S of *QS*. The *QS* ranking originally appeared in the *Times Higher Education Supplement*, but its managers soon thought that they could do things better themselves, and went their separate way. *QS* remains in business, and claims 50 different ranking variants in its portfolio. The *Times Higher Education* launched its own set of rankings in 2010, and has repositioned itself from a news magazine about higher education to a data metrics business about higher education. It has increased its market value logarithmically by doing so.

University Presidents/Vice-Chancellors obsess as much about the *THE* and *QS* global university rankings as business school Deans worry about *Bloomberg*, *Businessweek*, and the *Financial Times*. Indeed, rankings have now been a core feature in the world of higher education in general for the past 30 years. There are lists for pretty much everything an institution does, from undergraduate through postgraduate research, and from research through to student experience, which ranks institutions on, among other things, the price of a pint of beer, and how good the parties are.

The introduction of the broader rankings game has altered the business school and university context extensively. Over the past few decades, university groups have become more complex and complicated—with multiple faculties and schools, multiple locations, and multiple audiences, all of which are developed in order to cope with marketisation.

Even at the more mundane level of individual universities, complexity is increasing. Many institutions work across multiple sites, bridging urban and suburban campuses. Add to this feeder foundation year activities, online education, international campuses, partnerships, and validation activities. And for another layer of complexity, consider the different products and services ranging from ‘business to consumer products’ like undergraduate and post-graduate pre-experience degrees, through post-experience programmes, and part-time programmes for working

professionals ('business-to-business consumer products'), right along to business-to-business executive education where corporate learning and development managers purchase education on behalf of their staff members.

Within each of these product-market combinations, universities are faced with a plethora of make or buy decisions. The market can provide a stream of foundation year students and student housing via companies like INTO and Study Group; new students via the global network of agents; online solutions via Pearson, Keypath, or Future Learn among others; and even a steady supply of hourly paid lecturers.

Lastly, scale these elements up to a global level. At last count, there are close to 200 countries in the world. Many of these countries are involved in international student mobility either as exporters or importers of students. In some countries, direct student recruitment is possible. In most countries, however, educational agents intermediate between the university and the school. To note here also is that the 'arkets' in the various countries are not homogenous. Indeed, it is in a smaller selection of countries where online education or adult executive education market opportunities exist.

Consequently, one can view the managerial challenges of the more complex institutions as a three-dimensional Rubik's cube with one axis representing products, another locations, and a third markets. Defining the suitable strategies and structures for institutional success, alas, is neither simple nor well developed in, it is my contention, most universities in the world.

### 3 MERGERS AND ACQUISITIONS

Many roads led to multi-campus, multi-activity universities. In some cases, especially in a number of states in the United States, the whole public university system was created with co-ordination and overall state-wide governance as the goal. In other cases, institutions were brought together through mergers, often specified by policies which were instigated by local, regional, or national governments. In France in particular, funding which had previously been provided to local business schools by local chambers of commerce began to dry up, thereby leading to new constellations of multi-location institutions.

In the aforementioned cases, the mergers were driven from above. In other cases, mergers occurred in more of a 'mergers and acquisitions'

manner to achieve critical mass. Invariably there was the acquirer and the target. Taking place mostly in the private sector and often (but not solely) originating from for-profit educational groups from the United States or the United Kingdom, a ‘buy and build’ strategy has been pursued. In some cases, the portfolio of schools has become significant, and invariably the institutions which were acquired have covered a wide range of subjects and degree levels. Lastly, many individual institutions have expanded to the point where they have become small groups in and of themselves, having added suburban or urban campuses, international locations, and online activities.

The first mentions of multi-location, multi-activity institutions occurred in 1971 and 1975 (Lee and Bowen). They were concerned with multi-campus state systems in the United States—California and North Carolina, for example. Pineiro and Nordstrand Berg (2016) bring the issue up to date through a survey of subsequent literature. Some of the definitions which are cited are quite amusing. Kerr (2001) defines a multi-campus university as having more than one campus. Nicolson (2004) similarly, notes that campuses must be in different places to be defined as having multiple campuses. Their own interest is in multi-campus universities rather than in multi-campus systems. Here, they note that “little is known, however, regarding the complexities and tensions associated with the rise of multi-campus universities, and the possible mechanisms to handle this” beyond some general goals. Multi-campus universities exist to (1) meet multiple objectives, while (2) optimising management. But there is a whole range of challenges: impersonal relations and inequalities among audiences, little cohesion among alumni, gaps between administration and academic co-ordination, bureaucracy, and poor support services.

Nicolson (2004) lists the co-ordination tasks which are faced by multi-campus managers. Indeed, they must develop common goals among the various campuses, pay attention to the local goals of different groups of students and faculty members, ensure that the curriculum is consistent, ensure that professional support services are consistent, and ensure that geographically disparate staff members can meet each other. That said, Nicolson notes that the key to multi-campus systems lays in the individual campuses themselves, and their ability to respond to local needs.

Johnstone (1999) attempts to itemise the role of central administration in a United States-based multi-campus system, rather than in a multi-campus university... although many of the points are relevant in both.

The core tasks are to define the mission of the system and of the individual entities within the system, hire and dismiss senior managers across the system, allocate financial resources, optimise professional services, ensure quality control in teaching and research, arbitrate disputes across the system, and liaise with stakeholders in government and industry. As Pineiro and Nordstrand Berg (2016) noted, “this means that a core issue within multi-campus universities lies in finding the right balance between *centralisation* (system) and *autonomy* (campuses)”.

## 4 MANAGEMENT

If one turns to the professional service firm literature, one can find some guidance for the management of these ever more complex higher education institutions. Von Nordenflycht (2010) defines a professional service firm as displaying three particular characteristics: knowledge intensity, low capital intensity, and a professionalised workforce.

Greenwood et al. (2010) provide a succinct historical overview of the structural changes which have taken place within professional service firms over the past years. Focusing specifically on accounting firms, the authors defined a number of developmental phases. In phase one, professional service firms served local clients from local offices. Each office was more or less self-contained, and the firm was made up of the various offices in a specific geographical area. Coordination was managed by the ‘national firm’ which provided broad-based marketing, and covered clients who needed national support. The second phase arose as clients required increasingly international services. National professional service firms merged internationally to follow their clients’ dispersion. Given the increasing size and geographic spread, firms instituted global headquarters’ to assure coordination across multiple national jurisdictions, and to take responsibility for strategic issues like further internationalisation.

Phase three came into play as the firms realised that a new ‘axis of specialisation’ along industry lines was required, especially because clients increasingly expected in-depth knowledge about their industries and their markets. Relatedly, the professional service firms noted that requests from clients were no longer just about the ‘compliance’ issues which were the historical trigger for the accounting firms, but were seeking advisory services for transactions like mergers and acquisitions. Finally, by the mid-1990s, professional service firms had arrived at a multiplex organisational

form which comprised one axis along geographic lines, one along industry specialisations, and the third along lines of service.

Tensions can immediately be seen. There is the challenge of national versus international orientation, especially given that professionals have their core affiliation with a ‘home’ office. The second tension is between the normative compliance approach of the traditional core business, and the industry- and market-orientation among the strategic consulting partners. These challenges are manifested in the challenge of creating incentive systems which encourage cooperation and collaboration across business lines and geographies.

To address these challenges, four key principles have been adopted by professional service firms: the creation of multiple axes of expertise; the facilitation of crisscrossing, nascent communities of professionals; the implementation and prioritising of a client management system; and the development of a culture of reciprocity. Much of the creation of these multiplex communities is the result of concerted talent management and organisational development efforts which socialise these values. Concentrated hiring efforts ensure a certain homogeneity of staff members. Extensive training and role-modelling reinforces desired practice. Promotion is dependent on having worked in international cross-functional teams, and reward systems are designed to divide up revenue across the various parties which have contributed to each project. Lastly, where the professional service firms are a partnership, year-end profits are shared across the firm’s partners rather than on local office performance.

Skjølsvik et al. (2017) summarised and presented an extensive survey of the professional service firm literature. They analysed 226 articles which were published between 1991 and 2015, noting the theoretical foundations, methodological approaches, industries, and geographical contexts. They point out that any homogenous approach to professional service firm definitions fails when confronted with organisational realities. The only honest academic approach to the field is to reflect on the themes which emerge. The following table summarises their findings.

Von Nordenflycht (2010) summarised professional service firms in a more pithy manner. He noted that there really are two core management challenges in professional service firms. The first is ‘cat herding’ and the second is ‘opaque quality’, which surely will be familiar to anyone in higher education.

With the exception of a thorough chapter by Thomas et al. (2013) who compared business schools to professional service firms, there is nothing

else of note which covers this terrain. This is really a pity, because there is much to learn from these adjacent organisations. If one reviews the breadth of institutions in the higher education domain, those which are commercially orientated might leave many things to be desired academically, but they have taken many business lessons to heart. Robertson and Komljenovic (2016) looked specifically at a number of case studies on the making of higher education markets, and noted how organisations including INTO, a provider of foundation year education and housing, and also Laureate, a commercial higher education group which in 2015 had 950,000 students who enrolled across 75 campuses in 29 countries (It has recently been contracting due to financial challenges which have affected many aggressive private higher education groups.) organise themselves. Others, especially the increasing numbers of multi-campus, multi-activity institutions are also grappling with these issues.

## 5 CONCEPTS, CASES, AND CRITIQUES

Higher education institutions, whatever one might wish to think, have always operated in markets. Now they have become marketised through and through. Indeed, all institutions must acquire resources—through tuition, research contracts, or other sources. They are subject to the laws of the market, like any other ‘economic actor’. And as such they must operate strategically, choosing when, where, and how to play... and risk going bankrupt if they are not managed well.

As proof of this market logic, the Department of Education’s Federal Student Aid database notes that since 1984, more than 12,000 branch campuses and entire institutions have gone bankrupt in the United States alone. The 2008–2009 recession wreaked havoc on higher education systems around the world. And I grimace to think of the many institutions which will doubtless be financial victims of the COVID-19 pandemic.

This anthology, therefore, is a timely and valuable contribution to the literature on the marketisation of higher education. Indeed, it explores the nature, scope, and consequences of the marketisation of higher education, by (1) enumerating various policies for stimulating and regulating the marketisation of higher education, (2) identifying numerous practices which constitute the marketisation of higher education, and (3) discussing different perspectives on the marketisation of higher education. The anthology takes a global perspective, with no single geographic

focus. Similarly, it adopts a holistic approach, examining the marketisation of higher education along multiple dimensions, and subscribing to the notion that the marketisation of higher education both drives, and is driven by, the universities of which the higher education market is comprised.

The call for chapters which was posted in early 2019 yielded almost 30 submissions from around the world. The subsequent review and re-submission process resulted in the 16 chapters which follow. As I know from experience, however, a significant challenge when editing an anthology is developing a device for structuring its chapters, even when they all share a common theme. The editors teased out different characteristics of the 16 chapters, and considered matrices, triangular models, and even a framework which was inspired by Adam Smith, the father of market-based economics. In the end, however, they settled on a relatively simple and unit-dimensional categorisation scheme which classifies the 16 chapters according to three themes: concepts, cases, and critiques. Specifically, Chapters 2–6 conceptualise the marketisation of higher education. Chapters 7–13 present cases of the marketisation of higher education. And Chapters 14–18 critique the marketisation of higher education.

Chapter 2 explores the ideological antecedents, processes, and outcomes of the marketisation of higher education, with an emphasis on business schools in particular. The chapter begins with a discussion of the theory of Scandinavian New Institutionalism in the context of higher education, explaining how ideologies spread across nations and fields through adoption and adaptation. It then elaborates the ideologies of neoliberalism and managerialism, and their relation to New Public Management. The chapter continues by elucidating the processes which are related to marketisation—namely commodification, corporatisation, and de-professionalisation. It then enumerates the various outcomes of the marketisation of higher education. Finally, the chapter concludes with suggestions for future research.

Chapter 3 examines how higher education systems are currently being influenced by the ideas of new public management. With the aid of a systematic literature review, it maps the use of post-new public management governance concepts in the higher education context, including network governance and the neo-Weberian state.

Chapter 4 discusses e-learning, the branding and marketing of higher education institutions, and disruptive innovation in higher education. It provides university leaders a guide to decision-making, especially with

respect to the acquisition of new students, and the implementation of an e-learning platform via a ‘build your own’ model, a ‘buy vendor services’ model, or a ‘collaborate with a corporate partner’ model.

Chapter 5 provides a brief overview of current studies of the concept of university social responsibility. It then addresses the question of how private universities can utilise university social responsibility in their marketing efforts, and to achieve competitiveness in their higher educational markets.

Chapter 6 explores the confluence of economic income and marketisation, likewise drawing on the concept of university social responsibility. It enumerates the characteristics of university social responsibility, and identifies the emerging trends towards a global education with a social focus. And it analyses the way in which universal social responsibility can provide a balance for higher education institutions between their institutional vision, the economic pressures of the market, and the increasingly important environmental, cultural, social, and economic demands.

Chapter 7 investigates the English language version of the Turkish Council of Higher Education’s website *Study in Turkey*, as part of the continuing internationalisation process of higher education in Turkey. It attempts to justify the initiative, clarify its objectives, delineate its applicable contexts, and illuminate future directions for its use.

Chapter 8 describes the internationalisation of higher education in Russia, specifically its ongoing efforts to compete for students in the increasingly global market for intellectual talent. It demonstrates that the lack of a comprehensive state policy for internationalisation has resulted in a kind of intuitive exploitation by Russian educational entities, and a prevalence of a quantitative rather than a qualitative to internationalisation.

Chapter 9 discusses attempts to unpack massification, privatisation, internationalisation, and financing in the context of Indian higher education. It illustrates the impact of neoliberal forces on the higher education system in India, and provides Indian administrators and policy-makers with advice on re-orienting higher education institutions in India towards the needs of learners.

Chapter 10 documents the digital transformation of the commercial department of a Peruvian business school. It presents three determining elements for the implementation of change and the improvement of internal processes: organisational culture, change management, and



digital transformation. It describes the commercial area of the business school, and details the six phases which were conducted during the process of its digital transformation. Finally, the chapter ends by presenting a summary of the lessons which were learned as a result of the digital transformation of the commercial department of the business school.

Chapter 11 uses new institutionalism and Foucault's notion of discipline to reframe the well-known story of Northeastern University and its President Richard Freeland. Specifically, it presents the case of Northeastern and its transformation from regional teaching-oriented university to national research university. It argues that Freeland used various marketisation mechanisms, in conjunction with university rankings, to achieve this transformation.

Chapter 12 investigates the gender differences in managerial practices across three Nordic countries: Finland, Norway, and Sweden. It analyses two aspects: (1) perceptions regarding competition, and (2) motivations for undertaking academic work. The chapter is based on an empirical dataset which was compiled from national surveys (conducted in 2015 and 2016) of senior academic staff (professors, associate professors, and academic leaders), which aimed to assess the perceived effects of recent government-led reforms which focused on performance management and managerial practices.

Chapter 13 explores the determinants of international student mobility in higher education in the United Kingdom, using a large panel data set at the country level. The empirical results from the model suggest that home country economic wealth and population, relative exchange rate, bilateral trade and historic/linguistic links, and the United Kingdom government policy are the most significant determinants for international student inflows. More importantly, the results reveal that the determinants are heterogeneous for developed and developing home country groups.

Chapter 14 addresses the problems of the universal treatment of English medium instruction, by exploring and illustrating how English medium instruction is used variably by educational institutions in different countries (with a particular focus on Turkey) for marketing their higher education programmes. It analyses the commercialisation of education from the Polanyian perspective, and the emergence of English medium instruction particularly in countries which had no history of colonisation and traditional English-language associations. It presents the specific case of Turkey, where English medium instruction is marketed aggressively.

It concludes with some practical suggestions for increasing the quality of English medium programmes.

Chapter 15 reviews service quality issues in the context of higher education. More specifically, it reviews the progression of the literature on service quality in the higher education sector, thereby leading to the development of a holistic model on this topic. The review focuses on only empirical findings. Based on these findings and the holistic model, it provides directions for future research which can potentially fill research gaps in the literature.

Chapter 16 questions the prevailing wisdom that higher education is the primary and most important tool in promoting social mobility and reducing income inequality. Indeed, it underlines the emerging evidence that higher education, rather than being a tool of social mobility, now reinforces income and wealth inequality. The chapter points out that the marketisation of higher education, and the corresponding reduction in state funding per-capita, have reduced its value as a discriminant of talent and capability. Similarly, it proposes that assessment by coursework favours students with wealthier and educated parents.

Chapter 17 investigates how recent developments in European higher education resemble the current state of the most popular sport on earth: football. It begins by showing how both football and higher education, as organisational fields, have emerged as deeply embedded entities within national and/or local contexts, with only weak links to the transnational environment. It continues, however, by further showing that with global marketisation processes gradually coming to the fore, both fields have become subject to convergence pressures, including de-contextualisation as a result of the rise of global markets.

Chapter 18 enumerates some of the challenges and drawbacks which are associated with the ongoing worldwide process of marketisation (neoliberalisation) in higher education. It advances the idea that the requirements—particularly the managerial and labour force needs of a new economy—cannot be satisfied adequately under the approaches and methods which are used by a traditional university. The chapter addresses (1) some of the problems and shortcomings in the triple-helix model of university-industry-government collaborations, (2) the transformation of students into customers and professors into entrepreneurial workers, highlighting the many drawbacks of such strategies, (3) the hegemony of

rankings as procedures of surveillance and control, and (4) the many criticisms posed against neoliberalisation in higher education and the possible alternatives looking to the future.

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# The Marketisation of Higher Education: Antecedents, Processes, and Outcomes

*Kimmo Alajoutsijärvi, Ilan Alon, and Rómulo Pinheiro*

## 1 INTRODUCTION

Contemporary universities are increasingly market-oriented, and invest heavily in marketing activities, such as branding, advertising, and student satisfaction surveys. This marketisation is accompanied by commercial rhetoric, students as empowered customers, learning experience management, tuition as an investment, and a focus on excellence. Marketisation is closely connected to accountability, which requires institutions and individuals to report on an expanding range of key performance indicators. These are designed to demonstrate value to students and taxpayers alike

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(Hemsley-Brown & Oplatka, 2006; Vos & Pages, 2020). Indeed, in an era dominated by marketisation, education leaders believe that they can promote their universities as the very best, most entrepreneurial, most innovative, and world class (Alvesson, 2013; Alvesson & Gabriel, 2016).

This chapter explores the ideological antecedents, processes, and outcomes of the marketisation of higher education (HE), with an emphasis on business schools in particular. Marketisation has justified the emergence of new micro-level routines, taken-for granted rules, and rhetoric, plus macro-level norms, values, and expectations, all of which are shared, cultivated, and sometimes resisted by the members of academic institutions. More specifically, we address the following questions:

- Which kinds of ideologies have enabled the emergence of the marketisation of higher education?
- What are the processes of marketisation of higher education?
- What are the outcomes of the marketisation of higher education?

In this chapter, we argue that the ideological roots of marketisation of higher education are neoliberalism and managerialism. In particular, business schools have been focal actors in spreading these ideologies in their teaching, research, and organisational practices, since they are (unsurprisingly) the most corporate-like actors (Alvesson & Gabriel, 2016) in the academic sphere.

Neoliberalism and managerialism are seemingly compatible ideologies due to similar rhetoric, although their world-views are somewhat different: neoliberalism is focused on economics and politics, while managerialism deals with organisations and management (Klikauer, 2013, p. 5). Neoliberalism has many branches and practices, but at its core it is focused on the promotion of free markets, which are believed to be the best system for societies due to their presumed ability to increase efficiency and responsiveness to consumer choice by enabling competition, and by producing optimal societal welfare (Smith, 2010).

Managerialism emphasises the notion that managers have the right to lead, and consequently that it is crucial to remove barriers to their leadership by tackling, for example, employee resistance (Klikauer, 2013). This ideology assumes a similarity of organisations and industries, wherein global corporations, regional universities, and kindergartens alike are subject to the same universal management practices. These ideologies



**Fig. 1** Analytical model (*Source* Authors)

of neoliberalism and managerialism are foundational to business school teaching, despite the fact that their underpinnings can be argued to be both intellectually dysfunctional and empirically incorrect (Crouch, 2011).

The chapter continues with a discussion of the theory of Scandinavian New Institutionalism in the context of higher education, explaining how ideologies spread across nations and fields through adoption and adaptation. It then elaborates the ideologies of neoliberalism and managerialism, and their relation to New Public Management (NPM). The chapter continues by elucidating the processes which are related to marketisation, namely commodification, corporatisation, and de-professionalisation. It then enumerates the various outcomes of the marketisation of higher education. Finally, the chapter concludes with suggestions for future research. The chapter mirrors an analytical approach (see Fig. 1) which depicts the relationship between the antecedents, processes, and outcomes of the marketisation of higher education.

## 2 SCANDINAVIAN NEW INSTITUTIONALISM

Within the social sciences, institutional scholars have long been interested in investigating the role which rules (both formal and informal) play in the behaviour of social actors (Meyer & Rowan, 1977; Powell & DiMaggio, 1991). Proponents of the so-called Scandinavian version of new institutionalism (SNI) suggest that hegemonic ideas and ideologies travel over time and space (Sahlin-Andersson & Engwall, 2002; Sahlin & Wedlin, 2008; Alajoutsijärvi, Eriksson, & Tikkanen, 2001; Alajoutsijärvi, Juusola, & Lamberg, 2014; Alajoutsijärvi, Juusola, & Siltaoja, 2015). Advocates of a world society view argue for convergence and isomorphism (Czarniawska-Joerges & Guje, 2005; Drori et al., 2006). Consider

the Association to Advance Collegiate School of Business (AACSB), a business school accrediting agency which is located in Tampa, Florida, which is one such international institution which pushes for isomorphic and imitative practices among business schools worldwide (Alajoutsijärvi, Kettunen, & Sohlo, 2018). SNI, on the contrary, contends that when global ideas spread, they are contextualised or translated. In other words, despite the prevalence of global templates for designing organisations and for organising activities, actors are active (rather than passive) agents in adapting them to local circumstances.

One reason for this adaptation is that hegemonic ideas like markets, competition, and excellence act as general templates or archetypes (Greenwood & Hinings, 1993), rather than as concrete blueprints for how to solve specific problems. Even so, the carriers or sources of such ideas vary (Sahlin-Andersson & Engwall, 2002). Some ideas are promoted and diffused by governmental agencies, including supra-national agents like the European Union, the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), and the World Bank (Ramirez et al., 2016). Key influencers such as media outlets and personalities, consultancy companies, and even academics (many based at business schools) play an important role in diffusion (adoption) and localisation (adaptation) processes (Beerens, 2010). Professional groups and associations, together with formal and informal leaders, are also important agents in this respect, not least when it comes to adapting or translating these ideas locally (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983).

SNI pays particular attention to three interrelated aspects: (1) how and why ideas become widely spread, (2) how ideas are translated as they flow from a global sphere into specific local contexts, and (3) local consequences for processes of organising (Sahlin & Wedlin, 2008). Three factors are salient in the adoption and adaptation of global ideas. The first is legitimacy. When adopting hegemonic ideas from their external environment, as ‘fashion followers’ (Sahlin & Wedlin, 2008), individuals and organisations tend to adopt ‘appropriate’ behaviours underpinned by a ‘logic of appropriateness’, by matching existing rules with specific circumstances and socio-cultural contexts. Second, there is a dynamic tension between two contradictory forces, imitation (isomorphism) (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983) and differentiation (polymorphism) (Fleming & Lee, 2009). Imitation is mediated and constrained by how local and national actors identify with the original motives and aims which are associated with the travelling idea. Local agents tend to adopt ideas which are



normatively close to their world-views, or which emanate from national contexts which are viewed as similar, as is the case with the Nordic countries (Gornitzka & Maassen, 2011). Variations in contextual circumstances (socio-cultural, organisational, and political economy), including actors' own cognitive (mis-)understandings of such ideas, also known as 'bounded rationality' (Simon, 1991), together with the need for developing a distinct profile of identity (standing within the field, for example), lead to differentiation. Third is mediation, which plays an important role in the form of the translation and editing of ideas. Studies have shown that what is translated from one local context to another is not an idea or practice per se, but rather specific accounts and materialisations (Huisman et al., 2002; Pinheiro & Stensaker, 2014; Sahlin & Wedlin, 2008). Stated differently, global ideas are locally adapted—not simply adopted passively (Beerrens, 2010; Hüther & Krücken, 2016).

One of the primary drivers for convergence is the adoption of similar policy instruments at the national level. An emphasis on research excellence and global competitiveness has led countries across the world to adopt policies which are aimed at the concentration of resources (people and funds) in a handful of selected universities—the so-called world-class universities (Pinheiro, 2015). This concentration of resources, in turn, implies that national systems which were historically characterised by high levels of horizontal diversity—providers with a variety of functions or missions—are now converging towards a unitary model of higher education which is centred on the research-intensive university (Mohrman et al., 2008) with vertical forms of differentiation (Cantwell, Mergison, & Smolentseva, 2018). This convergence is aided by the diffusion of market-based mechanisms, such as output-based funding, bibliometrics, and world rankings, all of which promote monolithic and decontextualised notions of quality and excellence (Hazelkorn et al., 2018; Ramirez et al., 2016). These mechanisms are also visible in national systems, as is the case of the Nordic countries, where equity and egalitarianism have historically been valued (Geschwind & Pinheiro, 2017; Pinheiro et al. 2019). The intergovernmental Bologna Process, which is aimed at establishing a common European Area for both higher education and research, has led to in the widespread adoption of similar policies and instruments across the world (Gornitzka, 2006; Witte, 2006).

A number of studies support the notion that convergence or adoption of global templates occurs alongside (and in some cases is mediated by) adaptation processes, thereby leading to differentiation. The Bologna

Process is a case in point. Despite the adoption of similar measures in the realms of quality assurance, credit transfers, programme structuring, and so on, national systems still retain some of their historically distinctive characteristics (Musselin, 2009; Witte, 2008). This is due, in part, to the historical processes which are not easy to reverse or de-institutionalise (Krücken, 2007). It is also due to the fact that national systems, and their respective university providers, are nested or embedded in multiple policy spheres (Hüther & Krücken, 2016), each of which presents local actors with a specific subset of challenges which require distinct strategic responses. Berg and Pinheiro (2016), for example, shed light on how managers throughout the Norwegian public sector (universities included) respond to contradictory logics which arise from the co-existence of old professional norms and new managerial norms. They do so by resorting to hybridisation and loose coupling as strategic mechanisms (Oliver, 1991). Similarly, despite the common goals of excellence and competition within the university sector, substantial variations exist with regard to the particular measures which are undertaken at the local level (Beerens, 2009, 2010; Pinheiro & Stensaker, 2014).

### 3 NEOLIBERALISM, MANAGERIALISM, AND NEW PUBLIC MANAGEMENT

An ideology is a collection of ideas, a perspective on reality, and a set of practices which begin to dominate the social thinking of a particular group. According to Klikauer (2013), “[a]n ideology can be thought of as a comprehensive vision, as a way of looking at things” (p. 3). The main function of an ideology is to reproduce and expand its material existence, which occurs through powerful superstructures in a society (institutions, for example), but which also requires the support of the media and political parties, which have the ability to ‘cultivate’ certain belief systems and morals in society. Consequently, an ideology has a tendency to become ‘blind’ and is subject to distortions, because any one-sided explanation reflects only part of the truth. As such, it is, in a sense, false (see Hall [1986], for example).

Ideologies, therefore, prevent a multifaceted critical review, by silencing other ways of thinking and reasoning. They obstruct the understanding of complex reality and fundamental issues, because they aim to legitimise both the means and goals which they advocate (Klikauer,

2013). And they aim to maintain or change power relations. In universities, for example, the previously dominant position of the professoriate has increasingly been supplanted by administrators and empowered student-customers (Ginsberg, 2011).

### 3.1 *Neoliberalism*

Neoliberalism is an ideology which centres on economics, society, and politics (Crouch, 2011; Klikauer, 2013). Its pillars are the deregulation of markets, and the creation of new markets which had not previously existed, based on the belief that markets lead to optimal social welfare and the privatisation of social tasks. Neoliberalism, therefore, supports a society of individuals in which market relations and individualistic consumer decisions prevail. Citizens are, in principle, well-informed consumers who, through the price mechanism, reward the best producers and punish the weak producers. The state is considered a threat to freedom and private ownership, and as such, its role as a regulator ought to be minimised (Locke & Spender, 2011).

In neoliberalism, beliefs about private companies and public organisations are black and white. Indeed, private companies are powerful, agile, and customer-oriented pillars of well-being, while public organisations are inefficient, bureaucratic, and slow to change... although to be fair, this dichotomy is both intellectually unconvincing and empirically untrue (Bozeman & Bretschneider, 1994). The only thing which connects private companies is that they are very different (Crouch, 2011). The same statement is true for public organisations (Bozeman, 1987).

Although theories based on neoliberalism can hardly explain, let alone predict, social changes or economic disruptions, they have become a convenient argument for political decision-making (Crouch, 2011; Kotz, 2015). When there are problems with public services, for example, the ready-made answer is privatisation. One of the secrets of the success of neoliberalism is that it was applied in the 1980s, during which time countries experienced strong economic growth. Failed applications of neoliberalism during that period have either been forgotten, or explained as ineffective implementations of the ideology (Crouch, 2011).

As an ideology, the pervasive and hegemonic influence of neoliberalism has gone uncontested in the post-WWII period, most notably following the collapse of the former Soviet Union which had adopted the alternate ideology of state control. Neoliberal ideals have been prevalent in

public policy, resulting in a series of reforms which have changed traditional (old) public management which is characterised by the prevalence of rules, hierarchies, and professional autonomy (Christensen & Lægread, 2010; Hood, 1991). Similarly, neoliberalism has not bypassed even the so-called communist countries, such as China, whose leading business schools are members of the AACSB and follow a similar curricular style, structure, and content, which are based on neoliberal ideology.

### 3.2 *Managerialism*

Managerialism, as an ideology, is a product of the economic, political, and societal circumstances of the early twentieth century United States. It originated in F. W. Taylor's ideas and practices of scientific management. It proposes, in the name of efficiency and rationalisation of industrial production, a division of work between the 'brain' and the 'brawn' (Clegg, 2014; Khurana, 2007; Klikauer, 2013; Locke & Spender, 2011). Scientific management had profound implications on the hierarchical structure of organisations, legitimising and allowing managerial authority to emerge (Khurana, 2007).

The modern Master of Business Administration (MBA) has its roots in managerialism, although recent, critical accounts suggest that business schools have promoted some kind of misinterpreted Taylorism which has been considered 'management gone awry'. Khurana (2007), for example, argued that the subjugation of labour was never Taylor's intent, but instead is an interpretation of Taylor by the emerging professional caste of managers who were also the main advocates of the establishment of business schools (Locke & Spender, 2011). For Clegg (2014), managerialism is a later corruption or distortion of the study of management. In Locke and Spender's (2011) historical account, managerialism is considered an over-abstraction of management which is generically applicable de-contextually to all forms of private and public organisations. Klikauer (2013) takes an even more critical tone, considering management as something which mutated into an ideological operation, got its institutional expression in business schools, expanded to all sectors of human society, and became a full-fledged ideology, belief-system, and false consciousness under which the majority of people in the modern world suffer.

The central doctrine of managerialism is that of decontextualisation—all organisations and industries are assumed to be similar, and

consequently they can, and ought to be, subjected to similar universal management ideas, practices, and methods. Accordingly, universities can and ought to be managed as corporate-like entities, following the mantra of ‘business as usual’ (Deem & Brehony, 2005). Studies from around the world have shown the prevalence of managerialism at various levels of higher education, from the adoption of performance-based funding mechanisms, to changes in collegial structures towards a stronger concentration of decision-making, to shifting working conditions for academics (Deem, 2001; Pinheiro et al., 2019; Santiago & Carvalho, 2008).

As in neoliberalism, the rhetoric of managerialism includes competition, economic growth, efficient markets, privatisation, customer satisfaction, and people as a resource. According to Kilkauer (2013), however, managerialism is a monopoly—or at least a blue lagoon—where the hero leaders have the space to romp and apply their effective doctrines. Managerialism, like any ideology, has no other options. The management system which is offered by business schools ignores almost all other possible forms of organisation (Parker, 2018). And it follows, logically, that society and its institutions ought to be governed by the principles of managerialism (planning, organising, leading, and controlling)... and by managers, of course.

### 3.3 *New Public Management*

Starting in the 1980s with the Reagan and Thatcher administrations, many people began to view government as the problem rather than the solution. Markets came to the fore as the most efficient ways of organising activities, both within and across sectors of the economy. As a result, a new ideology emerged, whose goal was to reform the public sector. Known as New Public Management or NPM (Hood, 1991), it relied on markets and their associated mechanisms (competition, incentivisation, decentralisation, disaggregation, delegated authority, ex-post means of control, and so on) to transform public agencies and/or public services in the image of corporations (Christensen & Læg Reid, 2010; Pollitt & Bouckaert, 2011). NPM adheres to the notion that ‘perfect’ markets, from a neoliberal standpoint, are characterised by both the free flow of information and the free competition for customers. In short, NPM combines neoliberalism and managerialism into one seemingly coherent policy framework which, its proponents argue, can be universally applied

to any sector of the economy or organisational realm, independently of time, space, scale, and cultural attributes.

Applied to higher education specifically, NPM has resulted in universities being transformed into corporate-like entities (Rosinger, Taylor, Coco, & Slaughter, 2016). Indeed, the notion of a perfect market has shaped the criteria of reform (policy) agendas of many higher education systems worldwide since the early 1990s: efficiency, autonomy, and accountability (Amaral, Meek, Larsen, & Lars, 2003; Pinheiro et al., 2019). Business schools in particular have been considered crucial sites for commercial investment and for gaining a national competitive advantage (Alvesson & Kärreman, 2017). Students, who were previously considered younger members of an academic community, have been re-cast as consumers, who shop for and purchase experiences and employability. They are viewed as rational decision-makers who are capable of making informed choices among higher education institutions (Rosinger et al., 2016). And their association with a reputable, highly ranked university transforms them (and professors) into branded products (Huzzard & Johnston, 2017). It is no surprise, therefore, that universities have engaged in a variety of marketing activities, including image-building, branding, and hard-selling.

A major dilemma, however, is that higher education systems are not perfect markets but ‘quasi-markets’ (Teixeira et al., 2014). Indeed, students have imperfect information about the services which are on offer, and there are structural (geography, for example) and cultural (language, for example) factors which create barriers to students. Individualised learning both promotes and naturalises lifelong re-skilling, resulting in a flexible, but fragmented and insecure labour market. Other consequences of NPM-inspired reforms include: (1) a general decline in trust between political structures and higher education institutions and professors, and also between professors and administrators within higher education institutions; (2) gaming of the system (reporting to the scorecard and managing for what is being measured only); and (3) centralisation of decision-making structures (managerialism) and a concomitant decline of collegiality (Hazelkorn et al., 2018; Salminen, 2003; Santiago & Carvalho, 2008).

## 4 MARKETISATION PROCESSES

The marketisation of higher education which has resulted from the adoption/adaptation of New Public Management also involves three interrelated processes: commodification, corporatisation, and de-professionalisation.

### 4.1 *Commodification*

The commodification of education refers to “the deliberate transformation of the educational process into a commodity, predominantly for the purpose of commercial transactions” (Noble, 2009, p. 3). Commodification is part of marketisation because, without the commodification of higher education, the creation of educational mass markets is not possible. Commodification has traditionally spread through vocational training, in which knowledge is designed to become operational in a context which is determined by someone other than the trained person (Noble, 2009). According to this thinking, knowledge becomes a product for individual students to consume, rather than an interactive process between students and teachers, which is the traditional view in academic education (Marginson, 2013). A general claim is that, whereas vocational training can be commodified, holistic learning and academic education is a process which necessarily entails an interpersonal interaction between teachers and learners, leading to students’ new awareness of self (Noble, 2009).

Knowledge in commodification is perceived as a storable, standardised, and tradable product which makes it possible to differentiate content providers and users (Marginson, 2013). As Naidoo and Jamieson (2005) stated bluntly, “[t]hese new identities and rationalities assumed by students have potential to transform learning into a process of picking up, digesting and reproducing what students perceive of as an unconnected series of short, neatly packaged bytes of information” (p. 273). Marketisation also encourages content selling because it expands the market for those people who are able to create easily deliverable content. Naturally, there must be institutions and consumers who are ready to buy such products because they are not able to produce versions of their own.

## 4.2 *Corporatisation*

Corporatisation has enabled universities to behave like for-profit companies, fuelled by (and fuelling) growing educational markets worldwide. As a result, academic institutions are perceived as more effective and innovative, and as possessing a higher management quality, than inflexible traditional universities, regardless of the truth of these beliefs (see Ginsberg [2011] and Tuchman [2009], for example). The market-based business school model is increasingly focused on top-down management, for-profit activities, and prestige-building through measured excellence (Alajoutsijärvi, Juusola, & Siltaoja, 2013; Slaughter & Rhoades, 2004), by enabling an increasing number of non-academic professionals with a career manager mentality to participate in university decision-making (Ginsberg, 2011).

Business schools are the forerunners of this change due to their neoliberal ethos in teaching, and their managerial approaches in research. Corporatisation has meant that the administrators (as opposed to professors in the traditional model) are capable of purposively managing the business school's culture, values, processes, and intellectual products (Kettunen, 2013; Alajoutsijärvi, Kettunen, & Tikkanen, 2012; Alajoutsijärvi et al., 2018). This is threatening the professional autonomy of those who research and teach. It has been argued, for example, that research has changed from being curiosity-driven to market-driven, creating a shift in focus from a researcher's initial pursuit of new discoveries to CV-building, where the number of publications overrides teaching, service activities, and academic citizenship (Rhoades, 2014).

The corporatisation of the university sector is associated with the knowledge revolution which has changed the nature of work from industrial production to knowledge professions. Because no country can afford to lose its share of the global market, every respectable knowledge economy ought to increase its commitment to the educational system (Grubb & Lazerson, 2005). The expansion of a higher education system is an expensive investment which taxpayers are reluctant to cover, and, therefore, universities must be corporatised, audited, evaluated, and managed.



### 4.3 *De-professionalisation*

Research-intensive business schools have traditionally been professor-centred, bottom-up bureaucracies whose members considered them safe places for exploring, learning, and developing. Gradually, administrators who previously occupied a support function, and who performed activities which served academic research and teaching (Kettunen, 2013; Tuchman, 2009; Alajoutsijärvi et al., 2012; Alajoutsijärvi et al., 2018), are now in the position of power. Indeed, the de-professionalisation of academia involves the loss of collegiality, and a power shift from the professoriate to administrators (Deem 2008). Consequently, de-professionalisation redefines professionalism in a university context; professionalising management and administrative positions leads to de-professionalising academic positions.

Marketisation enhances situations in which particular managers can rise to positions of power which few dare to question (Parker, 2014). This situation is similar to the corporate world, where celebrity CEOs play starring roles. Critics are disarmed, marginalised, and dismissed as fellow passengers, who dare not to stand in the way of inevitable progress (Parker, 2014). De-professionalisation marks a drastic change from the past, in which collective governance of a faculty by its members is a key feature of universities. Indeed, in addition to mastering special theories, having autonomy and control over duties, being motivated by intrinsic rewards and a commitment to the discipline, and holding colleagues accountable previously characterised the academic profession (Kettunen, 2013; Roberts & Donahue, 2000; Alajoutsijärvi et al., 2012; Alajoutsijärvi et al., 2018).

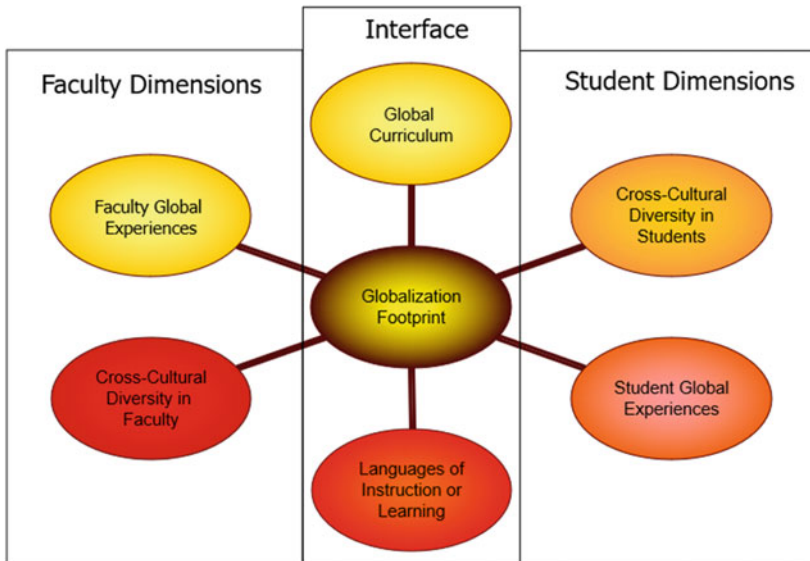
When professors become the hired hands of university corporations, they lose control over their work, which included nurturing the next generation of citizens. As faculty members' sense of professionalism erodes, there is a high risk that they will simply mimic and perform the rituals of corporatised universities, which value them merely as profit-making servants rather than as stewards of society (Kettunen, 2013).

## 5 OUTCOMES

The marketisation of higher education has also resulted in certain outcomes, both intentional and unintentional. One far-reaching outcome of the marketisation of higher education is the rise of a global marketplace

for students, professors, funding, and prestige. Indeed, internationalisation is a market-driven activity which is supported by academic and administrative activities in the university.

The internationalisation of universities, and of business schools in particular, has manifested itself in a number of ways (Lumby & Foskett, 2015). Alon and McAllaster (2009) suggest that there are distinct dimensions of internationalisation in business schools: the internationalisation of students, for example, the internationalisation of professors, student recruitment (also called internationalisation at home), the internationalisation of the curriculum, and the language of instruction (see Fig. 2). To these dimensions, we also add the internationalisation of research, which is another important component of business schools. We argue that internationalisation is hardly optional in today's competitive higher education market, as students seek international skills and capabilities and, in the case of business education, an MBA or other business degree which can get them a job.



**Fig. 2** The Internationalisation of Universities (*Source* Adapted from Alon & McAllaster, 2009)

Professors are at the centre of all international activity, because they represent the ‘supply-side’ of the educational process, are the core knowledge disseminators, and are an essential part of the university’s existence. A professor’s own international experience ought to be part of his or her identity, experience, and knowledge base. To become more international, a professor might travel or work abroad, engage in international projects, or collaborate with international colleagues. In one response from Hong Kong to Alon and McAllaster’s survey, it was suggested that the provenance of a professor’s Ph.D. degree, especially if it is the United States, is a feature of the professor’s international profile. Accordingly, institutions of higher education, in search of top talent, recruit in the global marketplace. [Akadeus.com](http://Akadeus.com), professional associations, the Chronicle of Higher Education, and other publications, both online and offline, specialise in linking international job applicants with jobs around the world. Internationally oriented professors, especially those who speak one of the major international languages, and English in particular, can take jobs and teach (in English) in almost any university around the world.

Several other measures of professor internationalisation have been proposed, including international Ph.D.s, international diversity (ethnic, country, racial, religious, etc.), international travel (during sabbaticals or on projects, for example), international profiles of star professors, and both the recency and frequency of travel (on Erasmus programmes, for example). It ought to be noted that the internationalisation of professors does not necessarily provide a micro representation of the world, but instead of the variations from region to region. A Norwegian university, for example, might have more German professors, while an Israeli university might have more professors with American Ph.D.s. The exact configuration of the internationalisation depends on cultural, administrative, geographic, and economic distances, and on the geopolitical and social positioning of the home country. Anglo-Saxon countries, for example, tend to attract more international talent.

Student internationalisation represents the ‘demand-side’ of internationalisation, but due to the interactive and social structure of education, it also shapes the global footprint of a university. The term ‘internationalisation at home’ has been coined to denote, and encourage the existence of international students, as part of the global educational milieu which universities try to develop. In many ways, student internationalisation mirrors that of the faculty overall. Students can participate in various international programmes, even if they are local, and consequently add an

international dimension to the university. Students can participate in study abroad programmes, for example, Erasmus programmes, and dual-degree programmes. These initiatives not only increase the knowledge base of students, but also enrich the environment and knowledge which students bring back home to the classroom. Additionally, universities attract international students directly by offering programmes in English, for example, and by offering scholarships or discounts to the best students from all over the world. In some universities, sports also offer an opportunity to recruit talented international students.

The international student dimension can be measured using international student diversity, and participation in international activities, both incoming and outgoing. As an example, students might demand programmes in countries where employers seek talent. Historically, China has attracted the attention of students in North America, and in response, many universities have established exchanges, joint degrees, language programmes, and intensive experiences (Alon & Van Fleet, 2009). The distribution of international students and programmes is not equal around the world. Certain high-demand countries (India, for example) and certain other countries (developing countries, for example) might yield the most students for universities in developed countries, which are market-oriented and financially supportive.

The interaction between students and professors clearly occurs in the classroom, but more broadly, through the curriculum and language of instruction. These elements also represent the internationalisation and market-orientation of the institution. Universities which offer curricula in English are more likely to attract international students and professors. Copenhagen Business School, for example, recently cut many English-language programmes, thereby limiting its internationalisation. Additionally, the curriculum makes it possible to discuss global issues (global warming, geopolitical tensions, and global economics, for example). International issue-based courses provide forums for these discussions. In many universities around the world, the curriculum is partly or wholly managed by governments or accrediting agencies. In business education in particular, the AACSB has had great influence in ensuring that business schools give sufficient exposure to global issues and international business. Many business schools responded with international business degree programmes, international business departments, and international business courses. The AACSB has also pushed business schools to be more

accountable for high-quality research, which implies research in refereed journals which are published by Anglo-American companies.

The internationalisation of research, is another important component of an institution's global footprint. Research is at the core of knowledge creation, and it is a primary activity for many professors. Research can be basic or applied, domestic or international in scope, and diverse in authorship. There are several questions of research internationalisation: (1) What is the composition of the authorship team? (2) What is the source of funding? (3) What is the national or international audience? (4) How international is the topic? (5) Will it be published in an international outlet? (6) Will it be published in English? While each of these questions can be discussed in detail, as far as this chapter is concerned, suffice it to say that the internationalisation of research is a measurable and important component of a university's reputation, and consequently of its marketability and international profile.

Beyond internationalisation, the marketisation of higher education has resulted in numerous outcomes (many of which were unintentional), which we have categorised according to (1) organisation, (2) research, and (3) education. Table 1 summarises these outcomes; select outcomes are discussed below.

The emerging marketised university model is typically more focused on profitability, top-down governance, formal structures and procedures, and a customer interface. The money-driven university combines top-down control with outward emphasis on competition and the third mission. There is dissipation of the collegial model, and more centralisation of decision-making in a smaller subset of formal leaders, many of whom are not directly involved with core tasks. This, in turn, results in increasing tensions between the academic and managerial/market logics, leading to low morale and a decline in trust among academic and administrative employees.

The marketised university is more inclined to exploit shorter-term profit-making and brand up-grading opportunities, rather than thinking about long-term consequences. In many instances, the third mission and corresponding outreach activities become a means of securing new revenue streams—strategic opportunities rather than parts of a genuine commitment to addressing societal problems.

The field level tendency where winners tend to win more increases positional competition among universities (see Alajoutsijärvi et al. [2018], for example). In essence, positional competition is a competition over

Table 1 The outcomes of marketisation

<i>Dimension</i>	<i>Practices</i>	<i>Impact</i>
Organisation	Governance	<p>Mission: from long-term meaningful existence to mid-term measured prestige</p> <p>Primary decision-maker: top management and administrators; from professional bureaucracy to corporatised organisation</p> <p>Board of trustees as an intermediating network, moving academic science in entrepreneurial directions (Alajoutsijärvi &amp; Kettunen, 2016)</p> <p>Everything is top-down manageable; collegial organising has less value</p> <p>Increasing de-coupling between internal (unit) structures and the goals of the university and other faculties as a whole—institutionalisation process—business schools gain a life of their own, relatively oblivious to what is going on with the larger university in which they are embedded (Selznick, 1996)</p> <p>Status and market-image becomes a goal in itself rather than a means to an end—recruit talented students, staff, and engage in meaningful research</p> <p>Image building and branding work have become central in the absence of tangible evidence for quality inspection</p> <p>Many of the results (especially top publications) of faculty members are branding work</p>
	Market-oriented activities, status, and reputation building	

<i>Dimension</i>	<i>Practices</i>	<i>Impact</i>
	Competition and competitive actions	<p>Positional competition both nationally and internationally (Alajoutsijärvi et al., 2018)</p> <p>Heavy overexpansion of higher education, massification, blurring the lines between traditional research universities, and more vocational institutions</p> <p>International accreditations are increasingly important for mid-range business schools</p> <p>Ranking position has become an end in itself, which encourages 'non-constructive' zero-sum games along the greasy ranking poles (Alvesson &amp; Kärreman, 2017)</p> <p>The lack of regional funding creates tension between local engagement and global outlook, as most funding opportunities are located at the national and international levels</p> <p>Instrumentalist views on societal impact imply that a trade-off between local relevance and global excellence needs to be reached, which creates new tensions and volitions</p> <p>Manageable academic labour</p> <p>Promotions depend solely on attracting corporate funding and publications in top-ranked journals run by self-supporting editors and reviewers</p> <p>Recruitment of research stars, often with little expertise on the teaching front, to secure competitive funding</p> <p>Recruitment of part-time inexpensive faculty members to teach heavily along with recruitment of top researchers with a minimal teaching load</p> <p>Tensions between globally connected academics (involved with core research projects) and localists (the latter tend to do the bulk of teaching). The rise of 'we' ('losers') vs. 'them' ('winners') cultures</p>
	The third mission: regional and national activities	
Research	Faculty	

(continued)

Table 1 (continued)

<i>Dimension</i>	<i>Practices</i>	<i>Impact</i>
Education	<p>Research and teaching activities</p> <p>Students</p>	<p>The rise of a strategic science regime Tension arises between the need to secure legitimacy within science/academia, through academic drift (Kyvik, 2007), and the expectations of funders, employers, and other external stakeholders regarding the practical uses of research findings</p> <p>From active co-learners to empowered customers to students as brand aiming to become the future generation of executives and managers, career, power, and money</p> <p>No self-imposed interest in theory, ethics, or wisdom, but more interest in business fads, hot issues, and sexy topics</p> <p>Students face accelerating credential inflation (Collins, 2002). A degree from the right institution is crucial</p> <p>The status and reputation of the institution, leading to market value, is more important than the teaching quality (Marginson, 2013)</p> <p>Building and boosting CVs is more important than learning</p> <p>Strongly dictated by managerial and administrative interests</p> <p>From being a temple of knowledge to a factory for the production of credentials (Alvesson &amp; Kärreman, 2017)</p> <p>Universities sell a certification of completion for a certain number of credit units as a degree, which may result in superficial learning</p>
	Curriculum	



better evaluations regarding an institution's status, reputation, and brand, which, in aggregate, are hoped to lead to a higher rank-order (Bitektine 2011; Alajoutsijärvi et al. 2018). Due to its zero-sum game nature, positional competition elevates the risk that achieving higher ranking placements becomes the end in itself. From the societal point of view, this is far away from the original purpose of a university. It even matches poorly with the more modern expectations of higher education as a partner in the creation of knowledge societies.

Marketisation also leads to the strategic power being centralised with administrators, at the expense of academic collegiality. Naturally, critics of the traditional university model argue that the centralisation of strategic power subordinates knowledge to the institution's profit-generation and brand-building (Tuchman, 2009).

Direct public funding has been decreasing steadily in many countries, resulting in more corporate and competition-driven research. When universities become dependent on research contracts with the private sector, they become more unlikely to risk revenues by publishing pure academic or critical research about business (Alajoutsijärvi & Kettunen, 2016). As a corollary, pure or fundamental research is increasingly labelled as 'curious', which might even imply frivolous. Research which is critical of business is often derided as destructive or Neo-Marxist. Applied or commercial research, on the contrary, is in turn increasingly labeled as strategic because of its potential to generate private revenues and research contracts with corporations (Rhoades, 2014). The rise of a strategic science regime (Rip, 2004) results in the concentration of key resources (people and money) in a few select, strategic areas or themes. The logic is often to support already-existing capabilities (exploitation logic) rather than nurturing new, promising but uncertain avenues (exploration logic).

The new marketing practices which include rankings and branding have created students who feel like empowered customers. Starting in the 1980s, the media began publishing university rankings, which became an established part of higher education marketing. With business schools in particular, the Financial Times achieved a new-found global importance in institutional brand-building and student and staff recruitment. Rankings have strengthened the marketisation of higher education—studying in a highly ranked, reputable school is considered valuable for many students. Other students who are more interested in having a good time while at university can make a decision which is based on the Princeton Review's

annual list of ‘top party schools’, where learning is seemingly optional (Alajoutsijärvi et al. 2013).

## 6 CONCLUSION

Higher education around the world has been substantially transformed as a result of increasing enrolment (massification), deregulation, and the adoption of market-based mechanisms for steering the sector, and for governing its various institutional players. Business schools have been forerunners in spreading the idea of the marketisation of higher education. Arguably, business schools have been rather successful at translating the ‘market recipe’ into the context of a changing and growing marketplace for students, staff, and worldwide prestige.

Neoliberalism, with its focus on transforming higher education into a global marketplace (moving it from a public good to a private commodity) and marketisation, and its interrelated processes of commodification, corporatisation, and de-professionalisation, have had a profound effect on the ways in which universities are funded, managed, and marketed. Mimetic isomorphism or imitation have led to increasing homogenisation, with the missions, values, practices, and curricula of business schools increasingly resembling one another. As a result, the governance of higher education affairs has become more centralised (and consequently less democratic), and the relationships among staff members, and between the staff and students, have become transactional, and based on measurable outputs and contracts. This, in turn, has had a negative effect on the general level of trust in universities by society and its multiple stakeholders.

As market dimensions move from a means to an end—a necessary evil—into an end in itself, the traditional public and moral mission of universities has become diluted within the large array of short-term strategic priorities of managers, funders, and star professors. Yet, as we move into the third decade of the twenty-first century, and as markets and their underpinning neoliberal ideology are increasingly questioned in tandem with rising inequality (another side effect of the unregulated market), the extent to which universities will be able to transform themselves in ways which increase their legitimacy and long-term viability, while actively contributing to a more sustainable, equitable, and tolerant global society, remains to be seen. Future studies, therefore, could explore how universities respond to emerging civic agendas, including the

opening of academia (the professoriate) to under-represented minority groups, such as women, ethnic minorities, and people from lower socio-economic backgrounds and peripheral geographies.

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# Emerging Ideas of ‘New Governance’ in Higher Education

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## 1 INTRODUCTION

For three decades, there has been an ongoing discussion about the marketisation of higher education (see Brown, 2010; Dill, 1997; Jongbloed, 2003, for example). Researchers have been worried about the deteriorating effect of private sector management initiatives and methods in higher education settings. In particular, some have voiced concerns over the commercialisation of higher education, and how this can be seen as a violation of academic values. Unfortunately, the debate has largely been one-sided, and regardless of the harsh criticism, no constructive

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options for ‘hard managerialisms’ have been proposed. Meanwhile, many of the aims of newer higher education policies, such as internationalisation, the acquisition of external funding, educational export, lifelong learning, stakeholder relevance, and student-centredness, call for new types of management practices in higher education.

Pinheiro et al. (2019) discussed recent higher education trends, and how a strong transnational process and policy convergence is taking place in new public management reforms, for example—the introduction of performance-based funding and governance and management structures which emphasise efficiency, effectiveness, and accountability. Pinheiro et al. (2019) summarised these reforms, including the similarities in international policy promotion within the field of higher education, for example, the proposals and agreements of the Bologna process, and the ‘Modernisation Agenda’ of the European Commission. Although the setting is Nordic in Pinheiro et al. (2019), the changes regarding new public management are also promoted by global actors, such as the OECD and the World Bank, thereby making these changes a global phenomenon (Pinheiro et al., 2019). Pressure for international excellence drives the higher education sector to participate in international markets, and new public management-type policy reforms and tools have been introduced to higher education. At the same time, universities at the national level have been working locally with many stakeholders, collaborating with each other, and following the expectations and regulations of national steering instruments.

To date, the new types of management practices in higher education settings have been approached mainly from the perspective of managerialism. The (critical) analyses of these practices have focused mainly on performance, efficiency, and accountability. The ‘new’ in new public management, however, is no longer new, and the societal structures and demands around higher education institutions are changing. Consequently, in recent years, ‘post-new public management’ management paradigms have been offered in the public administration literature.

Indeed, multiple conceptual and empirical attempts have been made to illustrate the successes and failures in new public management reforms. Greve’s (2015) typology, for example, organises these attempts into three variations: digital governance, collaborative governance, and public value management. Reiter and Klenk (2019) recently analysed 84 publications which discuss the concept of post-new public management, arguing that

public administration has entered an age of post-new public management, even though the new post-new public management ideas have been conceptualised and used in various ways. In higher education settings, for instance, Pekkola and Kivistö (2018) described the changes in higher education policy, and how they are aligned with new management ideas. Reale and Primeri (2015) have argued that major changes in the narrative of public administration regarding higher education after new public management are taking place through network governance and new public governance types of models (see Osborne, 2007, for example). Nevertheless, there have not been systematic attempts to analyse the higher education literature to map the development of the governance discourse.

We are interested in higher education from the viewpoint of the core university activities: education, research, innovation, and third mission-related services. According to Harisalo (as cited in Laitinen et al., 2013, p. 35), services, such as education or research, are abstract and processual. They are consumed during use and fundamentally different than goods. Griffiths, Kippin, and Stoker (2013) have discussed public services extensively, and argue that modern public services include the co-design, co-productions, and co-creation of value.

Services in the public sector—and in higher education—are complex in their goals, expectations, and pluralist value creation. In other words, higher education systems are service-dominant networks in which the actors co-produce learning, new knowledge, and innovations. Conceptualising higher education core activities (education, research, and third mission) as services helps in discussing these abstract activities with a more common vocabulary. And consequently, we are especially interested in the service dimension of higher education, and which kinds of implications this might have for public higher education as an international ‘business’. Thus, we find a major topic entering the academic discussions of higher education governance: the meaningfulness of seeing national higher education systems as public (and private) service systems. Public and private services are based on different goals and logical assumptions, and this view might also refer to the traditional debate of commercialisation, which juxtaposes higher education as a service type of product versus being a citizen’s right.

The objective of this chapter, therefore, *is to trace the emergence of post-new public management paradigms in higher education based on systematic literature review*. Understanding the latest conceptualising

of post-new public management paradigms is fundamental in comprehending how internationalising higher education systems are changing. We explore the use of the post-new public management vocabulary which is utilised in higher education research, by analysing the applications of the latest emerging paradigms of public administration, such as new public service (Denhardt & Denhardt, 2007), public value management (Stoker, 2006), managing publicness (Bozeman, 2007), and new public governance (Osborne, 2007, 2010). According to Greve (2015), all these emerging paradigms emphasise the creation of public value, the collaboration and inclusion (involvement) of different stakeholders, and the digitalisation and transparency of administrative practices. In summary, these emerging paradigms emphasise the changing role of managers, customers (citizens, students), and stakeholders, along with a new way of understanding public services. We aimed to reach our objective of the chapter in a twofold way: we conducted a systematic literature review and partook in the wider discussion of these paradigms by shining light on the findings of the review in the Discussion chapter.

## 2 PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION AND GOVERNANCE REFORMS

Higher education has a strong public administration base because almost all the activities of universities are based on legislation, are societal, and are within the public domain, even if universities have a unique role in society and have increasingly been under new public management and marketisation reforms. It is important to widen the aperture during these reforms and inspect higher education systems in their complexity of public and private interests in providing higher education services to society and their many stakeholders. To understand the context and steering forces of public higher education in the era of marketisation, a brief introduction of public administration reforms is presented. Both concepts—public administration and public management—are often used in public administration research, with public administration focusing more on the system level, and public management focusing more on the institutional level, although they do overlap.

The typical categorisation of public administration ideological models—or paradigms—starts with traditional public administration from the industrialisation period, new public management in the 1970s, and

the post-new public management paradigms, such as new public governance, in the 2000s. The characteristics and differences of these models, such as the values, goals, focus, ideal organisational form, resource allocation, and theoretical base which influence the managing, governance, and decision-making in public service have changed over time, and depend on the framework which is used. During these phases, there has been a processual change from government to governance. Several authors have already successfully analysed the key elements of these models, especially new public management (Diefenbach, 2009; Hood, 1991; Osborne, 2007; Vedung, 2010), and the traditional form of public administration with its transition from government to governance (Hood, 1991; Rhodes, 1997). According to Thomas (as cited in Rhodes, 1997), public administration was a “means of attaining a higher form of society... service to the community— supplying the public with quality goods and services... and a means of providing for the happiness and welfare of the worker through the supply of noneconomic incentives” (p. 167).

Rhodes (1997) also categorised at least six different uses of governance: governance as the minimal state, as corporate governance, as new public management, as good governance, as a socio-cybernetic system, and as self-organising networks. Extensive analysis and criticism of Rhodes’ categorisation has been made by Hughes (2010), who also provides an ontological overview of the concept of governance. Indeed, he highlights governance as focusing on running public and private organisations, steering and solving societal problems. Here, governance is a socially constructed activity of governing patterns of material practices, assumptions, values, beliefs, and so forth, or as Kooiman (1993) defines governance, the patterns or structures which emerge in a system of the interaction and intervention of many actors. We discuss governance, management, and steering broadly as models or concepts of governance, because these terms often overlap in higher education research. When we mention governance, it refers to the administration and management of higher education, and in some cases, if mentioned in the context of policy and decision-making, governance refers to the steering of a higher education system or institution.

Some authors (see Pollitt, 1990, for example) have warned of the over-generalisation of these management ideologies. Even though the most dominant management ideology is not the mindset of every manager in public administration, the most common management ideologies are nevertheless seen as normative aspects of managing. Osborne (2007,

2010) supported this view by emphasising the overlapping nature of normative management ideologies in public administration. In addition to public administration, new public management, and new public governance, several other concepts have been introduced to describe the changes in public management, including in higher education systems. In the next section, we provide an overview of new public management. Additionally, we briefly discuss new governance paradigms in the context of higher education and public administration before introducing the method used in the literature review and then progressing to the findings.

### 3 NEW PUBLIC MANAGEMENT

New public management has provided the ideational background of many recent public administration reforms which focus on intra-organisational effectiveness and competitiveness. Pollitt (1990) and Hood (1991) have provided comprehensive views on managerialism and new public management in European and Anglo-American contexts, respectively. Pollitt (1990) suggested that the British and Americans have changed their perspective of running public services significantly since the 1970s, introducing managerialism as the (then) new ideology entering public administration. This approach which was referred to as neo-Taylorism by Pollitt (1990) includes ideals on productivity, new technologies, division of the workforce in accordance with the ideal productivity rates, professionalisation of managers and management, and the empowerment of managers. Criticism of this paradigm has been strong both in public administration in general, and in the field of higher education management in particular. Hood (1991) suggested that new public management emphasises certain values such as frugality, austerity, and input-output efficiency, at the expense of other traditional public administration values such as rectitude, legitimacy, resilience, safety, and reliability.

Rhodes (as cited in Pollitt & Bouckaert, 2011, pp. 23–33) presented new public management as entering the public administration domain in three waves: (1) using managerialism and business administration tools in public administration, (2) introducing competition and creating (quasi-) markets in which public institutions can compete, and (3) introducing citizens' choice as consumers' choice which thereby emphasises service effectiveness. Diefenbach (2009) provided a comprehensive view of the core elements of new public management: business environment and strategic objectives; organisational structures and processes; performance

management and measurement systems; management and managers; and employees and corporate culture. Overall, new public management has been recognised as having a high level of common sense, meaning that many of its elements are taken for granted as basic truths. Indeed, it has become the norm in management to have increased concern over results, performance, and outcomes, and to have room for managers to manage public services regarding these concerns.

In the higher education literature, new public management is used as a contextual concept to describe the overall changes in the steering of higher education, and the changing managerial practices in universities. Marginson (2008, as cited in Siekkinen et al., 2020), for example, described the uses of new public management techniques in universities. Marginson's category includes performance management and related measurement and contracting, and productisation as mediating techniques between steering and management, divided into external and internal governance. In external governance, systems of accountability audit include contracts with government that implement external controls, funding-based economic incentives are in use, and competitive ranking of institutions exists. Internal governance refers to NPM managerial techniques, such as performance management, output monitoring and measurements, the marketisation of outputs, product formats, and incentive-based contracts with industry to commercialise research. Additionally, internal governance includes NPM implications such as performance pay, competitive ranking of personnel, user-driven production, and entrepreneurial production (Marginson, 2008, as cited in Siekkinen et al., 2020).

#### 4 DECLINE OF NEW PUBLIC MANAGEMENT AND EMERGING ALTERNATIVES

Reale and Primeri (2015) argued that major changes in the management of higher education systems and institutions are taking place, and with them, the replacement of new public management elements. Several new models have been introduced and discussed, such as network governance and new public governance, and others such as the neo-Weberian state, joined-up government, and whole-of-government. New public management, despite the introduction of these new models, remains a part of the reforms in higher education systems. The post-new public management age and emerging ideas of new governance, therefore, must be



properly reviewed. We shall present the main models of the post-new public management age, by applying the reviews of the post-new public management literature of Greve (2015) and Reiter and Klenk (2019).

The concept of the neo-Weberian state has emerged to challenge the inadequacies of new public management. Dunn and Miller (2007) based some of the key principles of the new-Weberian state on the OECD's principles of *Acquis Communautaire* and traditional European Weberian bureaucracy. They critically reviewed new public management and the neo-Weberian state, showing how they share similarities with each other.

Joined-up government offers a managerial and technical, yet political, perspective for horizontally and vertically connected policy (Pollitt, 2003). Pollitt defined joined-up government through four main goals: (1) eliminating contradictions and tensions, (2) looking for better use of resources at the policy level, (3) improving the flow of good ideas and cooperation between different stakeholders, and (4) creating seamless end-user one-stop-shop services.

According to Christensen and Lægreid (2006), joined-up government and whole-of-government belong to a similar ideational source, and provide a more holistic approach to public administration. They argued, for example, that whole-of-government is a conscious reorganisation of government entities with the aim of promoting cooperation, networks, and collaboration between organisations. What is common for all three models—the neo-Weberian state, joined-up government, and whole-of-government—is their focus on solving the problems of public administration which are caused by the extensive application of new public management.

According to Greve (2015), the emerging public administration approaches of public value management, including digital-era governance, collaborative governance, and new public governance, emphasise the creation of public value, the collaboration and involvement of different stakeholders, and the digitalisation and transparency of administrative practices. New public governance was presented by Osborne (2007) as an alternative to the new public management paradigm. Indeed, Osborne presented the concept of new public governance as a discussion starter to question whether or not public administration and new public management are being followed by the third stage of evolution which focuses on a governance network which is plural (multiple actors) and pluralist (multiple processes informing the policy system and governance). Stoker (2006) discussed public value management, emphasising networks and

partnerships in networked governance. Dunleavy and Margetts (2007) presented the concept of digital-era governance in concert with the technological development in public administration. They argued that new public management has stagnated, and declared dramatically that new public management is dead, and that digital-era governance is the new public administration paradigm. In discussions of collaborative governance and public network management in public administration, Agranoff and McGuire (2001) and Agranoff (2007, 2008) emphasised that public management networks collaborate to produce public value, because, in contrast to traditional public administration, they focus on interagency problems, tasks, and differences.

New public service was introduced by Denhardt and Denhardt (2007), who advocated on behalf of democratic governance and civic engagement, instead of public services being run as if they were businesses. Public value is a fundamental, recurring theme in public administration, and accordingly, Bozeman (2007) promoted the notion of 'managing publicness', which places public value as the very starting point for public management, not one criterion among others. Much like Denhardt and Denhardt's (2007) new public service, he argued that public administration ought to focus on public values rather than dominant new public management values. Other recurring concepts in the post-new public management discussion include the co-production, co-creation, and network governance.

In Table 1, we summarise the post-new public management administrative models. They all emphasise the changing role of government, service structures, networks, and collaborations, and also the changing technological context and impact of these changes for the management of public organisations. The neo-Weberian state, joined-up government, whole-of-government, and managing publicness, however, also emphasise the role of the state. New government, new public service, and public value management emphasise the importance of value creation in complex service systems. Collaborative governance and public network governance emphasise the role of network management. And variations of the terms digital and e-governance emphasise the role of new technology in the public sector.

**Table 1** Emphases of post-new public management models, marked as darker grey shade

	Emphasis of the role of government	Emphasis of service structures	Emphasis of network actors	Emphasis of technology
Neo-Weberian State				
Joined-Up government				
Whole-of-Government				
Managing Publicness				
New Public Governance				
New Public Service				
Public Value Management				
Collaborative Governance				
Public Network Governance				
Digital-Era Governance				

Source Adapted from Reiter and Klenk (2019) and Greve (2015)

## 5 SYSTEMATIC LITERATURE REVIEW

The systematic literature review was conducted according to Fink's (2014) literature review method, with a focus on post-new public management models. The systematic literature review is summarised in Fig. 1. We completed the literature collection process in September and October 2019. Technical support was provided by Tampere University Library. The main phases of the literature collection process were:

- choosing databases and search terms as per the preliminary review and the research question

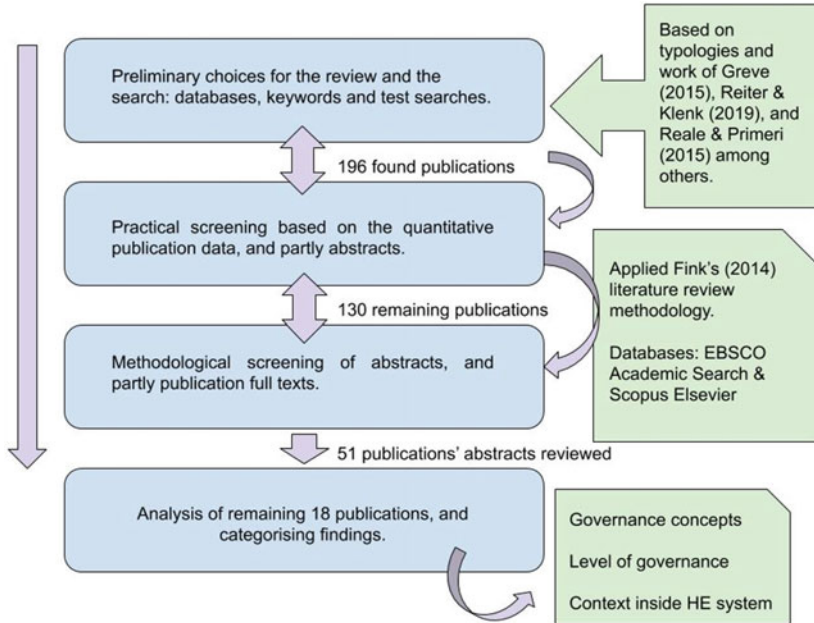


Fig. 1 The systematic literature review (*Source* Authors)

- assessing the search terms within the governance theories (preliminary review)
- piloting the search terms in the selected databases
- screening the pilot search findings and refining the search terms
- gathering quantitative publication data and continuing screening based on the data
- applying methodological quality screening
- selecting publications for analysis.

The databases *EBSCO Academic Search Ultimate* and *Scopus Elsevier*, which are widely used and which cover an extensive number of journals, were used to locate publications of interest. Although often overlapping with their results, we wanted to ensure that we would not miss any relevant publications.

As mentioned, the search terms are based on a preliminary literature review of post-new public management models which have been

presented by various authors, mostly since 2000. The typologies which were offered by Greve (2015), Reiter and Klenk (2019), Reale and Primeri (2015), and Osborne (2007) were used as the initial search terms. During the search, the focus was to find publications in whose titles the search terms appeared. In some cases, however, the search terms were also found in the publications' abstracts.

The pilot searches were conducted with the publication titles and abstracts, using the search terms 'New Public Governance' and 'Higher Education'. We then added 'Post-New Public Management' and 'Post New Public Management'. These pilot searches resulted in few hits, and consequently we added several new search terms: 'Neo-Weberian State', 'Joined-Up-Government', 'Whole-of-Government', 'New Public Service', 'Managing Publicness', 'Digital-Era Governance', 'Network Governance', 'Digital Governance', 'Collaborative Governance', and 'Public Value Management'. These searches were conducted using the operators 'OR' and 'AND' with 'Higher Education'. The result with these additional search terms was 25 hits in Scopus and 22 hits in EBSCO. We used practical screening moving forward for more precise searches and narrowed the oldest publication year to 2000.

The next phase included the term 'Universit\*' in the author search field. Indeed, the abstracts of publications traditionally mention the universities at which the authors work. This resulted in 17 additional publications, thereby totalling 38 in Scopus and 26 in EBSCO. We added more alternate search terms: 'Public Network Governance', 'Public Network Management', and the common and relevant post-new public management concepts of 'Co-Production' and 'Co-Creation' because of their relevance for network governance theories. 'Co-Creation' was dropped because it resulted in hundreds of hits from outside of the focus area. 'Public Network Governance' and 'Public Network Management' resulted in no additional hits, but Co-production increasing the number of hits to 118 in Scopus and 78 in EBSCO. It is noteworthy that hyphens, as in 'Joined-Up-Government' had no effect on the search results.

In summary, the literature collection process involved 4 distinct searches: two searches in EBSCO ([1] 'Public Governance', 'Network Governance', 'Digital Governance', and 'Collaborative Governance' using the operator 'OR' with 'Higher Education'; and [2] 'Co-Production', 'Whole-of Government', 'Network Governance', and 'Collaborative Governance' using the operator 'OR' with 'Universit\*' in the author field), and two searches in Scopus ([1] 'Digital Governance', 'Post-New

Public Management', 'New Public Governance', 'Public Value Management', 'Co-Production', 'Neo-Weberian State', 'New Public Service', 'Network Governance', and 'Collaborative Governance' using operator 'OR' with 'Higher Education'; and [2] 'Public Value Management', 'Public Network Governance', 'Co-Production', 'Neo-Weberian State', 'Whole-of-Government', 'New Public Service', 'Network Governance', and 'Collaborative Governance' using the operator 'OR' with 'Universit\*' in the author field).

After carefully removing duplicates from the search results, the remaining 130 publications and their metadata were collected. We screened these metadata to find publications with a focus on management and governance research in higher education, which subsequently led to 51 publications. We read their abstracts and narrowed down the results further according to our research question. Two publications were not accessible to us at the time of writing this chapter, and one publication was dropped because it was not available in English.

In total, 18 publications were reviewed. Three publications are from the 2000s, and the remaining 15 publications are from the 2010s. We did not find any publications from before the 2000s which fit our criteria. Seventeen publications are articles, and one publication is a book chapter. The geographic locus of the publications is primarily Europe, most often the United Kingdom. The geographic locus of three publications were outside Europe, specifically China, Japan, and the United States.

The journals in which these publications vary, with two publications in *Higher Education*, two publications in *Higher Education Policy*, two publications in *Higher Education Quarterly*, two publications in *European Journal of Education*, and one publication in each of the following journals: *IFIP Advances in Information and Communication Technology*, *Copenhagen Journal of Asian Studies*, *Journal of Marketing for Higher Education*, *Governance and Performance of Education Systems*, *Oxford Review of Education*, *Public Management Review*, *Corporate Ownership and Control*, *Industrial Marketing Management*, *Perspectives: Policy & Practice in Higher Education*, and *International Journal of Economics and Financial Issues*. Table 2 lists the impact factors of the journals which are represented.

We analysed the theoretical discussions of each of the 18 publications, noting the governance concepts which were applied in relation to management and steering, the level of governance (system or institution, or both), and the specific parts of higher education (education,

**Table 2** Reviewed publications' journals and their SJR impact factor

<i>Name of the journal</i>	<i>SJR 2018</i> <i>(Scimago Journal &amp; Country Rank,</i> <i>n.d.)</i>	<i>CiteScore</i>	<i>Number of publications found</i>
<i>Higher Education</i>	1.7 SJR	3.42	2
<i>Higher Education Quarterly</i>	0.85 SJR	1.26	2
<i>Higher Education Policy</i>	0.61 SJR	1.47	2
<i>European Journal of Education</i>	0.38 SJR	1.39	2
<i>Oxford Review of Education</i>	1.13 SJR	2.15	1
<i>Public Management Review</i>	1.76 SJR	4.29	1
<i>Industrial Marketing Management</i>	2.38 SJR	5.79	1
<i>IFIP Advances in Information and Communication Technology</i>	0.19 SJR	0.51	1
<i>Journal of Marketing for Higher Education</i>	0.59 SJR	2.55	1
<i>Perspectives: Policy &amp; Practice in Higher Education</i>	0.33 SJR	0.75	1
<i>International Journal of Economics and Financial Issues</i>	0.33 SJR	N/A	1
<i>Governance and Performance of Education Systems</i>	Information not found	Information not found	1
<i>Copenhagen Journal of Asian Studies</i>	0.19 SJR	0.32	1
<i>Corporate Ownership and Control</i>	0.16 SJR	N/A	1

Source: Authors

research, or third mission). The analysis revealed that 4 publications did not use post-new public management governance concepts or any related concepts whatsoever. Despite the lack of a specific governance concept, two of these 4 publications discussed governance-related themes, such as the widening participation of different higher education actors in policy-making (Zhao, 2018) and the tensions which are found in higher education organisations (Maassen & Stensaker, 2019). Of the remaining 14 publications, 12 defined a governance-related concept in their theoretical discussions. Several publications used two or more post-new public management concepts when introducing the narratives of public reforms.

## 6 FINDINGS

The main finding of this systematic literature review is that post-new public management paradigms are not widely used in higher education research. Seven publications used post-new public management paradigms from a system-level perspective, and five publications used paradigms at the institutional level—in Ph.D. programme management (Baschung, 2010), for example. Some publications applied governance paradigms at both the system and institutional level, or at the system level based on an institutional case study. Four publications gave insights into the important themes of higher education. Dollinger, Lodge, and Coates (2018), for example, researched the value co-creation in student–university relationship, and McCulloch (2009) studied co-production in student–university relationships.

None of the governance paradigms which we found in the publications were in widespread use in other publications. Network (or collaborative) governance was used in six publications—mostly in system-level studies—but with one exception (Baschung, 2010). Network governance was used in the higher education system and policy-level research (Donina & Paleari, 2018; Khelifi, 2019; Whitty & Wisby, 2016).

New-Weberian state was used in four publications in a system-level analysis, except Baschung (2010), which applied it to an institutional case at the system level. Some publications employed new-Weberian state to focus on universities’ third mission (Karpov, 2016), system-level reforms in the EU (Ferlie et al., 2008), reforms which are related to the university governance model (Donina & Paleari, 2018), and in the management of Ph.D. programmes (Baschung, 2010).



Other publications varied in their perspectives on higher education, and in their use of post-new public management governance paradigms. One publication discussed hybrid governance in the context of the Japanese higher education system, for example, describing the Japanese system as the result of a collision of many higher education traditions (Christensen, 2011). One other publication discussed higher education systems as public service systems, but the publication was found to only be partially immersed in the context of higher education, although this was only one aspect of the publication (Radnor, Osborne, Kinder, & Mutton, 2014). The four remaining publications (Canhoto et al., 2016; Karpov, 2017; Maassen & Stensaker, 2019; Ross & Woodfield, 2017) were not related to post-new public management governance paradigms and did not fulfil our criteria. Consequently, they were dropped from the review.

We also found several publications which discussed the concept of co-production in higher education, but it was only loosely related to or completely separate from governance. The concepts of co-production and co-creation refer to new public management in two ways: the role of students as customers versus the role of students as co-creators of public value in higher education, and students participating higher education institutions' decision-making, here partially from the perspective of quality assurance management.

Table 3 summarises the governance concepts and their applications on the publications which we reviewed. In the first column (in parentheses),

**Table 3** Post-NPM governance concepts and their applications

<i>Post-NPM governance concepts</i>	<i>System level</i>	<i>Institutional level</i>	<i>Management and steering, policy level</i>	<i>Education, educational programmes</i>	<i>Research</i>	<i>Third mission</i>
Network governance (6)	5	1	3	2	–	1
Collaborative governance (1)	1	–	1	1	–	–
Neo-Weberian state (4)	3	1	2	–	–	1
Co-production and co-creation in governance (4)	1	3	1	3	3	–
Hybrid governance (1)	1	–	1	–	–	–

the total number of publications which mention the concept is shown. The number of applications in specific contexts is shown in the columns.

## 7 DISCUSSION

Due to the relatively small final amount of found and analysed publications, we provided an in-depth, lengthy discussion and perspectives on the found concepts and emerging ideas. Overall, our findings are similar to the findings of Reale and Primeri (2015) in their study in the field of higher education and Reiter and Klenk (2019) in their more general literature review of post-new public management in public administration. We focus on the main findings related to the concepts of network governance and neo-Weberian state and discuss them in from two perspectives: their meaning in internationalising higher education market and in relation to previous studies.

Similar to our focus, a common interest in higher education systems from the point of view of public administration and public services was provided by Ferlie et al. (2008). They presented three alternative definitions of state involvement in higher education: (1) a desire for stronger system-level management for higher education, (2) A hollowing out of the state and an increase in network-type of management, and (3) a call for democratic and social function revitalisation in universities. Likewise they explained three narratives—or paradigms in our terms—of public services reforms: new public management, network governance, and new-Weberian state.

Ferlie et al. (2008) argued that network governance is presented as a post-new public management type of paradigm. Network governance brings network coordination as a new dimension, with 11 'signs and symptoms', into the hierarchical and market-based governing of new public management and post-new public management age. In their view, new-Weberian state refers to the Weberian and neo-Weberian principles of citizens' participation and democratic revitalisation being applied in higher education systems (2008). The role of the state and markets varies greatly in the three narratives. In the new public management narrative, the state's role is to enforce system-level efficiency through means of measurement, monitoring, and evaluation. Markets are given the role of 'quasi markets' in the form of stimulation of competition between higher education institutions, and diversification of the funding base (the

introduction of fees, and commercialisation and productisation of third-mission activities, for example). In network governance, however, states adopt an indirect and looser coordinating role among the different actors, in an attempt to guarantee the public interest. Markets can be one form of exchange, but the exchange is not imposed directly by the state. New-Weberian state, on the contrary, reaffirms the role of the state through representative democracy and the direct involvement of citizens as the main facilitator and caretaker of the higher education system. The role of markets is minor or non-existent.

Whitty and Wisby (2016) referred to Ball and Junemann's work (2012) while arguing that in England, the whole education system has involved the signs of network governance and different actors' steering policy, setting of directions, and influencing of the debate on the subject although "it is unclear how far and in what sense network governance and multiple partnerships have actually replaced, as opposed to complemented, older ways of governing or even the so-called new public management" (p. 325). Khelifi (2019) used the concepts of street-level bureaucracy and network governance in his research of interplay between politics and universities. Khelifi argued that in the network governance narrative, "state agencies' monopoly of policy making has been questioned by the involvement of non-state actors—which now assume key roles in the formulation and implementation of the policies" (p. 672). Both of these studies imply an observable movement from state-driven development orientation towards a more multilateral approach with networked stakeholders. The role which markets play or are expected to play vis-à-vis state involvement, however, remains to be seen.

Karpov (2016) provided a discussion which is related to new public management, network governance, and new-Weberian states. His perspective of the modern university is one of a network-based, creative, innovative, and entrepreneurial "key driver of economic growth" (p. 356). According to Karpov (2016), therefore, higher education takes place in a cross-institutional environment. Donina and Paleari (2018, p. 193) presented Italy and Portugal as case studies from the perspective of network governance and NWS. Their main finding is that reforms in higher education are hybrid (new public management, network governance, and new-Weberian state) and that the structures of the reforms "reflect the Neo-Weberian founding ideas rather than those of new public management" (p. 193). Interestingly, they also referred to network governance through the concepts of post-new public management,

joined-up government, whole-of-government, and new public governance. Goldfinch and Wallis (2010) are Donina and Paleari's (2018) main reference on new public management policy convergence, arguing that the myths of new public management and post-new public management are not as strongly dependent on each other as once believed, and that the progression from public administration to new public management and finally to a network-based post-new public management world, is conceptually messy. Baschung (2010) discussed the changes in the management of doctoral education, arguing that the network governance narrative has emerged "partly on a criticism of New Public Management and partly on empirical observations in Western European democracies" (p. 140). Baschung (2010) also stated that network governance shares similar or even identical ideas with multilevel governance and whole-of-government paradigms regarding the hollowing out of the nation-state.

In the publications, the authors argue that public management narratives, archetypes, paradigms, and/or models, such as new public management, network governance, and new-Weberian state, are conceptually messy, empirically in hybrid simultaneous forms, and existing in a different locus and with a different focus within public administration and higher education research. Two publications (Baschung, 2010; Ferlie et al., 2008) presented a definition for network governance and used the same definition:

- "A greater range of actors and interactions.
- The central State plays more of an influencing and less of a directing role. It works as relationship facilitator.
- There is a shift from vertical to lateral forms of management.
- There is devolution of power downwards from the centre of the nation-state to lower tiers and also upwards to higher tiers, including European ones.
- Coordinating power is shared among social actors, possibly operating at multiple levels of analysis.
- Knowledge and 'best practices' spread across the network.
- The network develops a self-organising and self-steering capacity.
- Accountability relationships are a way of 'giving account' to local publics and not an ex-post state-driven system of checking" (Ferlie et al., 2008, p. 337).

Additionally, new-Weberian state often overlaps with network governance, but with a focus on the modernisation of democratic principles of public administration and higher education, for example, when it comes to enhancing citizens' participation and democratic revitalisation (Ferlie et al., 2008). Moreover, in higher education systems, network governance and hybrid reforms have been interpreted as reflecting NWS ideas in state reforms (Donina & Paleari, 2018). In Khelefi's (2019) perspective of state and EU-level reforms, non-state actors' participation is a sugar-coated New public management strategy of adopting neoliberal, top-down reforms. At the programme level, Baschung (2010) explained that there are two processual episodes of change in the management of doctoral programmes, in which the first is shaped by constraining New public management instruments, and the second comprises of 'relatively non-constraining Neo-Weberian-State elements'. Baschung (2010) argued that the change is strongly shaped by the first episode of new public management constraints.

An expanding academic discussion about network and collaborative governance, the post-new public management age, and knowledge economy-related challenges require administrators in higher education, especially in the top level and in the realm of societal affairs, to deepen their understanding of the actor networks in higher education systems. The multiple processes of value (co-)creation and actor-network cooperation manifest themselves in the 2010s. Similarly, the plurality was already recognised in the 2000s by Osborne (2007, 2010), for example, and other researchers of public administration. Indeed, Agranoff (2007) proposed a type of management: which is called 'collaborarchy', referring to an open hierarchy type of management which resembles nonprofit organisations' management wherein the networks are self-managing and have their own structure and processes. This new type of public network management, according to Agranoff, is also taking place because of more general organisational changes in public organisations in the modern knowledge society.

Consequently, the implications when it comes to managerial perspectives—for 'shop-floor' bureaucrats as Khelifi (2019) called them—are various. Managers working with public management networks and participating in its governance ought to pay more attention to inter-organisational relationships, and avoid focusing merely on intra-organisational affairs. For higher education managers, governing networks ought to be about collaboration, focusing on the self-management of

networks and common goals, while encouraging network representatives to delve into the technical tasks of the network. The implications of the ideals of new-Weberian state encourage public managers in higher education to be oriented towards meeting the needs of citizens, students, university community members, and society at large. Different research areas of higher education “should be studied at the level of politics (the legislation passed to reform it) and then follow it up at the shop-floor level of universities i.e. how it was implemented” (Khelifi, 2019, p. 677).

What do these findings mean for research of post-new public management and higher education? Goldfinch and Wallis (2010) emphasised the question of ‘useful to whom?’ regarding academic discussions of governance and management myths or paradigms, such as new public management, or post-new public management. Indeed, this question ought to follow the researchers of higher education systems, not to mention the researchers of other public administration sectors. Similarly, and already early in New public management and public administration paradigm work, Pollitt (1990) warned of the overgeneralisation of management archetypes. Reiter and Klenk’s (2019) findings in a public administration post-new public management literature review, along with our findings, converge when it comes to the perspective of post-new public management paradigms not being institutionalised. One of the challenges resulting from conceptual muddiness, for example, is to understand which role markets play in different modes of new governance, especially with respect to state involvement. In all governance arrangements, it is likely that states will utilise markets in one way or another as an instrument for allocating resources, and additionally for the provision of services. Coexisting governance arrangements involving hierarchies and exchange, cooperation and competition, and citizenship- and customer-orientation will likely be blended with each other.

The same can be also said of the role of the state. In many ways, there is an already three decades-old distinction between the ‘facilitatory state’ and the ‘interventionary state’ (Neave & Van Vught, 1991) which is still relevant, but only to the extent that it is able to point to two extreme ends of the state’s role in higher education system governance. State governance in the area of markets, higher education institutions, and other internal and external stakeholders of the higher education system is more multifaceted than 30 years ago. The complexity of modern higher education systems requires that the state is able to take a more active role in

one area of governance and, at the same time, exercise a more passive role in another.

## 8 CONCLUSION

Our interest in the current chapter was to map the use of post-new public management governance concepts in higher education context based on literature review. We analysed 18 articles which fit our criteria related to post-new public management concepts regarding public administration reforms and paradigms. Based on the review, no single post-new public management paradigm is widely used in higher education research. According to the publications found, the most commonly theorised post-new public management paradigms in the governance of higher education are network governance and the concepts close to it, such as collaborative governance and NWS. They are mainly used in the research of higher education systems and policy and decision-making. No single governance paradigm has yet risen to replace or describe post-new public management governance, even though the various paradigms seem to have a relation to new public management and post-new public management. Indeed, they have been used within the frame of new public management critique. But many of the post-new public management governance paradigms in which we were interested were not found in the systematic literature review. According to our findings, the paradigms which are used in public administration areas other than higher education, such as new public governance, joined-up government, whole-of-government, new public service, public value management, digitally enabled government, digital governance, and managing publicness, are not used in higher education governance research.

Greve (2015) summarised the themes of recent governance approaches in the creation of public value, the collaboration and inclusion of stakeholders, digitalisation, and the transparency of administrative practices. In our findings, the co-creation of public value and network governance were recurring themes, but the perspectives of digitalisation and transparency do not seem to be trending. Private market interests in co-creating public (and private for-profit) value, perhaps through networked participation, might explain these results. Moreover, it seems that the increasing overall interest in higher education and access to innovation services have brought new and more demanding actors to the field, while simultaneously increasing the focus on network governance in the

academic literature. One of the publications (Ferlie et al., 2008) discussed international and global higher education markets as 'coopetition', where, perhaps in the future, multinational universities both "cooperate and at the same time compete on the same markets" (p. 342). Coexisting governance arrangements involving hierarchies and exchange, cooperation and competition, and citizenship- and customer-orientation will likely be blended together.

The most often used paradigm of network governance includes the ideas of the changing roles of managers with inter-organisational skills, students with more than simply a customer role and the widening participation of different actors in the higher education system. Unsurprisingly, because post-new public management ideas are often based on new public management critiques, the publications focused on the public aspects of higher education, rather than on the aspects of private higher education institutions which provide services to a consumer-student.

Higher education systems are currently changing and are influenced by the ideas of new public management. Pressure for reforms are found to emerge from the traditional public administration discourse, network governance-related ideas, and new public management. As Reiter and Klenk (2019) argued, public administration has entered an age of post-new public management. We confirm that in higher education public administration research, there is evidence of post-new public management ideas and concepts, although no single institutionalised paradigm is in wide use. Nevertheless, the emerging signs of network governance and neo-Weberian state have implications for changes in the role of the state, public administration, and governance in higher education.

Our findings have relevance for policy with respect to the emerging interest in network governance and a neo-Weberian emphasis. Discussions about the marketisation of higher education ought to take place, with higher education systems considered as networks, and markets viewed as structured networks. This reflects the dual role of universities as both cooperative and competitive actors. From the point of view of the conflicting dimensions of public and private interests, the varying roles of the state and public services should be considered from both network governance and neo-Weberian perspectives. Post-new public management paradigms are a recent, emerging interest in the field of higher education research, and there is a great need for more systematic research of post-new public management age governance, management, and the steering of higher education systems and institutions.



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# E-Learning and the Marketisation of Higher Education

*Christine Holt*

## 1 INTRODUCTION

In American higher education, the marketplace is in transition. A number of factors account for this transition. First, the price tag to obtain a degree or certificate has significantly increased over the years. In recent times, more of the cost is borne by students and their parents (Balotsky, 2018) and less by state funding. Given the escalating cost, for many students and the public in general, they view the right to a college education as a private good rather than a public good. Moreover, students are borrowing and increasingly in some cases not repaying student loans (Fishman & Sledge, 2014). Second, in certain regions of the United States (e.g., Midwest or Northeast), the high school population is declining, so in-turn, the traditional age college student, 18–24 years old, will decrease for an indefinite period (Balotsky, 2018). Given the declining enrollment, higher education institutions must implement innovative strategies to reverse this trend

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and reignite growth for sustainability of the industry (Armstrong, 2014; Fox, 2019; Tucker & Au, 2019).

Notwithstanding the perception and demographic issues, the attainment of a college degree or certificate is essential to enter, compete, and advance in the workforce. According to the Bureau of Labor Statistics, a post-secondary credential is a crucial commodity to enter and advance in the workplace. In fact, of the 30 fastest growing detailed occupations, 18 typically require some level of post-secondary education for entry (Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2017).

Given the workforce needs, what does this changing landscape mean for higher education, and how does this new reality impact the viability of colleges and universities? Overall, higher education as an industry must do a better job of cutting costs, generating revenue, and articulating a compelling value proposition for students and families. This will require the industry to become more creative in delivering its product to traditional age, racially and ethnically diverse, and older adult (age 25 or greater) students. Furthermore, many college/university leaders are entering foreign territory by tasking themselves with developing fresh programmes, and finding new market segments. The creation of non-traditional programmes for accelerated completion and stackable credentials endorsed by employers and other stakeholders (Fishman & Sledge, 2014) would aid in educating students for citizenry, and in preparing them to successfully navigate in the global marketplace. As a bottom-line business concern, how will colleges/universities sustain themselves given the shift in demographics? In answering this question, colleges/universities must grapple with and define the next frontier in higher education to gain a competitive advantage over peer institutions.

One way to define the next frontier is to examine technology-enabled disruption, also known as E-Learning (Trevitt et al., 2017). Currently, online learning, hybrid courses, and Massive Open Online Course (MOOCs) comprise a sizeable subset of the E-learning platform. Significantly, MOOCs have changed the delivery of instruction. “MOOCs and other shorter-term immersive programmes provide a medium through which students can begin exploring possible areas of interest before committing to an educational pathway” (Fishman & Sledge, 2014, p. 5).

For many 4-year publicly funded research-intensive and traditional universities, adding E-Learning to their portfolios on a large scale is a fairly new concept. Given the great expense of building a scalable E-Learning platform, ought higher education institutions to partner with

other institutions or online programme management vendors to leverage efficiencies, reduce the time taken for operationalisation, and increase the likelihood of success of implementation? Ought institutions to bring post-secondary learning to the corporate arena? Given that more online programmes are gaining regional and national reputation, how will institutions decide which niche programmes to offer to gain, or offset, market share from competitors? Ultimately, by addressing these questions and defining the next frontier using innovation in delivering instruction, 4-year public research-intensive and traditional college/university leaders are searching for alternative ways to secure funding to cover operational budgets, curb the cost of tuition for students, and expand creative approaches to research, teaching, and learning.

In essence, the overarching research question focuses on the ways colleges and universities can disrupt delivery of their product, which is degree (or certificate) attainment, without decimating academic quality, and while maintaining (if not improving) marketable competencies and decreasing out-of-pocket costs. This is all to satisfy the “iron triangle” of cost, affordability, and scalability (Trevitt et al., 2017), and to gain competitive advantage. Enhancing and revising the use of technology will help leaders at colleges and universities to retain and develop pedagogically sound and innovative curricula which are delivered in a customer-centric, scalable, and affordable way, to meet the needs of the twenty-first-century learners. For higher education leaders who shift their thinking and the way in which they deploy their resources, this could lead to an advantage over competitors in acquiring customers/students in the higher education marketplace.

This chapter examines E-Learning, and the branding and marketing of higher education institutions. It discusses disruptive innovation (Christensen et al., 2011), and the notion of jobs to be done (Christensen et al., 2016). It provides university leaders with a guide to decision-making, especially with respect to the acquisition of new customers/students using an E-Learning platform via a “build your own” model, a “buy vendor services” model, or a “collaborate with a corporate partner” model. Ultimately, this chapter will help practitioners within higher education, particularly at 4-year public research and traditional institutions, to think about and prepare for new market segments, ensure relevancy, and carve out their place for sustainability in the industry.

## 2 OVERVIEW OF HIGHER EDUCATION INDUSTRY

In examining the current state of the higher education industry, three issues appear to be prevalent: decline in the traditional population of students, affordability and return on investment for students and families, and exponential acceleration of knowledge and learning on-demand for students and employers (Morriss-Olson, 2020).

Per the U.S. Department of Education National Center for Education Statistics (2019), the number of 4-year degree-granting, post-secondary Title IV institutions increased from 1957 institutions to 3004 institutions from the period 1980–81 to 2015–16. Most recently, the number of traditional age college students, 18–24 year olds, has begun to decrease. According to the Integrated Postsecondary Education Data System (IPEDS), between 2000 and 2016, Hispanic undergraduate enrolment more than doubled (a 134% increase from 1.4 million to 3.2 million students). On the other hand, the enrolment for most other racial/ethnic groups increased during the first part of this period, then began to decrease around 2010 (U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, 2019). In this same study in the best case scenario, degree-granting post-secondary institutions will see a small increase in enrolment, 3%, from 19.8 million in 2016 to 20.5 million in 2027, whereas during the period from 2002 to 2016, the enrolment increase was 19% (from 16.6 million to 19.8 million). As referenced above, higher education is seeing a shift in its demographic make-up. Institutions are starting to see an influx of older adult learners, and students from varying ethnic backgrounds. According to a Deloitte report on reimagining higher education, these new types of students “do not lend themselves to the old model of higher education; they have varying levels of education and experience, likely cannot afford four years to complete a degree, need to work and often must juggle family responsibilities” (Fishman & Sledge, 2014, p. 9).

In the twenty-first-century, more and more students are opting to take courses leveraging technology. In a 2019 report on the Enrollment and Employees in Postsecondary Institutions (Fall 2017), as cited by Maloney and Kim (2020), enrolment dropped by nearly 90,000 students, which reflects a downward trend of almost a percentage point from 2016 to 2017. The silver lining is that the number of students who enrolled in at least one course online grew by greater than 350,000, representing nearly a 6% increase. Similarly, this same report, indicated that the students who



enrolled exclusively in online courses increased from 14.7 to 15.4% from 2016 to 2017 (Maloney & Kim, 2020).

Americans are incurring more debt to fund the cost of a college education, and, as a result, are demanding a return on their investment. In some instances, American families are questioning if pursuing a college degree is even worth assuming greater levels of debt. Recent data on the cost of attendance exacerbates the affordability issue. Per Avery et al. (2019),

[i]n constant 2018 dollars, tuition and fees at four-year public colleges more than doubled from \$3,690 in 1990-1991 to \$10,230 in 2018-2019, corresponding to an annual rate of increase more than 4% above and beyond the rate of inflation. In comparison, tuition and fees at four-year private and two-year public colleges also increased steadily, but at a lower rate (between 2% and 3% per year) above and beyond the rate of inflation. Of course, it is important to consider not just sticker price but net price. Using its annual survey of institutions, the College Board shows that “Net Tuition Room Board and Fees” at four-year public colleges has risen from \$8,850 in 1998 to \$14,880 in 2018 (all in 2018 dollars). (p. 8)

Four-year public institutions have four primary ways of financing operations: state appropriations, tuition and fees, donor gifts and endowments, and federal research grants. In the distant past, 4-year public institutions received a majority share of the operating budget from state appropriations (Maloney & Kim, 2020). In the last couple of decades, this percentage of the budget has significantly abated (Armstrong, 2014), and, as a result, students and families have had to offset this budget shortfall with increases in tuition and fees. Relying on donor gifts is subject to donor intent and, consequently, the use of the funds might be restricted according to the agreement with the donors. In the United States, under the Trump administration, federal research funding was increasingly more difficult to secure.

The rate of new knowledge creation and application is astounding, and presents a formidable challenge for 4-year public institutions to stay relevant in teaching, research, and service. This rapid rate of knowledge creation affords the opportunity for new industry competitors to enter the marketplace to offer “low-cost and on-demand learning to close the gap between the skills employers seek and the skills students need upon graduation” (Fishman & Sledge, 2014, p. 20). In the same report, the U.S. Department of Education cited that the traditional classroom lecture is

less effective than experiential learning which uses various learning modalities and addresses various learning styles. The report further highlighted that only 12% of higher education courses use a blended approach, and even fewer use predictive analytics to help students learn. In this era of technology, more personalised options are surfacing to meet student demands for addressing their learning needs (Tucker & Au, 2019).

## 2.1 *E-Learning*

Ivanovic and Milenkovski (2019) define E-Learning as “performing an educational process using information and communication technologies, using the internet and various programming systems” (p. 71). The learners access the E-Learning platform through the use of a web browser. For this chapter, E-Learning and online learning are used interchangeably.

The benefits of E-Learning can include asynchronous learning without regard for space, distance, and time. An unlimited number of learners can participate in the process, making it easier for people to access education, which is more conducive to independent learning (Ivanovic & Milenkovski, 2019; Sholikh et al., 2019). If designed with intentionality, “E-Learning can improve the quality of the education and the quality of the teaching process” (Ivanovic & Milenkovski, 2019, p. 71). Furthermore, it must be modified to meet students’ needs, it must provide relevant content, and it must allow for interactive and engaging experiences with faculty members and other students (Fahy & McGregor, 2017; Ivanovic & Milenkovski, 2019). In essence, “the emphasis of E-Learning is on new opportunities for teaching, learning and mastering materials” (Ivanovic & Milenkovski, 2019, p. 71).

Lazou (2019) posits the following pros of online learning from the perspective of the students: flexibility, student-centred orientation, fostering of critical thinking skills, and promotion of inclusive pedagogical practices to negate disparities. Some of the cons to keep in mind include limited learner comfort with the use and knowledge of technology, lack of time management and self-discipline, some subject matters are not conducive to online learning, slow connectivity and/or no internet access for those areas with limited access to broadband, and physical impairments which could emerge because of extended use of technology. Furthermore, Netanda et al. (2017), addressed a few more concerns of students participating in online learning, including the unavailability of instructors to answer questions, and a feeling of isolation because there is no face-to-face

interaction. Just like face-to-face courses, online courses ought to provide support services to ensure student success. From the research of Forbes-Mewett (2013), as outlined in Netanda et al. (2017), student support interventions are services, such as financial advice, housing, counselling, and learning support services.

The literature on the pros and cons from an instructor's perspective is limited and ripe for further research. From the scant research which is available, the barriers to instructors embracing online learning as a modality include resistance to change and a lack of technical support (King et al., 2019).

In the past and, to some extent, in the present, accreditors and the government are a couple of the known external barriers to E-Learning implementation throughout higher education. For example, accreditors have been slow to relax the traditional in-classroom seat time model as a standard of excellence, so a disruptive model which uses a competency-based standard has had hurdles to overcome with accreditors. In the case of the government, it is worth noting "that it is all about politics and power. These attributes tend not to be favourable to innovation" (Armstrong, 2014, p. 9). Historically, state governments have authorised higher education institutions outside of the state system to grant degrees. In recent times, online programmes have been added, and in Maryland in 2010, the Department of Higher Education promulgated guidelines through its Program on Integrity for institutions to be eligible for Title IV funding (which encompasses financial aid). Essentially, this rule declared that out-of-state institutions with online programmes must be approved by the state to grant degrees.

For successful implementation of E-Learning, it is advisable for higher education institutions to adhere to the RIPPLES model (Surry, 2002): **R**esources, **I**nfrastructure, **P**eople, **P**olicies, **L**earning, **E**valuation, and **S**upport. Resources is the first element, and requires an adequate budget to be allocated for planning and implementation of this endeavour "to acquire, utilise, maintain, and upgrade technology" (Surry, 2002, p. 9). For the second element, Infrastructure, higher education institutions must have adequate hardware, software, and network capabilities. People, the third element, refers to employees, and plays an integral role in the successful implementation of E-learning through planning, shared decision-making, and communication. Policies, the fourth element, might need to be revised to incorporate E-Learning as a bonafide delivery modality. For example, if an institution decides to incorporate E-Learning

into the traditional academy model, it might need to modify the promotion and tenure process to incentivise online teaching. The fifth element, Learning, refers to technology enhancing the learning outcomes for students. More specifically, “[w]hen planning for the integration of technology, administrators should view technology not as an end in itself, but as a means for accomplishing specific learning goals” (Surry, 2002, p. 10). The sixth element, Evaluation, stresses the importance of continuously evaluating technology for refinement in meeting the learning objectives and the needs of the learners. The last element, Support, has been mentioned, and addresses the importance of having support for instructors, staff, and students who interface with the technology (Surry, 2002).

## 2.2 *The Branding and Marketing of Higher Education Institutions*

Traditionally, in the field of marketing, the discipline has underscored the 4Ps: product, price, place, and promotion. Over the last four decades, traditional marketing theories from well-known authors from the business field have been applied to higher education marketing (Kotler & Fox, 1985). Realising that there are some marked and nuanced differences between higher education and the business sector, some authors further differentiate marketing for higher education. For instance, Hemsley-Brown and Oplatka (2006), note common themes for higher education marketing delineated by problem identification and problem-solving: marketing communications (what students look for in selecting a university—a gap between what students ask for and what they receive in the materials); image and reputation (how universities use their marketing to distinguish their reputation in the market); application of marketing models (marketing of products versus marketing of services); strategic approaches to marketing (driven by knowledge of consumer behaviour); market positioning (rebranding to attract new market segments); and market segmentation (profiling the needs and wants of segments, including international students, older adults and recent high school graduates). More specifically, Hemsley-Brown and Oplatka (2006), highlight the difference between transactional marketing (predicated upon the 4Ps) versus relationship marketing. It has been pointed out that higher education ought to focus more on relationship marketing of its service rather than transactional marketing of the product

(Hemsley-Brown & Oplatka, 2006). Further, for today's higher education environment, it has been argued that the 4Ps ought to be replaced with the 4 Ss: solution, sacrifice, situation, and social media (Tucker & Au, 2019). First, in moving from product to solution, higher education must identify obstacles which are present for students applying and enrolling in courses and programmes, and devise solutions to remove the barriers. Second, in transitioning from price to sacrifice, higher education institutions must build their tuition models to be more accommodating to price sensitivity and time flexibility, even if the institutions must make sacrifices (yet remain financially viable and responsible), so students feel that they are receiving value. As an example, many students are not willing to forego four years of their lives to earn a bachelor's degree. Higher education could sacrifice the traditional model of earning an undergraduate degree and offer accelerated programmes or certificates to obtain the requisite knowledge and skills. Third, in changing from place to situation, higher education must "offer courses and programmes when and where students want them" (Tucker & Au, 2019, p. 182). Fourth, in adjusting from promotion to social media, institutions must understand their niche and brand awareness to promote their offerings to the correct audiences.

In the twenty-first century, indeed, it has become commonplace for colleges and universities to rely on branding and promotion to attract new students (Hanover, 2014), both for face-to-face and online delivery. More specifically, according to the Hanover (2014) report, "[c]ommunicating a brand successfully to students, both current and prospective, requires strategic planning and effective tools" (p. 5). The branding and promotion campaigns have emphasised the use of several technology tools, including:

- Responsive Website Design—to create intuitive and easy to navigate websites that can be viewed on multiple devices.
- Search Engine Optimisation—to seek a prominent spot in search engine results.
- Use of Web Analytics—to rely on data analytics to reach target audiences; this is a new area of concentration for colleges and universities.
- Strategic Social Media—nearly every institution is using social media (e.g., Facebook, Twitter).

- Mobile Development—colleges and universities are making a greater investment in having a mobile presence (e.g., mobile content-friendly websites).
- Customer Relationship Management (CRM) Systems—in tandem with web analytics, many colleges and universities are relying on these systems to engage with and convert prospective students into enrolled students (Hanover, 2014, p. 6).

### 2.3 *Disruptive Innovation*

Using technology and E-Learning in higher education in innovative ways could create a win-win-win for institutions, students, and employers (Chistensen et al., 2011). Disruptive innovation is the process by which a sector which has previously served only a limited few (because its products were complicated, expensive, and inaccessible) is transformed into one whose products are simple, affordable, convenient, and available to many, no matter their wealth or expertise. There are a few key elements of disruptive innovation which ought to be examined in the higher education context. First, technology is an enabler to make quality post-secondary education more affordable and accessible to a wider audience (Chistensen et al., 2011). From a marketing perspective, the quality of E-Learning must be defined not just by higher education institutions, but by the students whom they seek to attract. In other words, the quality must be illustrated in such a way that it resonates with prospective students, such that they understand the value proposition...and that they understand how higher education will improve their professional and personal lives (Chistensen et al., 2011). Furthermore, as a key tenet of disruptive innovation, the disruption must be affordable and accessible to traditionally unserved segments, such as the under-represented and the geographically challenged. For instance, Syracuse University has started an accredited hybrid law school to meet the needs of students who do not desire, or cannot afford, a residential law school experience (Wylie, 2016). Given that the tuition and fees are the same as the traditional law school programme, the savings to the student are a benefit, because the students can remain working, not move their families, or abandon their support structures. The university is partnering with 2U to offer the programme to address the decline it has seen in enrolment in its traditional programme over the last nearly 10 years (Wylie, 2016).

For many public higher education institutions, the current business model is incongruent with disruptive innovation. Furthermore, disruptive innovation in higher education (through E-Learning) will require a change in higher education operations policies, practices, and procedures. Christensen et al. (2011) contend that...

[d]isruptive innovations are plugged into new models which allow organizations to serve a job to be done in the lives of customers at this new lower price point or in this new, far more convenient fashion without extra cost. Plugging a disruption into an existing business model never results in transformation of the model. (p. 3)

Per Peter Smith from *Inside Higher Education*, college leaders ought to learn from an IBM example cited by Clayton Christensen. In the 1990s, IBM was able to survive the downfall of the computer industry, by seeing the emergence of the personal computer market, because it provided resources (human and financial) separate from its traditional market segments to “explore alternatives for the future that were fundamentally different from their existing business model” (Smith, 2019). It ought to be noted that IBM maintained its core business model, distinct from the new model, which was on its own parallel track. An example of this new business model in higher education is Western Governor’s University, a private non-profit, regionally accredited online institution with low tuition and in excess of 100,000 students (WGU Annual Report, 2018). Western Governor’s University leaders made the decision not to modify or convert the traditional academy model of using tenured/tenure track instructors, face-to-face, credit hours, and seat time as primary measures. Instead, they developed an entirely new model using competency-based education (to demonstrate mastery of content) to attract the older adult learner. The role of instructors has evolved from being the subject matter experts to incorporate other roles, such as programme mentor and evaluator of competencies (WGU Annual Report, 2018).

Recently, disruptive innovation has been criticised. Scholars note that there are theories of disruption other than the one which is touted by Christensen. Also, the premise that disruption comes from new entrants can be flawed. In an article in the *Economist* (2015), it was argued that incumbents, with their vast resources and developed management skills, are ripe to take over new or complementary industries. The article cites

the success of Apple, an established firm, in its ability to use its knowledge of technology to dominate the mobile telephone industry with the iPhone. If an established industry leader can be an agent for disruption, this lends promise to an established 4-year public research institution being able to adapt its business model to be a leader or at least establish a sizeable portion of the market segment in E-Learning. A second misnomer related to disruptive innovation comes from the notion that disruption indicates the low end of the market. Apple, once again, decimated this argument by expanding its product (the iPhone) to the high end customer market. For an example in higher education, an existing and established traditional 4-year university, the University of Missouri-St. Louis, created an executive doctorate for mid- to senior-level working professionals at a premium price (in excess of the price of the traditional PhD programme in business administration), and in the four years since its establishment, it has attracted professionals from such companies as Boeing and Google.

#### 2.4 *Jobs to Be Done*

Despite the popularity and widespread acceptance over the last 20 years of disruptive innovation, managers have still been frustrated because the theory did not explain or clarify which innovations were likely to be successful (Christensen et al., 2016). Given the focus on gathering data on customers/students, their demographics, and correlations across customers, it is puzzling why businesses and higher education institutions are unable to provide innovative products. Christensen et al. (2016) contend that the emphasis ought not to be on correlations, but instead on “the progress that the customer/student is trying to make in a given circumstance – what the customer is trying to accomplish” (p. 56). This is what is known as “jobs to be done”. In essence, when a customer buys a product, he/she is hiring the institution to perform a job to satisfy a given circumstance (Christensen et al., 2016).

This notion of jobs to be done complements and refines disruptive innovation (Christensen et al., 2016). Disruptive innovation “explains and predicts the behaviours of companies/higher education institutions of being disrupted and helps them understand which new entrants pose the greatest threats” (Christensen et al., 2016, p. 56). By contrast, jobs to be done helps organisations/higher education institutions understand



the products which their customers want to purchase (Christensen et al., 2016).

There are four essential elements of the notion of jobs to be done framework:

1. “Job” is shorthand for what an individual really seeks to accomplish in a given circumstance.
2. The circumstances are more important than customer characteristics, product attributes, new technologies, or trends.
3. Good innovations solve problems which formerly had only inadequate solutions or no solutions.
4. Jobs are never simply about function—they have powerful social and emotional dimensions (Christensen et al., 2016, p. 58).

For higher education institutions to identify the jobs to be done, it is important to ask the question, “Where do you see non-consumption?” (Christensen et al., 2016). The University of Wisconsin, for example, created UW Flex through UW Extension (the non-credit arm of the institution, and a part of its land grant mission) to meet the needs of employers by providing online competency-based education to match learning competencies with work-based skills (Dunagan, 2017). For the employers, the job to be done is to have a workforce equipped with the requisite skills to perform their roles in an effective manner, and enhance the survivability and profitability of the employers. For the employees, the job to be done is obtaining affordable, convenient, at an accelerated-pace, post-secondary credentials to help maintain employability, and increase opportunities for career advancement. The UW Flex programme is not based on seat time and credit hours, but instead it emphasises mastery of content, so students cannot proceed until they demonstrate mastery of the material (Dunagan, 2017). Additionally, the programme allows for the academic credit-bearing units/divisions to work in tandem with the non-credit units/divisions of the university. UW Extension handles the operations, and the instructors from the UW institutions provide the curricular content (Dunagan, 2017). The UW Flex programme offers a different business model than the traditional higher education model. Rather than charge students by the credit hour, it charges a subscription for a period of time. Consequently, if students are able to accelerate

through the programme, the cost could be a lot less than traditional higher education programmes (Dunagan, 2017).

After an institution understands the jobs to be done, it must examine other areas: creating customer experiences; removing barriers and aligning processes; and, identifying social, emotional, and functional dimensions of the job(s). By creating customer/prospective student experiences, institutions will likely generate a competitive advantage (Christensen et al., 2016). It is important to create the experiences which the prospective students will value, and for which they will pay money. As an example, Southern New Hampshire University's (SNHU) College for America has seen its online enrolment balloon in the last 15 years. It has been touted as the first online competency-based programme to divorce itself from the credit hour (Armstrong, 2014), and to receive federal Title IV funding (Dunagan, 2017). In designing its programme to attract and meet the needs of older adults, SNHU identified that a critical need for this market segment is the availability of financial assistance to help obtain post-secondary credentials. With this in mind, SNHU made it a priority to respond with a telephone call to prospective students within 9 minutes of an inquiry about financial aid. SNHU believes that responding in such a personal way, and not by sending a generic email, has created a customer experience which is appreciated by prospective students and, in turn, has helped to increase enrolment (Christensen et al., 2016).

For institutions to be successful in their disruptive innovation, and in identifying the jobs to be done, they must remove barriers which impede the success of students. The University of Maryland University College, which has recently changed its name to the University of Maryland Global Campus, is a public institution with enrolment in excess of 90,000 students. It was a forerunner in worldwide online education, with an emphasis on the adult learner and military market segments (Douglas-Gabriel, 2019). A few years ago the University was experiencing a decline in enrolment, but it was able to turn itself around by focusing on why their students enrol—namely, to earn a degree at an affordable price and for abbreviated seat time, which will enable them to get a better job—and by eliminating many of their barriers. The University has also increased scholarships, and offers courses in 8-week semesters, rather than the traditional 15-week or 16-week semester (McKenzie, 2018a; Douglas-Gabriel, 2019). To curb costs, it has increased its use of open educational resources which provide free or low-cost textbooks to students (McKenzie, 2018b).

As a result of these efforts, it has seen record enrolment and retention (McKenzie, 2018b).

Improvements in, and advancements of, E-Learning, could serve as a catalyst to change the traditional higher education student funnel to be more student-centric. Although there might be a few variations depending on the institution, the traditional student enrolment funnel entails the following steps: from prospective student inquiry to application, to admission by the university, to acceptance by the student, to enrolment in courses, and finally to programme completion and graduation. As an example of being student centric, the University of Missouri-St. Louis does not offer many electives for students in the non-traditional doctoral programme in business. Instead, it has a prescriptive model to ensure enrolment in requisite courses, and a timely completion of the degree. It is asserted that undergraduate students would benefit from this type of personalised service in selecting courses, thereby ensuring timely completion.

In the future, online learning will be further refined by “adaptive learning”. The Hanover (2014) report cites an example of a partnership in which Fujitsu and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology customised asynchronous learning based on the individual needs of the learners. This disruptive technology initiative is akin to how Google and Netflix have designed algorithms to help their customers find what they are looking for, and to make recommendations based on their preferences.

Other forms of technology, perhaps tangentially related or with seemingly no correlation, have the potential to aid learners who use an E-Learning platform to eliminate barriers. Moreover, higher education is on the cusp of incorporating new technologies into its delivery platform, including blockchain, artificial intelligence (AI), and virtual assistants (Alexander et al., 2019).

As blockchain technology advances, it is speculated that this technology could become useful in the operations and business processes for managing student accounts. For example, it could be used to pay for courses and provide digital course transcripts (Metcalf, 2019). Per Alexander et al. (2019), blockchain technology is defined as technology which...

functions as a decentralized digital ledger and is currently used primarily to support cryptocurrencies. The technology employs a distributed data

structure in which the records in the ledger are replicated in multiple locations. Blockchain removes the role of a central authority over the ledger, creating a highly secure model whose integrity is built on the trust of all participants. (p. 33)

Artificial Intelligence (AI) will likely play an increasing role in providing contextual, relevant, and experiential learning experiences, to reinforce mastery of core concepts and application of those concepts. In Alexander et al. (2019), AI is defined as technology which...

uses computer systems to accomplish tasks and activities that have historically relied on human cognition. Advances in computer science are creating intelligent machines that functionally approximate human reasoning more than ever before. Harnessing big data, AI uses foundations of algorithmic machine learning to make predictions that allow for humanlike task completion and decision-making. (p. 31)

Researchers and instructors at the University of Missouri, Kansas City are incorporating AI into the teaching of future engineers about the ethical considerations of deploying such technology in autonomous cars. For example, if it becomes a certainty that a collision is about to happen within seconds, how does the autonomous car decide if it ought to hit an inanimate object, two pedestrians, or a sidewalk which is filled with people?

Virtual assistants help those people who are engaged in a technological environment (gamers, mobile applications, online, etc.) to learn from and stay connected with other virtual users (Alexander et al., 2019). For example, Georgia State University has implemented a virtual assistant which uses personalised text messaging to combat the loss of freshman students over the summer.

Higher education institutions must appeal not just to the functional dimensions of the job(s) to be done, but they must also do a better job of using E-Learning to appeal to the social and emotional dimensions of a person (Christensen et al., 2016). As a way to enhance persistence and completion, many online programmes (including Arizona State University and SNHU) add a concierge approach to instructor involvement, academic advising, and personal advising, to help catch issues very early in the process or semester, so that they can be resolved without negatively impacting the academic career of the students (Dunagan, 2017; Wylie, 2016). Georgia Tech, through its Atrium concept, has found for its online

programmes that students are still seeking ways to be physically connected through “flexible learning experiences”. Consequently, the institution is experimenting with the placement of centres in key areas in corporate facilities and shopping centres in Georgia, to allow students to come together for socialisation, to access student support services, and to meet face-to-face with instructors to address questions which they might have (McKenzie, 2018b).

### 2.5 *Build, Buy, or Partner*

In the recent past, we have seen an outgrowth of vendors, which are often known as online programme managers, and which higher education institutions can engage to provide a wide array of E-Learning options, from a-la-carte to full service “turnkey” operations which include marketing and recruitment, to student support services, to curriculum design and development. The primary added value of these vendors is that they enable colleges and universities to enter and compete in the E-Learning market in less time than it would take to “build” a model from scratch. On the other hand, when a university decides to build its own online infrastructure, it must have the capacity and financial resources to invest in this new endeavour. The college or university bears the risk of failure alone. As a benefit, however, profits need not be shared with a third party (Czerniewicz & Walji, 2019).

As indicated above, many colleges and universities face two primary challenges when considering to “build” or “buy” E-Learning programmes—lack of capital and lack of expertise (Ho, 2017). According to an article in the *Chronicle of Higher Education* (2014), the University of Florida decided to partner with a vendor because, “a partnership with an outside vendor would bring deep resources and experiential base that would be critical in achieving excellence” (Kolowich, 2014). Traditionally, there have been some perceived pitfalls with such arrangements. As a stipulation of the contract, for example, the vendors likely receive a significant portion of the revenue (Kolowich, 2014), and exert control over the terms of the contract (Czerniewicz & Walji, 2019). As with any contractual agreements, the arrangement might not work out between the parties, as was the case with Cal State Online, which signed a contract with a vendor to secure 17,000 students within the first year of operation; the venture only gained 138 students in that time period (Kolowich, 2014).

In January 2020, senators Elizabeth Warren and Sherrod Brown questioned the legality and appropriateness of using federal student aid dollars to contract with online programme managers (OPMs) to incentivise recruitment of students (McKenzie, 2018b). In the McKenzie article, it was noted that arrangements with these vendors could “create perverse incentives and lead to aggressive and deceptive recruiting practices.” Since the infancy of online programme managers, higher education institutions have learned from other institutions, and become more knowledgeable in negotiating deals with vendors. As a result, institutions are negotiating shorter contracts with more flexible terms to benefit (or at least not harm) the institutions. Moreover, institutions are exerting more ownership rights over such things as who has access to the names of the prospective students, and which entity owns the course content during and after the duration of the agreements. Furthermore, higher education institutions are thinking about acceptable exit strategies, and/or how to sustain the model post-contractual agreements. With the federal government becoming more involved, institutions (in the future) might need to make wholesale revisions if the agreements are found not to be legal, or not in the best interest of students.

Many employers have offered tuition reimbursement to foster a culture of lifelong learning and workforce development for employees. In 2017, Arizona State University elevated college credentialing to new heights, through a collaborative venture with corporate giant Starbucks, and an alliance with third-party vendor edX (Starbucks ASU, 2017). In this programme, which is known as the Pathway to Admission Program, employees without a college degree are offered the opportunity to take freshman online courses as a precursor to earning a degree, with 100% tuition (after financial aid and scholarships) covered by Starbucks. Since this partnership, more higher education–corporate partnerships of this type have emerged. If crafted with intentionality, they could create desirable outcomes for all parties: employers, higher education institutions, and employees/students. From the perspective of the universities, a concern of these arrangements is ensuring that the universities have the resources and the capabilities which are needed to build the customised skillset needed for the corporate partner. As an incentive for the corporate partner and employees to choose a particular university’s E-Learning platform, the university might need to incentivise participation by waiving fees or granting in-state tuition to employees who might not qualify for

the incentives “but for” the programme. Overall, higher education institutions must ensure that any concessions are reasonable and financially sound, to achieve institutional mission and strategic priorities.

### 3 CONCLUSION

Given changing demographic, socio-economic, and political realities, what does the changing landscape mean for higher education, and how does this new reality impact the viability of colleges and universities? As a bottom-line business concern, how will colleges/universities sustain themselves given the shift in demographics? This chapter provided some answers to these questions. Overall, higher education, as an industry, must do a better job through branding and promotion, and by revising policies, practices, and procedures (perceived as barriers and lack of response to non-consumption). Indeed, colleges and universities must cut costs, generate revenue, and articulate compelling value propositions for students and families. In order to generate revenue, they must become more creative and disruptive in delivering products through E-Learning (and other delivery modalities) in a customer-centric way (to satisfy the jobs to be done, not just focus on product features or functionality) to traditional age, racially and ethnically diverse, and older adult (age 25 or greater) students.

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# The Place of University Social Responsibility in the Marketisation of Higher Education

*Dania Makki and Abdul-Nasser El-Kassar*

## 1 INTRODUCTION

Higher education is witnessing a paradigm shift in this rapidly changing world. Factors such as globalisation, internationalisation, innovation, and information and communication technologies are causing massive pressure on universities. Additionally, the exponential increase in the number of universities, coupled with a rise in costs and decrease in funds (Lueddeke, 1999), is intensifying the competition among them. The privatisation of universities is also making it difficult for the institutions to generate income, relying primarily on tuition fees, research, and funds from commercial businesses (Altbach, 2008). The pressures of having to self-generate income, and being market-driven while satisfying

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societal needs, are adding to the challenges which the higher education industry is facing. These strains drove universities into a race of rankings and accreditations, increasingly affecting students' choice of institution. This made universities appear as businesses, and led to their marketisation (Sadlak & Liu, 2007). Universities today are compelled to reassess and redefine their roles and purpose to reflect the new realities.

Since the 'World Declaration on Higher Education for the Twenty-First Century: Vision and Action' (UNESCO, 1998), the last two decades have witnessed an increased awareness of higher education's role in socio-cultural and economic development. Recently, the concept of public good shaped universities' role in responding to the arising social and environmental issues and the growing need for accountability (Hazelkorn & Gibson, 2018). This has challenged universities to rethink their purpose and practice (Lueddeke, 1999) in order to become more responsive to society, to reconcile global and local needs, and to ensure their survival and prosperity. With the emerging sustainability crisis, businesses and universities are racing to become socially responsible. Universities play a crucial role in social responsibility (Sørensen, Geschwind, Kekäle, & Pinheiro, 2019), because they are the incubators which develop and shape current and future generations. Consequently, the role of a university is no longer restricted to providing knowledge, but also to building future leaders—socially, environmentally, and economically responsible people who will ensure the continuity of the university, and the steadiness of the world in which we live. Bridging the gap between higher education and society through university social responsibility has developed into a differentiating factor for universities (Garde Sánchez et al., 2013).

In higher education, social responsibility is witnessing a growing importance, which seems to echo the value of corporate social responsibility in the business world. Extensive research on corporate social responsibility revealed that acting responsibly while satisfying the stakeholders' desires generates considerable financial and non-financial profits to corporations. Similarly, recent studies examined the impact of university social responsibility on student-related outcomes, and generated valuable results for universities. These studies asserted that socially responsible actions by universities have a direct positive impact on student–university identification, loyalty (El-Kassar et al., 2019; Makki, 2018), and student satisfaction (Gallardo-Vázquez et al., 2020; Sánchez-Hernández & Mainardes, 2016; Santos, Marques, Justino, & Mendes, 2020; Tetřevová & Sabolova,

2010; Vasilescu et al., 2010). These factors reflect on students' recruitment and retention, and on the survival and continuity of universities in a highly competitive environment (Ogunmokun, Unverdi-Creig, Said, Avci, & Eluwole, 2020).

To conquer twenty-first-century challenges and to respond to all levels of societal needs, being socially responsible has become essential, even in higher education. The burdens which universities face today can be eased by implementing university social responsibility in an institution's mission and practices, and by promoting it to internal and external audiences. These universities or 'business-like' organisations will then demonstrate their distinctiveness, and gain a competitive edge in an increasingly challenging market.

Universities have conflicting roles as organisations which are governed by public policies and which provide public goods, and as organisations which are committed to long-term cultural obligations (Olsen, 2007). Within these roles, various university stakeholders respond differently to changing environments (Olsen, 2007). Christensen et al. (2007) also discussed the instrumental perspective, which allocates importance to the leader's control, and permits expression and reconciliation of conflicting goals among multiple parties. The institutional perspective, however, focuses on the distinctiveness of the internal organisational culture, and the importance of values in the organisation's surroundings. Additionally, they shed light on major distinctions between private and public organisations, stating that the latter are more complex and 'do not operate within a free and competitive economic market' (Christensen et al., 2007).

Taking into consideration this distinction, this chapter focuses specifically on private universities, which have minimal governmental funding, and consequently, which operate within a margin of autonomy. Their existence and survival are conditioned not only by their responsiveness to society's needs, but also by their ability to meet their students' demands. This means that universities are governed by the market exchange and pricing system (Olsen, 2007). Relying primarily on tuition fees as the main source of financing, these institutions are compelled to invest in efforts to attract prospective students, and retain current students. Here appears the relevance of university social responsibility as a way to enhance stakeholders' satisfaction (Gallardo-Vázquez et al., 2020), and the university's image and reputation (Ogunmokun & Timur, 2019). Promoting university social responsibility to the community through well-designed communication strategies represents an untapped opportunity

for private universities to enhance their competitiveness, and to support their marketisation efforts.

This chapter provides a brief overview of current studies which are related to the university social responsibility concept. In particular, it addresses the question of how private universities can utilise university social responsibility in their marketisation, reinforcing their efforts to achieve competitiveness. Based on the Stakeholder Theory (Freeman, 1984), arguments are presented to link university social responsibility to favourable outcomes, providing universities with a valuable element which supports marketisation. Recent conceptual and empirical findings on the influence of university social responsibility are used as a basis to highlight how it can contribute to the marketisation of higher education. Moreover, attention is placed on how cultural differences can affect the influence of university social responsibility on favourable outcomes, an issue for which universities in diverse cultures must account when designing their university social responsibility strategies. Examples from empirical studies, which were conducted in Latin America and the Middle East, are used to illustrate the changing effect of university social responsibility due to cultural disparities.

The chapter adopts a definition of university social responsibility, which draws on theoretical perspectives from the literature. Recent studies of university social responsibility are reviewed, and findings from both conceptual and empirical studies are used to link university social responsibility to the marketisation of higher education. The chapter now defines the marketisation of higher education. It then establishes the conceptual and theoretical grounding for the chapter. The chapter continues by presenting a brief overview of the university social responsibility concept, including its development, definitions, and some findings of recent studies on university social responsibility. Finally, it links university social responsibility to the marketisation of higher education.

## 2 THE MARKETISATION OF HIGHER EDUCATION

The marketisation of education was defined by Kwong (2000) as ‘the adoption of free market practices in running schools. These include the business practices of cutting production costs, abandoning goods not in demand, producing only popular products, and advertising products to increase sales and the profit margin’ (p. 88). In the higher education industry, therefore, marketisation insinuates that universities adopt

the behaviour of businesses in lowering costs, offering only what is demanded, and advertising for their products in the interest of increasing sales and, thus, profit. In this context, students become customers, where universities identify with entrepreneurs and businesses in their adopted values, strategic plans, and practices (McClure, Barringer, & Travis Brown, 2020), which reflect their identity in the market. This marketisation of higher education shifted the sign of success from the cognitive development of students to their employability (Judson & Taylor, 2014).

The commercialisation of education can be reflected through the internationalisation of higher education. In order to attract international students, universities integrate global dimensions and functions such as international campuses, franchises, exchange programmes, internationalisation of the curriculum, and regional partnerships (Altbach & Knight, 2007). All these efforts aim to generate revenue, build an international reputation, and position universities in the global market. The privatisation of higher education is another illustration of the commodification of education. The expansion of private universities has been primarily driven by the necessity to meet the growing need for education, which surpasses the capacity of public supply, and the need for a differentiated education in quality and content (James, 1987). Chile represents an example of the shift from a primarily public to a privatised market-oriented higher education system, which relies on tuition fees, and thereby reinforces competition. The growth of the Chilean academic system has driven the expansion of research, and has increased enrolment and funding (Bernasconi, 2005). Interestingly, the transition to privatisation did not undermine the social contribution of Chilean universities, which is inconsistent with the claimed effect of privatisation, because a negative connotation and a decline of universities' social engagement are often associated with the privatisation of higher education (Bernasconi, 2005).

The marketisation of higher education is crucial for universities alongside the fierce competition within the higher education industry. Today, students (or 'educational services consumers' in the marketisation context) have access more than ever to information about universities. They make their choices according to their needs in terms of programmes of study, quality of education, accessibility of location, affordability, reputation and ranking, graduates' employability, and other factors (Brown, 2015).

With the growing number of universities and the diversity of services which are provided, each university seeks a competitive advantage, which will push its ranking higher and thereby make it more appealing to potential students. Some universities might opt to decrease their prices and increase financial aid and scholarships to entice favoured students (Natale & Doran, 2012). Other universities work to reduce prices, and enhance the quality of the services (Brown, 2015) which are provided, by revisiting their curricula, developing modern content which meets the needs of the market, recruiting qualified instructors, implementing innovative teaching tools, or providing a rich campus experience.

Universities can also focus on strengthening their relationships with their surroundings. Usually, the local community is the primary feeder of universities' admissions within the geographical area. Accounting for the local community's needs will make a university a 'preferred' institution. It will attract more students and possibly generate greater local political support, resulting in easier access to national funds (Benneworth et al., 2010). By incorporating some of these approaches in their practices, universities can achieve a competitive edge. Yet, it is worth noting that the strategies which are adopted by universities have a crucial and determining impact on student satisfaction and loyalty. In turn, this influences recruitment and retention, which themselves represent major challenges for universities (Sánchez-Hernández & Mainardes, 2016). Consequently, recruitment and retention impact universities' income and profits, and, hence, their sustainability.

Regardless of the approach which is embraced by a university to overcome competition and raise its market share, the 5 Ps marketing mix (Kotler, 2005) appears applicable to the education industry. Product refers to the educational services which are provided, and which mainly include teaching, research, and third sector services (Kidulani, 2014). Price relates primarily to the tuition fees of the services which are provided. Promotion includes public relations, omnichannel advertising activities, recruitment efforts, and any attempts to reach an audience. Place stands for the university's geographical location, and its accessibility versus online learning resources. People encompasses administrative and academic staff. As the main service providers who are in direct contact with students, they are key people in the marketing process. The quality of the services which they deliver directly affects the satisfaction of a university's customers.



In 2008, Jonathan Ivy assessed the relevance of the traditional marketing mix to higher education. His research aimed to present a new marketing mix, which is grounded in the perceptions of MBA students about the marketing initiatives of South African business schools. Ivy's research validated three components of the traditional marketing mix: people, promotion, and price. It also introduced additional elements such as premiums, prominence, and programme, which would better serve universities in the development of their marketing strategies. In universities, premiums represent the add-on incentives, which work to increase their offers' value. These incentives can include state-of-the-art facilities, advanced equipment, innovative teaching methods, on-campus accommodation, or any other attractive complimentary service. As for prominence, Ivy's research refers to the university's reputation as reflected by research, employability rates, accreditations, and so on. The programme comprises the curriculum, degrees, and diplomas offered. As service providers, universities ought to understand their audience needs, and assess the role of their elements (product, price, promotion, people, etc.) prior to designing their marketing mix. This will set a framework, which guides their decisions, and contributes to the development and implementation of efficient marketing strategies.

In the face of today's global crises, society appears increasingly concerned with finding sustainable solutions to the rising social, environmental, and economic issues. It has become essential for businesses and all types of institutions to adopt strategies, which serve the Three Pillars of Sustainability (WCED, 1987): environmental protection, social well-being, and economic growth. Consequently, marketing decisions ought to rely not only on consumers' needs, but also on society's long-term benefit. Nevertheless, how can universities serve sustainability? The answer is that universities are catalysts for, and contributors to, sustainable human development, in their role as educators of future leaders (Johnsen et al., 2015). The knowledge which they provide through teaching and research, and the campus experience, have major impacts on the values, civic engagement, social responsibility, and drive of students—the future leaders who will take part in developing sustainable societies. Here appears the importance of university social responsibility in higher education. It plays an impactful role in responding to societal and environmental needs. It differentiates the status of practising universities, granting them a competitive edge in an increasingly challenging industry.

### 3 UNIVERSITY SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY

Over the past few decades, the concept of social responsibility has gained the attention of both practitioners and scholars. An extensive amount of research has been done on corporate social responsibility and its influence on a multitude of outcomes at various levels and within different industries. Although studies which are related to social responsibility in universities have been relatively scarce (Ahmad, 2012), an interest in this area has recently emerged. The corporate social responsibility literature offers a wide range of theories and conceptual perspectives, many of which are either complicated, contentious, or unclear (Garriga & Melé, 2004). The most prominent corporate social responsibility studies are based on four groups of theories: instrumental, political, integrative, and ethical (Garriga & Melé, 2004). The Stakeholder Theory (Freeman, 1984) is the most widely used ethical theory in the corporate social responsibility literature. This theory claims that businesses must account for the impact of their activities, and create value for all stakeholders who are impacted by their operations. Responding to internal and external stakeholders' interests will yield positive outcomes (Freeman, 2010). Accordingly, businesses, which adopt corporate social responsibility in response to emerging social, economic, and environmental challenges, will gain greater performance and reputation (Zhu et al., 2014).

In the same way, corporate social responsibility is considered a duty for universities (Plungpongpan et al., 2016), which deliver lengthy services to students, and establish multifaceted relationships with several parties, including instructors, parents, suppliers, industries, and government. As a result, they must account for the interests of these stakeholders. As such, university social responsibility has a similar meaning to corporate social responsibility, and creating value for university stakeholders by exhibiting social responsibility towards them leads to positive outcomes.

This concept has been further confirmed by Tetřevová and Sabolova's (2010) research on university social responsibility and university stakeholder management. Their findings revealed that university social responsibility leads to a positive change among primary stakeholders. Additionally, a recent study by Symaco and Tee (2019) reiterated that a university's social responsibility and engagement with the community creates value for concerned stakeholders. The Stakeholder Theory appears to be related closely to university social responsibility, offering a solid

conceptual validation of the significance of university social responsibility and its role in achieving valuable university-related outcomes.

In the business world, corporate social responsibility has been gaining ground since the 1950s. During its earliest years, corporate social responsibility was defined as the ‘obligations of businessmen to pursue those policies, to make those decisions, or to follow those lines of action which are desirable in terms of the objectives and values of our society’ (Bowen, 1953, p. 32). With the rise in ethical issues stemming from businesses, corporate social responsibility evolved from a primarily economic and legal responsibility into an ethical and philanthropic obligation (Carroll, 1999). Extensive research on corporate social responsibility has addressed its conceptual development, and its impact at various levels of businesses, such as corporate financial performance, organisational behaviour, and employee- and customer-related outcomes. Literature in this field has revealed that engaging in corporate social responsibility grants companies a competitive advantage (Brown & Mazzarol, 2009; Porter & Kramer, 2006; Smith, 2007), and returns huge benefits in terms of financial performance, economic value, public image, and reputation (Lin et al., 2009; Pava & Krausz, 1996; Saecidi et al., 2015; Van Beurden & Gössling, 2008). Corporate social responsibility was also linked to enhanced employee-related outcomes (El-Kassar et al., 2017; Rodrigo & Arenas, 2007; Turker, 2009), and greater customer satisfaction, loyalty, commitment, and identification (Chaudary et al., 2016; Crespo & del Bosque, 2005; Huang et al., 2017; Luo & Bhattacharya, 2006). Today, corporate social responsibility has become a key element for any successful company. It has surpassed the legal expectations of a company, and has resulted in more investment towards enhancing relationships with stakeholders, and accounting for the environment (Commission of the European Communities, 2001).

University social responsibility, however, represents an under-researched area (Ahmad, 2012). The concept of social engagement is not new to higher education. Universities’ awareness of their local communities’ needs and their contributions to social, environmental, and economic challenges in their communities, have been an essential part of the covenant between the American people and public universities. The Morrill Act of 1862 (Kellogg Commission, 1999), for example, helped to establish so-called Land-Grant universities, which in turn pledged to ensure equal access to quality education for all workers’ dependents,

provide relevant knowledge, produce useful research, and serve the public good and interests of the local community.

A review of the literature reveals various statements which are employed to convey universities' regional engagement (Charles & Benneworth, 2001), which include the notions of the third mission of universities (Benneworth & Jongbloed, 2009), the 'stewardship of place', and their standing as 'anchor institutions' (AASCU, 2015). Similarly, they have earned some universities the titles of 'engaged university' (Bridger & Alter, 2006) and the 'civic university' (Benson & Harkavy, 2000; Goddard et al., 2012). This literature has been further enriched by Pinheiro et al.'s (2012) research on the interplay between universities and their surroundings. Pinheiro discussed how different systems respond in distinctive ways to their changing environment. They also critiqued the simplistic view of the university's organisational system, and examined emerging tensions from the challenges which the modern university faces with respect to their third mission. The common ground for these various concepts is that universities' contributions to their local and regional communities reside at the core of what is known today as university social responsibility. The latter is presented in the literature on social responsibility in higher education as a new concept, which is derived from corporate social responsibility practices in the education industry. This definition of university social responsibility will be adopted in this chapter as a link to the marketisation of higher education.

University social responsibility appeared in Chile in 2001, following an initiative that was led by Universidad Construye Pais in which thirteen Chilean universities joined efforts to establish university social responsibility, and to promote its practices (Vallaey, 2007). Latin American universities exhibited increasing interest in, and implementation of this concept, which led to growing research on university social responsibility which was undertaken by universities in the region.

Now there are multiple definitions of university social responsibility. According to Jimenez de la Jara (2007), it is expressed through the university's efforts to instil and apply ethical principles and values, and to participate actively in the creation of positive social change through four main practices: teaching, research, management, and extension activities. Vallaey (2007) described it as the ethical behaviours of university stakeholders, which are reflected through the responsible management of the university's academic, cognitive, labour, and environmental effects; these behaviours reinforce the transition towards sustainable societies.

De la Cuesta, Porras, Saavedra, and Sanchez (2010) described university social responsibility as offering ‘educational services and knowledge transfer following principles of ethics, good governance, respect for the environment, social commitment and promotion of citizen values under the premise of being accountable to society in regards to the commitments with their stakeholders’ (p. 236). University social responsibility was also referred to as ‘the voluntary commitment of universities to incorporate social, labor, ethical, and societal concerns into their different main functions (teaching, research, management, and environmental factors) derived from the externalities that arise from their activities, for which they must take into account the social demands of their stakeholders’ (Larrán & Andrades, 2013, p. 280). University social responsibility, therefore, can be viewed as the activities, which universities undertake beyond teaching and research to address their stakeholders’ expectations (Giuffré & Ratto, 2014; Gonzalez-Perez et al., 2007; Wing-Hung Lo et al., 2017; Walker, 2018).

Due to a lack of consensus on a definition for university social responsibility, Esfijani et al. (2013) developed a typology to determine the main themes of university social responsibility, and to suggest a consolidated, comprehensive description of it. In their research, they analysed 18 definitions, identified 8 approaches, and classified 7 sub-concepts, which ultimately led to their definition of university social responsibility: ‘a concept whereby university integrates all of its functions and activities with the society needs through active engagement with its communities in an ethical and transparent manner which aimed to meet all stakeholders’ expectations’ (Esfijani et al., 2013, p. 280). In simple terms, university social responsibility is the university version of corporate social responsibility, in which the stakeholder constitutes the main component. Based on the Stakeholder Theory, which asserts that businesses attain positive results by practising corporate social responsibility, socially responsible universities will achieve positive university-related outcomes by having stakeholders’ needs and interests at the core of university activities.

In brief, university social responsibility is situated at various levels of the university’s mission, vision, and practices—namely, its curriculum, research, social, and environmental actions. It is mainly based on the implementation of ethical practices in key university functions, to address social and environmental issues (Wigmore-Álvarez & Ruiz-Lozano, 2012) such as:

- Developing and delivering a curriculum with courses on ethics and social responsibility in approaching societal and environmental issues.
- Directing research to serve society by responding to emerging social and environmental challenges.
- Ensuring good governance, accountability, and transparency of management.
- Encouraging civic engagement, volunteerism, and active citizenship among universities' key stakeholders.

According to Vallaeys (2014), higher education institutions, just like businesses, constitute an integral part of their communities, and their influence falls in four main areas:

1. Organisational impact: the university's influence on society and the environment through its daily practices and operations.
2. Educational impact: the university's ability to shape students' ethics and values through education.
3. Cognitive impact: the social relevance and applicability of the knowledge, which is provided by universities.
4. Social impact: the university's degree of consciousness and responsiveness to society's needs.

Being socially responsible has become a prerequisite, not only for businesses, but also for universities, as they respond to emerging challenges while accounting for society's needs. Universities influence the environment and the lives of people in the communities in which they operate, through the values, programmes, and actions which are practised daily on campus. Their effect also stems from the quality of the knowledge which is generated, its relevance to societal needs, and the ethics and values which are transferred to students. This growing importance has made social responsibility crucial for universities to satisfy their key stakeholders (students, alumni, instructors, staff, etc.) (McCowan, 2016; Vasilescu et al., 2010). While teaching and research are the main missions of universities, contributing to society's well-being, and aligning with current requirements and future needs of the community, have become the third, often neglected, the mission of universities (Etzkowitz, 2002). With a lack of motivation to invest in social responsibility, universities'

social engagement is mostly volitional (Nejati et al., 2011), except in some countries like Estonia and Norway where it is mandated by law (OECD, 2019).

Most of the studies on university social responsibility have revolved around understanding and defining the concept, and exploring its means of application and reporting. Mora and Ibáñez's (2009) study on university social responsibility at Spanish universities revealed that, although it is a new concept, universities in Spain are showing a growing interest in developing and implementing social responsibility activities and initiatives. Another study by Nejati et al. (2011) examined the websites' content and annual reports of 10 world-leading universities on such dimensions as corporate governance, human rights, employment procedures, the environment, campus operations, student-related matters, and civic engagement. This study revealed the commitment of these universities to practise and communicate their sustainable and socially responsible efforts to society as a whole. It also showed that developing a systematic approach for university social responsibility reporting would facilitate comparability among institutions. Additionally, it demonstrated that a platform to share universities' experiences and best practices would serve as a benchmark for less renowned institutions in developing countries. The article concluded with a suggestion to examine the effect of university social responsibility on stakeholders' perception and loyalty.

A case study on a Turkish university's corporate identity by Atakan and Eker (2007) showed that university social responsibility constitutes a part of identity. When incorporated in the university's mission, vision, and strategy, university social responsibility sends a positive image to all stakeholders, and an increased competitiveness for the university. Yet, the implementation process requires long-term commitment, and ought to be reflected in the university's mission, goals, and practices, as per Wigmore-Álvarez and Ruiz-Lozano's study (2012). Indeed, in their review of the concept of university social responsibility, they highlighted that previous research has focused on the environmental dimension (Larrán Jorge & Andrades Peña, 2017; Velazquez, Munguía, & Sanchez, 2005). They also assessed several tools which are used to measure sustainability, like STARS (Sustainability/Tracking/Assessment/Rating system) and GRI (Global Reporting Initiative). These measures enable weighing universities' social, economic, and environmental actions. Consequently, they facilitate the assessment of universities' social responsibility.

Research on higher education's social responsibility in various countries across the globe has confirmed that higher education transformation is a universal issue, and that the social relevance of university education and practices has become a global concern. Related studies in South Africa (Francis et al., 2016; Waghid, 2002) have noted the transformation of the higher education system, with the curricular content shifting to become more socially relevant. Universities are encouraged to integrate their teaching and research agendas with the local community's needs. Their main role today is to direct students' interests, and to motivate them to serve society, and to contribute to its sustainable development. Moreover, the findings of different studies which have been undertaken in various countries like the United States (Gomez & Preciado, 2013), Hispanic America (Gomez, 2014), Pakistan (Ali & Ali, 2016), and Taiwan (Su, Chen, Tsai, & Su, 2018) have agreed on the value and importance of university social responsibility education through teaching and practice, because it increases students' commitment to social responsibility in their personal and professional lives. Mora et al. (2018) highlighted the growing interplay between Latin American universities and their local communities, driven by the actual socio-economic and political situations in these countries. They noticed an inclusion of the third mission in various university practices, including those which are related to the traditional missions of teaching (continuing education, life-long learning, etc.) and research (innovation, technology transfer, etc.). Successful partnerships which are based on a clear understanding of society's needs can serve as a model for universities which are willing to practise social responsibility by transforming into civic universities.

In 2017, Larrán and Peña conducted a review of the literature on university social responsibility by analysing 314 articles which were published between 2000 and 2015. They concluded that most university social responsibility research in the 2000s tackled the alterations in governance and its impact on university structure and operations. As of 2010, research interest has focused more on the effect of changes in governance on accountability and stakeholders. Their study also showed that university social responsibility is still under-researched, especially with regard to the impact of university social responsibility practices on key stakeholders (Larrán Jorge & Andrades Peña, 2017). Recent innovative studies (El-Kassar et al., 2019; Makki, 2018) addressed this impact by examining the effect of university social responsibility on student-related outcomes.



#### 4 UNIVERSITY SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY AND THE MARKETISATION OF HIGHER EDUCATION

In 2018, Makki conducted a case study on university social responsibility in a private prominent higher education institution in Lebanon. Unexpectedly, this study revealed considerable social engagement initiatives and programmes in the various university functions (teaching, research, student activities, campus operations, etc.) which did not seem extensive prior to delving into each section of the university website to collect relevant information. This research shed light on the value of university social responsibility, by empirically testing using the PLS-SEM technique, a conceptual model which links university social responsibility, student–university identification, and loyalty towards the university. It analysed the data which were collected from 429 online questionnaires which were completed by students at this private university in Lebanon. The findings revealed the positive effect which university social responsibility had on student–university identification and loyalty, and the mediating effect of student–university identification on the relationship between university social responsibility and loyalty. This study appears as a testimonial to the value of university social responsibility, based on students’ perceptions. The benefits which stem from implementing and practising university social responsibility represent potential growth opportunities for universities.

Following this case study which showed Lebanese students’ receptiveness to university social responsibility, it triggered the exploration of whether or not students from a different cultural background will exhibit similar response. El-Kassar et al. (2019) performed a cross-cultural study which addressed this issue, and highlighted the value of university social responsibility by assessing its effect on student–university identification and loyalty in a unique context. Data were collected from students in two private universities within two geographically disperse and culturally disparate countries: Lebanon and Colombia—the latter being among Latin American countries which showed interest in university social responsibility following its emergence in Chile. Additionally, the university social responsibility component was split into two dimensions: (1) university social responsibility which is directed towards students, and (2) university social responsibility which is directed towards society. 619 completed questionnaires were analysed, the result of which was that university social responsibility, whether directed towards students

or towards society, impacts student loyalty both directly and through student–university identification. The results validated university social responsibility and student–university identification as predictors of student loyalty.

Furthermore, cross-cultural and multi-group analyses revealed remarkable differences in students' perception of university social responsibility when it comes to gender and country. They showed that female students are more influenced by university social responsibility practices directed towards society, while male students care more for university social responsibility initiatives directed towards themselves. On the country level, cultural background affected students' perception of university social responsibility variously. In collectivistic communities, such as Colombia, students exhibited a better perception of university social responsibility activities directed towards society, while students in more individualistic countries, like Lebanon, appeared more responsive to university social responsibility directed towards them specifically. Accordingly, providing relevant knowledge in its content and practice, and implementing culturally sensitive, socially responsible initiatives and programmes, will contribute to a better student identification with, and a greater loyalty to, the university. The outcomes of this study present university social responsibility as a strong predictor of loyalty; with the limited studies on university social responsibility and its impact on key university stakeholders, the findings of this research have set a basis and direction for universities and their management.

Indeed, combining these findings with the results of studies which link university social responsibility to student satisfaction (Gallardo-Vázquez et al., 2020; McCowan, 2016; Sánchez-Hernández & Mainardes, 2016; Santos et al., 2020; Tetřevová & Sabolova, 2010; Vasilescu et al., 2010), suggests that university social responsibility is of great importance for universities in achieving student satisfaction and loyalty. Both of these factors reflect on recruitment and retention—two current major challenges for universities (Sánchez-Hernández & Mainardes, 2016). According to Helgesen and Nettet (2007), student loyalty has become increasingly important for universities, as public funding decreases. Loyal, matriculated students recommend their institutions to others, and continue on to graduate studies/professional programmes, whenever available. This increases retention and generates further revenues for private universities, or future governmental funding for public universities.

Additionally, studies underlined the considerable impact of student satisfaction on recruitment and retention, which can be enhanced by responding to students' needs and expectations (Douglas et al., 2006; Elliott & Healy, 2001). Universities can indeed create value for their key stakeholders by practising university social responsibility. Satisfied and loyal students will convey a great institutional image and reputation through word-of-mouth (Ogunmokun & Timur, 2019) which is the most effective and efficient way of recruiting students (Elliott & Healy, 2001). Enhanced recruitment and retention ensure the university's sustainability and progress.

Finally, university social responsibility plays a primary role in allowing universities in general, and private universities in particular, to provide a substantial contribution to the development of their communities, while maintaining their continuity and growth. To that effect, Chilean private universities are exemplary in sustaining their social engagement and the 'public good' concept. The Chilean higher education system, where university social responsibility originates, has witnessed a transition from a primarily public to an almost fully private sector, and has been praised by the World Bank for its successful privatisation (Bernasconi, 2005). Furthermore, it exhibited a capacity to counter the negative connotation associated with the privatisation of higher education in terms of decline or fading of social engagement within the diverging priorities imposed by the market forces and competition. Chilean private universities' ability to balance between social engagement and privatisation, is evidence of the compatibility of university social responsibility and marketisation. It is worth noting the importance of well-designed marketing strategies. Indeed, communicating university social responsibility initiatives to the public is vital for universities to stand out (Plungpongpan et al., 2016). It bolsters their marketing efforts, and grants them a competitive edge over their competitors in the higher education industry.

## 5 CONCLUSION

Local and global issues jeopardise the future of universities. Consequently, they are expected to lead change towards a sustainable world. It is in their best interest to integrate a social element into their mainstream functions, and to direct their efforts in teaching, research, management, and extension activities to motivate students (the future leaders) to engage in the sustainable development of their communities. Doing so acknowledges

their influence on society, and proves their responsiveness to the social, environmental, and economic strains which burden their communities. By practising and communicating their social responsibility and sustainability efforts, universities will be able to promote themselves as socially responsible institutions, and will provide a benchmark for other universities, thereby facilitating comparisons. University social responsibility will transform into a valuable element which constitutes a differentiating factor for the status of a university, making it stand out from the crowd in a highly competitive market (Ogunmokun et al., 2020).

While universities can choose between being followers or leaders in adopting social responsibility as a competitive advantage, two main corporate social responsibility dimensions ought to be transferred to the framework of universities: (1) the promotion of university social responsibility, and (2) the capacity to communicate it through social marketing actions. This entails the creation of a university social responsibility and social marketing team, the identification of relevant social and environmental needs, the establishment of a social responsibility indicator, the definition of strategic goals, the conception of a plan for university social responsibility, and the communication of outcomes to the internal and external communities (Peric, 2016).

The incorporation of university social responsibility, however, can be a challenging process for universities. Indeed, implementing change in the main university functions (teaching, research, management, and environmental factors) requires strong interest and motivation to engage stakeholders in socially responsible and sustainable efforts. Possible solutions to overcome implementation barriers include raising awareness of university social responsibility through active learning, setting a research plan, offering training programmes, encouraging entrepreneurial culture, and establishing a reward system for involved instructors and staff. Developing universal measuring and reporting tools for social and environmental performances which reflects a multi-stakeholder approach, would also be beneficial (Larrán Jorge & Andrades Peña, 2017).

To conclude, universities are agents of change in their communities. The substantial relationships with their various stakeholders have been evolving over the past decades, and their roles in society have been rising in complexity, thereby making university social responsibility a fundamental practice to fulfil the growing demands and expectations, which are placed on them. The shifting priorities of universities, and the widespread marketing of higher education, coupled with rising

ethical concerns, result in private universities which are increasingly adopting business practices, and promoting education as a marketable commodity (McClure et al., 2020; Natale & Doran, 2012). Incorporating university social responsibility in private universities would help re-establish the impaired trust in the quality and value of the education which they provide. University social responsibility appears to be of paramount importance, therefore, not only to society, but also to practising institutions. Whether implemented deliberately, following well-devised plans and strategies, or practised intuitively by people within various units/departments, university social responsibility constitutes a differentiating factor, and a competitive advantage which is much needed in a highly competitive industry. Promoting socially responsible practices to the public would support private universities' strategies, and would leverage their efforts to overcome the often vicious competition among universities. Considering recent studies' findings which have highlighted the value and impact of university social responsibility, overlooking it would deprive private universities of potential growth opportunities under the roof of the marketisation of higher education.

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# Avoiding Marketisation: An Exploration of Universities' Social Responsibility in Mexico

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## 1 INTRODUCTION

The social commitment of universities has accompanied them from the moment of their creation. Currently, the consequences of the decisions taken by our society have become more relevant due to the global impacts of local actions. This scenario forces universities to contribute to the formation of citizens aware of the repercussions or impacts of their acts.

University social responsibility must be understood as the institution's commitment to disseminate and implement knowledge and a set of values in professional training, research, innovation and social projection; all of these focused on solving social problems (Arana, Duque, Quiroga, &

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Vargas, 2008). Accordingly, a university institution of quality which is not relevant in its social environment cannot be conceived as such (Sánchez, 2011).

However, particularly for emerging countries, resource limitation is an issue which universities frequently face. As a result, university marketisation, defined in this chapter as the way a university needs to increase its sources of income to sustain activities, can be a priority which puts at risk core activities. These can be considered of social relevance and can be used to measure the social impact of universities. Examples are: (1) enrolment, (2) areas of knowledge, (3) plans and study programmes, (4) links with productive sectors, and (5) the flow of repercussions and transformations which occur in society.

The chapter is aligned with the framework of the Incheon Declaration for Education 2030, formulated by the United Nations (UN). It is a new vision presented for the next 15 years which includes a commitment to improve learning outcomes by strengthening inputs, processes, and the evaluation of the results of the performance of the substantive functions. This improvement is achieved by three substantive areas found in universities: teaching, research, and extension areas, which define the work of academics.

As a result, this chapter will analyse the universal social responsibility characteristics in universities of an emerging economy such as Mexico. This context is interesting because the institutional characteristics in which universities are immersed are not balanced, especially in terms of social scope and financial access. Considering this, our goal is to understand how universities deal with the concept of universal social responsibility while at the same time, increase their income.

Accordingly, this research represents a reflection on how public universities fulfil their role of serving society in emerging countries. We conceptualise and describe how universal social responsibility has become a common practice to correct failures caused by the initiatives of neoliberal governments.

This chapter is structured as follows: first, we analyse the role of the university in society from a historical context. In the second section, we explain how universities in Mexico, particularly public, manage their budget and how this is intrinsically related to its mission. The third section presents how the universities diversify income and how this privatisation influences the concept of universal social responsibility. Next, we describe what the universal social responsibility concepts ideally constitute and how

this might not be the case for universities dealing with budgetary challenges. Finally, we conclude with some ideas on the future evolution of the universal social responsibility concept in emerging economies.

## 2 THE HISTORICAL ROLE OF UNIVERSITIES

The university model had its origins in the European region in the early thirteenth century, where knowledge was concentrated in a niche of the population, especially linked to religion (Pucciarelli & Kaplan, 2016). ‘Cathedral schools’ was a term which schools of education linked to the clergy, particularly the Catholic Church, received. Regarding the constitution of these schools, knowledge was restricted to society, including disciplines of the Roman school such as grammar, rhetoric, dielectric, astronomical, arithmetic, geometry, and music. These were considered by Christian doctrine as the seven liberal arts, including areas such as law, medicine, and theology, the latter being the most popular and prestigious (see Fig. 1).

According to the literature, the first schools recognised as universities are Bologna (Italy), Oxford (England), and Paris (France), where under an ecclesiastical authorisation process, the incorporation of people from different nations was allowed (Pucciarelli & Kaplan, 2016). The purpose of these universities was the organisational improvement of the Christian



Fig. 1 Base model of university education (*Source* Authors)

community and not so much the search for the resolution of everyday problems of society (see Fig. 2).

Until the early nineteenth century, the university was considered necessary for social development, and resulted in two models for training professionals. The first model focused mainly on the development and practice of the chosen discipline. The second model encouraged (to a certain degree) the ability of a person to exercise his/her skills (Nicolescu, 2018).

This model of the university was transitory until the eighteenth century where the scientific and cultural revolution took place. The state was in charge of some academies where architects, engineers, and some lawyers were formed. It was at the end of the century when the university moved towards a detachment from Catholic doctrine, emerging from this transformation the interest of the state for social and scientific needs (Pucciarelli & Kaplan, 2016). Therefore, disciplines of interest such as geography, physics, mathematics, and administration were added.

In the case of Latin America, the presence of universities begins with the Royal and Pontifical University of Mexico (currently UNAM, 1551), San Fulgencio (Central University of Ecuador, 1586) and the National University of Córdoba (Argentina, 1613). Given the religiously based situation, the universities were administered by Jesuits, who retained the

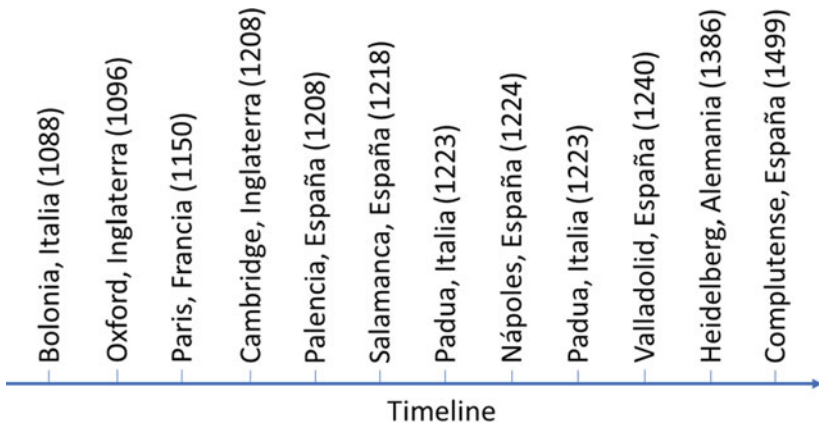


Fig. 2 Appearance of the first European universities (Source Authors)



tradition of including Christian doctrine in the professional preparation of students.

In the twentieth century, society demanded greater openness to education with state support, with the participation of public and private institutions (González & López, 2016) increased. In the American context, mathematics and physics grew in importance, as a consequence of World War II (1939–1945), which was aided by the ‘brain drain’ from other countries. This resulted in a concentration of many multinational scientists, numerous awards, and international prestige at institutions such as Harvard University (see Fig. 3).

The unstoppable changes which arise in society, seen from technological, economic, and environmental perspectives, among others, have been of great interest to universities and their way of structuring models with the objective of producing professionals with the capacities to face social issues. Seen as a need for change, a series of worldwide events of annoyance with traditional systems have been cited through strikes and demonstrations against both academic and governing authorities (Campillo, 2015).

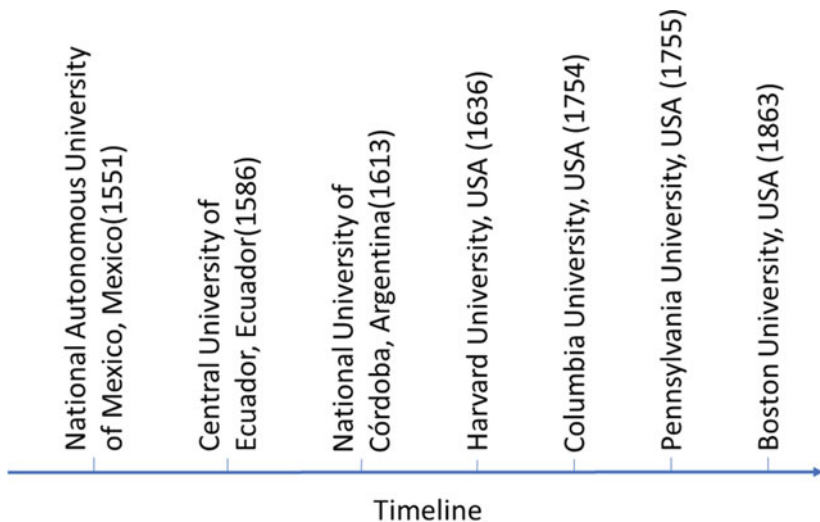


Fig. 3 Universities in North America and Latin America (*Source* Authors)

This form of expression has allowed important transformations for the challenges of the twenty-first century, where freedom of expression and social responsibility play an important role in favor of educational quality (González & López, 2016; López, 1999). In this way, private sector universities have gained strength, as they are linked to different productive sectors. In the case of public universities, a decrease in state funds has triggered other educational institutions to arise and meet the demand not met by public universities.

Currently the literature shows the technological area as the main axis of change which is characterised by the systematisation of processes and the constant search for efficiency. The goal today of universities is to generate knowledge and be able to transmit it. Darin (2015) emphasises the model called ‘cyberculture’, where new information and communications technologies (ICTs) can guarantee access to education. It is where each society and the different styles of government reflect and acquire these tools in universities, promoting a growth model by seeking equal benefits in society.

### 3 THE OPERATING BUDGET OF PUBLIC UNIVERSITIES

According to the Ministry of Public Education in Mexico (SEP), public universities are created by decree of local congresses, under the legal figure of decentralised public bodies. These state institutions develop the functions of teaching, generation and innovative application of knowledge, and also extension and dissemination of culture.

For the substantive functions of public universities in Mexico to be achieved, there are support programmes which seek to promote the realisation of projects to support the quality of higher education. These include the professionalisation of academic staff, the strengthening and diversification of the educational offer, the improvement of the relevance of higher education, the linking of the university to the industry and social sectors, the dissemination of culture, the internationalisation of higher education, and the promotion of comprehensive training. In the international context, particularly for Latin America, the resource destined to education is hardly enough to achieve these objectives, so the state universities rely on practices to obtain resources which move away from the perspective of university social responsibility.

According to Boaventura de Sousa Santos (2007), for example, the fulfilment of the extension function requires that universities set aside

their profitable activities in order to raise extra-budgetary resources. In this case, we shall face a discrete (or not so discreet) privatisation of the public university. To avoid this, extension activities must have as a priority objective, democratically endorsed within the university, solidarity support for the resolution of social exclusion and discrimination problems, so that the excluded groups are given a voice.

A study by the Center for Economic and Budgetary Research (CIEP, 2016), identifies that the different forms of education financing in the countries, in addition to international sources, can be classified into three levels: central (national) government, regional government (province, state, departments, etc.), and the local government (municipality, district, among others). In this same order of ideas, some patterns can be identified in the forms of financing which go beyond national borders. Johnstone (2004) identifies four sources of financing which in each country have their own combination: government resources from tax collection, family expenses for the payment of tuition fees, student credit, and institutional donations. As the literature generated during the period shows, the main debate revolved around the responsibility which corresponds to the state and the costs which must be borne by students and families.

According to Altbach (2007), however, in many countries nowadays a smaller part of the budget of public universities come from government sources. As a result, they must generate their own income from tuition fees, research, consulting, commercial companies, and other sources. This privatisation has meant that the traditional aims of the university have begun to be ignored—most of which do not produce immediate income—to give more importance to other activities which have the potential to produce income. The commoditisation of higher education is closely related to privatisation. Thus, the functions of the university are increasingly conditioned to market forces. The services which can produce income are valued and receive support, while the fields which produce little income receive less attention or are even discarded. Tuition fees are an example of market forces in action. More and more academic institutions charge tuition fees, which in many cases are increasingly high, and, sometimes, students pay different fees.

Since the economic development of the regions depends on the efforts invested by the institutions which produce and disseminate new scientific-technological knowledge, then they would have to focus on the business world creating more wealth while exploiting that knowledge. Therefore,

public academic institutions which pay an increasing share of their costs do so by increasing tuition fees, marketing more and selling their services to the market (Geiger, 2004; Kirp, 2004).

The provision of public resources, as a point of interaction between the modern university and society, and the autonomy granted to the former, through the state, were the basis of the material conditions for the survival of educational institutions for many decades. It included the necessary independence from the state and relative isolation from the market. Both the granting of resources, without established requirements for the provision of goods or services and without a requirement for accountability, as well as the legal, organisational, and administrative autonomy of universities, were based on an implicit relationship of trust between society and institutions of higher education (Trow, 1996).

The new profile of universal social responsibility has been commonly called ‘relevance’ and is reflected in the design of educational policies which tend to stimulate greater correspondence between the environment and the fundamental objectives of universities (Herrera, 2008). This coincides with the notion of public good as a key factor for [financing] higher education and is directly related to the functions which academic institutions can play in society (Altbach, 2008).

Thus, accountability is a new reality originated by the size and complexity of academic institutions and systems. The entities which finance higher education—usually government authorities—require information on the management and performance of the academic world. This requires an additional level of management as well as an unprecedented collection of data on all aspects of the university environment.

Therefore, it is necessary to consider that according to the OECD (2019), Mexico does not have a common legal framework which fully regulates the higher education system. The Higher Education Coordination Act of 1978 provides the basic guidelines for coordination between state and federal governments in higher education, but the competency responsibilities regarding universities and the procedures for coordinating their activities are not clearly described. Mechanisms are needed to monitor and evaluate the effectiveness of policies and practices in higher education in order to improve results and relevance to the labour market, which would directly influence the establishment of universal social responsibility policies.

#### 4 PRIVATISATION TRENDS IN HIGHER EDUCATION

The acceptance of the sustainable development goals in education has given space to an unprecedented demand for higher education where demand exceeds supply. In many emerging economies the demand for higher education surpasses by 20–50% the seats offered by public institutions (Bjarnason et al., 2019). According to this report, it is predicted that demand for higher education will exist for over 262 million students by 2025. This figure is expected to grow as the academic sector matures, especially in emerging economies at the expense of education quality.

Western education systems are going through a phase of homogenisation. Educational reforms are more and more alike (Díez, 2017) as time goes by. Education content is now focusing more on acquiring basic abilities to face the highly changing actual labour market while leaving aside knowledge used to understand and improve the world. This space is filled by private universities, which frequently offer only highly demanded courses where they may charge a premium. Furthermore, these institutions do not promote research and therefore cannot be considered as institutions generating quality knowledge.

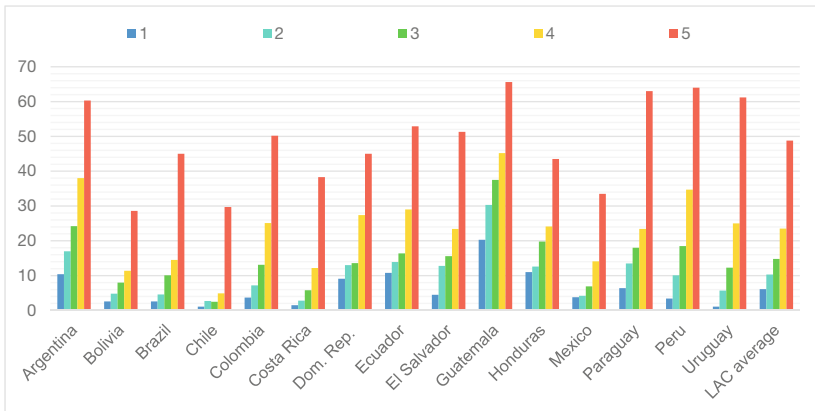
According to The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) one of the strongest trends in higher education around the globe is the growth of private/non-government providers in response to the strong demand for access to higher education and the need for a greater diversity of curricula (Bjarnason et al., 2019). A large part of this demand will be covered by for-profit or not-for-profit private institutions, working individually or through partnerships. In theory, full privatisation of education, where the state disengaged entirely from providing education, constitutes a violation of the right to education.

Government funding is failing to satisfy the growing demand for higher education allowing the participation of non-government providers. Beside the fact that they are providing just the basic knowledge needed to be competitive, the education system worldwide is falling in privatisation schemes (Díez, 2017). Government policies of strong cuts to resources for education are being established, thus decreasing funds for school libraries, books for students, laboratories, computer hardware and software, internet connections, staff cuts, scholarships, and in-support programmes which are aimed at groups with greater educational needs.

In addition to being responsible for funding cuts, public education institutions are sometimes seen as ineffective in their operation, wasteful, lacking in performance and quality of services to citizens (Torres-Santomé, 2016) which lead the public to accept the privatisation of education.

Figure 4 shows enrolment in private schools in Latin America by income quintiles. Private schools are chosen mainly by high-income students.

Private education is often seen to be of higher quality, more flexible, responsive to students' needs and much more efficient in the use of economic resources. But this is not always true. Consider Ilumno, a private company which considers itself a strategic ally for education institutions, which for 15 years has promised to expand access to higher education in Latin America. Ilumno, with headquarters in Miami, Florida, is partnered with more than 100 hundred universities in the world, where 70 of those are public universities in the United States. The core value promise of Ilumno is to help universities gain larger income through student enrolment and retention for online courses. However, a large amount of negative comments can be found on social media and the news.



**Fig. 4** Enrolment in private schools in Latin America 2017 (*Source* Own elaboration based in OECD/CAF/ECLAC [2018], Latin American Economic Outlook 2018)

Ilumno followed what other economic groups have done in the education sector: affiliating universities around the world to their education and economic model. The main economic international groups participating in the higher education market are listed in Table 1.

**Table 1** Main economic international groups for higher education

	<i>Ilumno (Previously known as Whitney Group)</i>	<i>Laureate</i>	<i>Vanta (Previously known as Apollo Group)</i>	<i>Kroton</i>
Origin	USA	USA	USA	Brazil
Presence	USA, Mexico, Colombia, Argentina, Panamá, Chile, Brazil	Brazil, Honduras, Chile, Peru, Mexico, USA, Canada, United Kingdom, New Zealand, Malaysia and Australia	Brazil, Mexico, Australia, United Kingdom, Chile and South Africa	Brazil
Affiliated universities	100 including 70 public universities in USA	27	3 main subsidiaries: BPP (20 locations), FAEL and Open Colleges (online)	7 universities with 113 campuses
No. students	200,000	875,000	Near 800,000	1 million
Scholarships	None	\$750,000	None	More than 40,000 a year
Social responsibility programs	None	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Certified B Corporation</li> <li>• Laureate Student Ambassador</li> <li>• Free medical services</li> <li>• Global days of service</li> <li>• International Youth Foundation</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Think global act local</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Pitagoras foundation</li> <li>• Inclusion and diversity as principles</li> <li>• Combating greenhouse effect and water waste</li> <li>• Corporate governance</li> </ul>

Source Authors

Table 1 shows that all four economic groups have been successful in the higher education market. The economic model they propose is based on changing the scope of researcher-learner for a service provider-customer relationship. The optic change from student to customer leads to market terminology, where universities are more competitive and measured in terms of profitability (e.g. cost-effective, financial goals), branded education, student enrolment, retention and graduation rates. At the base of these mechanisms, customer satisfaction.

The view of higher education as a product or service which can be bought has some cultural, intellectual, and pedagogic consequences. For example, students' acceptance of responsibility in their education process as co-producer of knowledge is critical. Programmes and courses are seen as successful when they attract large numbers of students and consequently are profitable. Courses which are not of interest to a number of students may be eliminated. Finally, the imitation of management models leave a large number of graduates burdened by unpayable debts.

These economic groups are indeed privatising education. Privatisation in the case of higher education implies the reduction of the state's role in providing resources, subsidies, and regulation meaning a decentralisation of governmental control and the increase of entrepreneurial activities within institutions (Kwiek, 2017). Privatisation, therefore, increases education institutions' reliance on neoliberal market mechanisms.

Educational privatisation does not always involve transferring full ownership of public schools to private hands, but there is greater participation of private agents in the provision and financing of educational services. Thus, privatisation in the field of education is the result of the implementation of diverse and complex mixed provision and financing schemes which tend to integrate the private and public sectors, and which entail the redefinition of the functions and responsibilities traditionally assumed by the state.

Among most common actions recognised by UNESCO (Bjarnason et al., 2019) to promote education privatisation in a public-private partnership the following are found:

- Charter schools: publicly owned institutions managed by a private entity with state funding. Providers of service are paid a fee or receive state subsidies for every student. Schools remain free to students.



- Education vouchers: coupons given directly to families so they can choose the private or public school which best suits their educational preferences rather than the public school nearest to them. This strategy aims to encourage competition between schools.
- Government subsidies or outsourcing to private schools: government purchases education services from private schools through subsidies, sponsorships to students, or by contracting places where there is a shortage in public schools.
- School infrastructure partnership: the private sector provides capital to finance the education project. The government establishes a contract in terms of service level requirements, in order to turn over the newly constructed facility to a private company which will operate until the end of the contract period.
- Tax incentives for consumption and/or the provision of private education: government grants tax exemption to parents who decide to enter their children in private universities.

On the other hand, state public schools in Mexico generally work as independent units, autonomous, and therefore many have limited resources to implement high-quality professional development schemes (OECD, 2010). Therefore, there is a disparity in the resources available to schools in rich communities and poor communities.

For some, public and private education are increasingly blurred. The appearance of fee-paying students in the public sector, however, seems to be the turning point (Kwiek, 2017).

To address this deficiency, state public universities, especially in emerging economies rely on cost-sharing to face shortage from government funding. Cost-sharing is conceptualised as drifting from the dominant dependence of governments to a growing reliance on parents and students (Kwiek, 2017).

Public universities in emerging markets charge for enrolment, academic degree, books, food, etc. For instance, in Mexico, tuition fee for attending a public university costs around USD 1500 for the whole degree. Even though it is low compared to private institutions where enrolments go from USD 6000 to 47,000, it means a heavy load for a country where the minimum wage is USD 156 a month (STPS, 2019; Universia, 2017).

Given that in Latin America only 30% of the population have access to higher education (Ilumno, 2019), tuition fees and financing mechanisms become necessary to afford higher education. Even though in emerging

markets, less than 1% of young people use loans to finance their university (Calvo, 2018).

Loans which are provided by financial private institutions and which offer to cover students' full tuition are deposited directly to the university. Loans must be paid in a similar period to that of the study programme. That is, if the programme lasts three years, the student will have three additional years to pay off the loan. Governments sometimes offer credit options to students. This loan does not generate commission and the students start paying one year after graduation. However, in a mixed system, governments sometimes promote the intervention of financial institutions, which charge monthly interest (around 10% in the case of Mexico) and allow up to nine years to pay (CONDUSEF, 2019).

Privatisation processes might be either endogenous, offering non-essential services run by external companies (food, training, and enrolment, for example), or exogenous, where schools are directly managed by private companies, as mentioned earlier. Accordingly, besides tuition fees, the commercialisation of education leads public universities to profit-making and trade, where entrepreneurship is encouraged at all levels. Central administration in public universities frequently instruct their faculty and school directors to think in ways of generating income for their units. Research professors are asked to list a series of marketable services which can be offered for a fee. Professors may have a selling quota of those services distracting them from their main role in education and the generation of high-quality learning.

Finally, school boards in this management model scope need to have real power or influence over important aspects of the new education scheme; as well as enough information, training, and transparency (OECD, 2010).

Social responsibility programmes, however, might return some of the positive attributes of quality education. Table 1 shows that Laureate and Kroton have proven financial success while simultaneously engaging with the community inside and outside the organisation. Social responsibility might be the vital lifeline which leads universities to accomplish their primary goal of positively impacting society and at the same time they attain economic goals. Their social programmes are well established and attract more students who want to have an impact in their world.

## 5 THE CURRENT ROLE OF UNIVERSAL SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY

The economic conditions of a country and its population have a strong impact on the quality of education and vice versa. Despite the long-standing tradition of universities serving society, economic shifts along with demographic changes have led higher education into a marketisation path. Private but also public universities have had to strive to find new ways to finance growth and assure the quality of their programmes. Public universities have faced subsidy cuts from the government (their traditionally main sponsor) which has made them charge for some of the services offered putting at risk their contribution to the community.

Access to quality education in all its population sectors ought to be the initial premise for its assurance. Mexican public universities, in this study, represent a promise of economic and social development.

An institutional programme applying the concept of university social responsibility, considers social responsibility as the set of ethical, social, and environmental implications for the advancement of knowledge. Public universities recognise that science, technology, and society are topics of research and learning which require urgent attention by themselves and thus narrow the gap between scientific production, reflection, and ethical practice. It thus seems appropriate to henceforth promote universal social responsibility as a means to continue serving society in a more marketised environment.

The integration of universal social responsibility in higher education requires a change in values and norms. Thus, social responsibility educates for global-locality, democracy, citizenship, and interculturality. Universities train the citizens of the future therefore, this training must be based on personal, public, and global ethics as well as civic commitment.

### *5.1 The Characteristics of Public Universities*

‘Glocalisation’, the global–local relationship, is an indissoluble relationship where the world system acts on and imposes conditions in local development. For this, processes must be considered in the development and strengthening of the public universities. Likewise, university social responsibility requires, from a holistic point of view, the articulation of the different departments of the institution in a project of social promotion which includes ethical principles as well as equitable and sustainable

social development. All this with the intention of producing and transmitting responsible knowledge to contribute to the formation of equally responsible citizens and citizen professionals (Vallaey & Carrizo, 2006).

Thus, universal social responsibility acquires importance in the promotion and formation of citizenship, due to the social function which public universities have in the construction of democracy contributing to the common good.

The main characteristics of public universities (SEP, 2019) are:

1. Have a Mission and Vision.
2. Own regulations.
3. Organisation and internal control manuals.
4. Training and teacher update programme.
5. Educational models focused on learning, based on problem-solving, credit systems, support and development of ICT with systems which foster innovation, creativity and emphasis on interdisciplinary thinking.
6. Quality assurance systems.
7. Institutional programme of university social responsibility.
8. Relevant study and knowledge generation programmes.
9. Monitoring of graduates.
10. Internationalisation programmes.
11. Linking, technology transfer, and patenting programmes.
12. Equity and inclusion programmes.
13. Code of ethics.
14. Institutional programme for sustainable development.

The integration of the universal social responsibility into the dynamics of training in higher education requires a change in values and a transformation of its normativity, educating for ‘glocality’, democracy, citizenship, and interculturality. The universities which develop an institutional programme of social responsibility include elements such as the declaration of a code of institutional ethics, a normative framework, and the establishment of regulation towards transparency, the defence of human rights, sustainability, and civic participation.

## 5.2 *The Role of Social Responsibility in Universities*

It is well known that the world is evolving at a very fast pace. As Kotler (2019, p. 14) states, ‘we are living in VUCA times—characterised by volatility, uncertainty, complexity, and ambiguity’. The fourth industrial revolution is providing human beings with a plethora of opportunities, but also with many challenges. The same robots, artificial intelligent developments and digital tools which nowadays are used to help individuals to achieve better results at home, school, or work, are also the ones which provide windows of opportunity for new forms of crimes, frauds, or misuse of private information. And while some people are amazed by the possibilities which technology offers to improve the quality of life, we must acknowledge the risks of this new revolution. Technology has changed consumption patterns, the time an individual devotes to work and leisure, and even how a person cultivates skills and develops his career. It has even been suggested that the revolution could yield greater inequality in an already unequal society (Schwab, 2016). The gap between those who have knowledge and skills, and the ones which lack them might get even bigger, leaving governments and institutions with a big challenge. To alleviate poverty, take care of the environment, and provide quality education and appropriate healthcare to everyone are only some of the tasks which must be embraced in order to reduce inequalities.

To provide solutions, in 2015 the United Nations presented the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development. Within the agenda, some of the main goals include the empowerment of vulnerable people and the provision of inclusive education at all levels (UN, 2015). It seems that to comply with this new agenda, public and private universities must get involved and participate actively; particularly in emergent nations like Mexico, where economic, social, and educational inequalities are common.

And even though the main role of universities is to educate, the need to design and implement social responsibility programmes to attend the 2030 Agenda is in order to properly comply with universities’ main stakeholders: the students (Kouatli, 2019).

As mentioned earlier, universal social responsibility refers to the institution’s commitment to disseminate and implement a set of knowledge and values in professional training, research, innovation, and social projection, all these activities must be focused on solving social problems (Arana et al., 2008).

According to the World Economic Forum 65% of today's children will work in jobs which do not exist just yet (WEF, 2016). This means that colleges and universities must be prepared to attend to not only current students, but also future stakeholders. In order to do that, universities must offer new programmes and services, and remain relevant for the younger generations, who are faced with many options to study a career and earn a degree. They can choose between a community college, a private university, a public university, travel abroad to study, or opt for an online school. They can even decide not to go to college and learn on their own by using the many tools available on the Internet. So, what ought universities to do differently to appeal to future students? How can universities contribute to the United Nations' Agenda for 2030?

The new generation of students is driven by specific motivating factors. Their values and social concerns are different than those of previous generations, as well as their learning processes (Seemiller & Grace, 2016). They were born in a new era, with digital devices easily available, and they are used to automation. Their mindset is also different, as well as their concerns. Today it's common to find what Deloitte calls the 'non-traditional student' (part-time students, older students, younger students, students with different academic backgrounds, etc.). While older students sometimes must juggle family, work responsibilities, and school, the younger generations present a different scenario (Fishman & Sledge, 2019). They are easily attracted to, and distracted by, technology, prefer videos and podcasts over traditional books, learn by playing games, and have grown accustomed to ongoing multitasking and instant communication. They want to express their individuality and are very pragmatic. They want not only to learn about cultures and values, but to discover and unveil the truth behind everything (Francis & Hoefel, 2018).

As students, they prefer to learn based on a hands-on style and not in a linear fashion. Instead of taking notes, they prefer to make videos or podcasts to share their ideas. Since they are always connected to their devices, they seek immediate feedback, and require access to forums to express their ideals, values, and proposals in order to make changes towards a common good (Feiertag & Berge, 2008; Mohr, 2017).

Compassionate and open-minded, young kids are not only worried by the environmental, economic, and social problems they see on the news, but are taking those issues into their own hands and are actively involved in the development of apps and new gadgets; as well as becoming advocates for the causes of their interest (Leyva, 2019).

This new generation thus presents a big challenge for universities. Children are participating at science fairs at a very young age and not with home-made projects. They are presenting their ideas to detect cancer at early stages, fight global warming or build prosthesis for wounded people. Therefore, if universities want to attract the new generation of students they need to evolve and innovate. Good universal social responsibility programmes ought not to only seek to provide solutions to current problems but anticipate—even predict what the future holds, in order to design strategies and tactics aimed to prevent future—and unknown problems.

As UNESCO (2014) suggested, higher education ought to allow the formation of reflective, critical, responsible, and creative citizens who are actively involved in their knowledge-building process. Given that younger generations see themselves as activists who want to build a better world both for themselves and future generations, we believe that universities have fertile soil to implement disruptive social responsibility programmes, in which students can be involved as the main actors.

Nowadays, students are already getting involved in volunteer programmes, using social networks, and digital technology to share information and knowledge. Universities then, could take advantage of this trend to create novel content, educate, and habilitate underprivileged citizens, older individuals, and illiterate people with the help of this wave of influencers and youtubers (Francis & Hoefel, 2018).

## 6 CONCLUSION

Most universities were founded with a social purpose in mind. To educate individuals and help them become good citizens lies within the goals of those institutions engaged not only with teaching and research, but also with the well-being of the communities in which they offer their services. And although in their mission statement most universities declare their commitment to society, in their quest to grow and attract more students, some might have lost their initial vision and instead dedicate their resources and efforts to become a good business. We believe that universal social responsibility provides the balance for those institutions without losing their initial vision. They can become partners with society and help the community address environmental, cultural, social, and economic issues.

To predict how universal social responsibility will look in a decade or two would be inaccurate, and even irresponsible. We believe that at least, for nations like Mexico, universal social responsibility needs to become a holistic activity designed to serve many stakeholders, grounded in the reality of each community and aiming to serve students. Therefore, universal social responsibility needs to evolve from nice words written within universities' mission statements to real integrated programmes within transversal curricula. Such universal social responsibility programmes are basic to teach students ethical values, and at the same time provide them with skills and tools which will help them make a real difference in their communities.

As suggested by URSULA (2018), it is important that universal social responsibility programmes take into account the 2030 Sustainable Development Goals. With the 17 goals, universal social responsibility might become more relevant and provide real solutions for current problems. Countries like Peru have specific laws which regulate universal social responsibility programmes, but unfortunately, that is not the case for other countries, like Mexico, where universal social responsibility programmes are optional (URSULA, 2018).

Following Carroll (2008) who identified the four basic social responsibilities of any institution, we suggest several tasks which could be addressed by universal social responsibility programmes.

One of the first tasks within universal social responsibility is to eliminate the economic barriers students face when they decide to enroll in a higher education programme. Even though most public universities are government-funded, scholarships, and grants are needed to help students pay for fees, housing, food, books and tools, and other related expenses (Tauginiené & Urbanovic, 2018).

A second task includes the design of programmes with a strong ethical core which will in turn result in citizens, leaders, and employees with strong values, aware of the needs of their communities, with a vision to solve them, and equipped with tools to implement real actions for economic, environmental, and social problems. Universities also ought to offer short-term programmes to provide individuals with tools and skills needed to face the constant changes in the workplace. This would help them to avoid being laid off for not having the new qualifications required by the evolving environment.



Third, conscious citizens need to be aware of the reality of their communities, and to learn first-hand of the problems their fellow citizens face. We believe that a good volunteer programme might provide both the insights and motivation needed to design innovative solutions for daily problems.

Fourth, design transformative research programmes to use science and technology to tackle current problems with novel solutions; as well as forecast future scenarios which could lead to innovations which contribute to enhance humanity's well-being around the world.

Fifth, acknowledge that social responsibility is no longer a domestic topic. Citizens from different countries all over the globe are aware of the environmental, social, political, ethical, and economic problems which we as human beings face. Therefore, universal social responsibility programmes and practices ought to be designed to tackle bigger issues. We must evolve from a domestic mindset to a cosmopolitan mindset (Kotler, 2019). After all, we are interconnected and one small action in Mexico, like throwing plastic into the ocean, for example, might have fatal consequences in faraway lands like Australia. At the same time, we can also try to learn from the best practices implemented in other nations to reduce the learning curve.

Sixth, measure the performance of universal social responsibility programmes. Emick (2016) suggests a 'five R' programme to show the linkages between universal social responsibility and key areas of the institution. The five R's are: Revenue, Reputation, Recruitment, Retention, and Relationships. By measuring the overall performance of universal social responsibility practices, universities can not only calculate the impact of universal social responsibility, but also identify new opportunities and improve current practices.

Seventh, join forces and collaborate with other institutions and stakeholders. Universal social responsibility is a demanding and challenging task that requires many hands and different minds working towards a common goal.

Finally, we believe universal social responsibility practices and programmes must be reflexive and self-critical. Universities must try to identify and predict the possible outcomes (both negative and positive) of their activities. They also must assess the ethical dilemmas and social implications which are sometimes present when launching an innovation to the market. Researchers and scientists need to remember that science and technology ought to be used to improve and enhance the quality

of life of all human beings, while at the same time be respectful of the environment and other living species.

Public Universities in Mexico have the pending task of aligning their efforts to develop transversal public policy focused on the inclusion and non-discrimination of citizens to receive training in their classrooms, these actions would directly impact the measurement of the impact of their social responsibility.

It seems then, that the universal social responsibility will not disappear, at least not in the near future. What we forecast is that universal social responsibility must evolve, develop new models and adapt to a new generation of stakeholders, and provide solutions to the many needs of a world in constant change and evolution. Let us not forget that universities already have the knowledge, partnerships, infrastructure, and people to create purposeful programmes aimed to train, empower, and educate internal and external stakeholders, in order to create a better world. It is just a matter of getting to work on the matter.

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# Managing Diversity Through Internationalisation: The *Study in Turkey* Initiative

*Pinar Ayyildiz and Mehmet Durnali*

## 1 INTRODUCTION

Who would have guessed in the past century—when the emphasis was on scholarships for foreign students, international development projects, and area studies—that we would today be discussing new developments such as branding, international programmes, provider mobility, global citizenship, internationalisation at home, MOOCs, global rankings, knowledge diplomacy, world-class universities, cultural homogenisation, franchising, and joint and double degree programmes (Knight & de Wit, 2018, p. 2).

A few young people at one corner of the university cafeteria are talking about their end-of-term projects loudly in English. Two of the students

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in this group standing with their coffee are Chinese and the others are Turkish. A Romanian exchange student is practising Turkish with her Turkish friends, and a Syrian graduate student sitting in another corner looks a bit stressed while waiting for the final exam for his Turkish classes. Several others are laughing over there, yet it is meaningless to state the ‘language’ here because it is one of the universally shared values.

It would not be that much of an exaggeration to suggest that this scene is a snapshot of any mid-sized university in Turkey as of the 2020s. Indeed, Turkey, with its politically strategic geographic location, attracts the attention of many international people, involving students of foreign origin who seek to study abroad at a higher education institution as part of an exchange programme, or who intend to fully receive their university education in another country. Doubtless, it makes the land and its universities a growing global market.

To that end, a good number of projects have been formed at varying levels so far in the country, particularly since the outset of the new millennium, with a view to addressing the aforementioned group, and catering to their needs and expectations as much as possible. Some of these are launched by universities at a micro level and there are other initiatives at macro levels such as *Study in Turkey* which was created by the state. *Study in Turkey* is described by the Council of Higher Education (CoHE) in the following manner:

*Study in Turkey* is a brand website developed by the CoHE to inform international students about the higher education system in Turkey. On this website (<http://www.studyinturkey.gov.tr/>) students can use the search engine to find the most suitable universities for them by choosing the language, type, city and area of study. It not only includes general information on the Turkish education system, but also scholarships, experiences of international students, living conditions, culture and the like. The website is currently available in Turkish, English and Arabic. (The Council of Higher Education, 2019, p. 23)

At first glance, *Study in Turkey*, is a website designed by the CoHE functioning in three languages: Turkish, English, and Arabic. The objective of this chapter is to take a closer look at the English version of this website within the purposeful framework of five objectives presented below keeping in mind that internationalisation is not a means to an end, but rather a melting point of differing goals, inter alia preparing members

of higher education institutions for the challenges of the brand new world (Blankers et al., 2018):

- Attempt to justify the initiative
- State the mission of the project
- Define the sociocultural contexts
- Evaluate the project initiative
- Shed light on the future.

## 2 RATIONALE

This section aims to depict some possible justifications for a project like *Study in Turkey* by analysing what is mainly targeted, and what is meant to be accomplished through the very initiative.

A study of the internationalisation of higher education must take into consideration a wide range of concerns, by determining the global, regional, national, and institutional commonalities and differences in the developmental processes, assuming that the ultimate goal is to grasp, manage, and reinforce the course of internationalisation. It is emphasised that internationalisation of a higher education system and its institutions is a threefold construction which is comprised of the following (and most probably making it three times more difficult to manage the relevant parties): “(1) global flows and networks of words and ideas, knowledge, finance, and inter-institution dealings; (2) national higher education systems shaped by history, law, policy and funding; and (3) individual institutions operating at the same time locally, nationally and globally” (Marginson, 2006, p. 1). Huang and Horiuchi (2018) proposed a conceptual model to further distinguish between these operations which take place on disparate levels, by concurrently predicating the public goods of internationalisation of universities. In this model, the operations are presented within a framework in a highly connected manner: (1) with the relevant levels which come into play (global, society, country, regional, and community, for example), (2) with the approaches (academic, social, political, and economic, for example), (3) with the perspectives of the immediate and other shareholders of the processes, and (4) with the related activities such as transnational higher education work, research, instruction, and personal movement.



It is needless to mention that a fair number of factors impact the decision-making processes of students to study abroad. Among these are policies for immigration, for work and study, and also global rankings of universities which are found in one specific place, which are somewhat controllable parameters (Choudaha, 2018). Geographical location of a country and wars which might emerge in the region can be counted as uncontrollable parameters. It is underlined that in a traditional sense, international student mobility is linked to pull factors which are associated with students' desire to go and study abroad, and to push factors which are related to reasons behind their wishing to leave behind their own country (Wells, 2014).

These determinants from both of the groups mentioned earlier frequently involve topic areas such as quality education, tuition fees/living costs, scholarships granted, chances for employment, health and safety conditions, and learning (an)other language(s) (Ammigan, 2019). It is important to bear this in mind, therefore, prior to discussing the rationale behind any project like *Study in Turkey*.

Knight (2008, p. 3) summarises the 'landmarks' of the changing horizon of higher education in the world as:

- The development of new international networks and consortia
- The growing numbers of students, professors, and researchers participating in academic mobility schemes
- The increase in the number of courses, programmes, and qualifications which focus on comparative and international themes
- More emphasis on developing international/intercultural and global competencies
- Stronger interest in international themes and collaborative research
- A growing number of cross-border delivery of academic programmes
- An increase in campus-based extracurricular activities with an international or multicultural component
- The impetus given to recruiting foreign students
- The rise in the number of joint or double degrees
- The expansion in partnerships, franchises, and offshore satellite campuses
- The establishment of new national, regional, and international organisations focused on international education

- New regional and national-level government policies and programmes supporting academic mobility and other internationalisation initiatives.

It is emphasised that digital marketing/guidance is also extremely critical to any sort of internationalisation actions, and are the leading points for Turkey and Turkish higher education institutions in their journey of internationalisation. Geden (2018) identified the activities which ought to be conducted by universities and their faculties/departments/programmes: (1) adopting a template which runs consistently across their websites; (2) providing English versions of their webpages and CVs of instructors; (3) publishing a prospective students' webpage, including information about the institution, degrees and courses which are available, and application and entry, studentships, open days and events, fees and finance, useful contacts, and interest registration; (4) offering guidance about accommodation, institutional residences, and applications; (5) Listing practical tips about living in Turkey and the city where the university is located; (6) publishing separate information by country, summer schools, immigration and visas, degree preparation courses, and Turkish or English language requirements; and (7) sharing information on the university website about the campus (with a virtual tour if possible), maps and buildings, faculties and departments, student union, and student societies.

*Study in Turkey* which is managed by the CoHE in Turkey, seemingly responds to a need which was diagnosed in light of all the discussions so far justifying its own existence. It also allows for access to other sources via social media and web links, so answers to some crucial questions pertaining to Turkey as the host country and to the current higher education system are sought. In addition to these, the application processes for foreign students, daily life in Turkey, life at Turkish universities, necessary information about higher education institutions, student exchange programmes, and scholarship opportunities are shared using a search tool to aid international candidates looking for an appropriate programme for themselves. Last but not least, other web pages such as that of the CoHE are linked to the overall project.

With novel initiatives announced and other related support programmes yet to come, *Study in Turkey* cannot be seen merely as a website. It does have an encompassing structure. But it also has a dynamic and catchy nature, leading us to use a door metaphor to describe

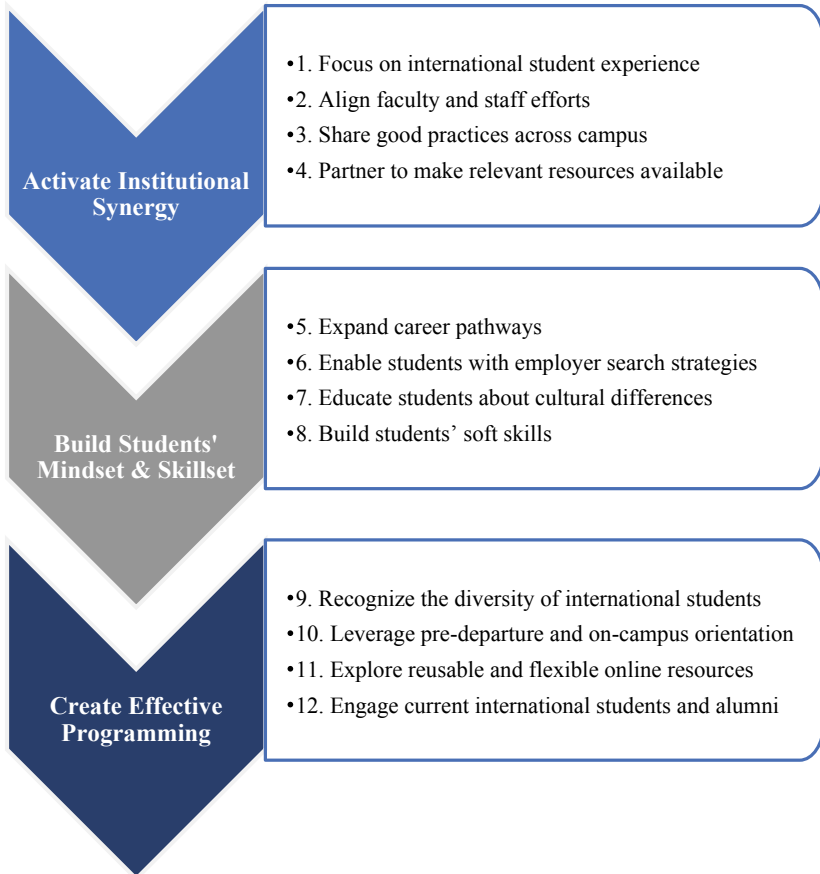
it. Indeed, *Study in Turkey* appears to be created so as to be able to catch the interest of students from abroad who wish to study in another country/who are inclined to study in Turkey. It acts as a door to all other useful paths in that sense.

### 3 MISSION

In line with the rationale behind the project, this part of the chapter tries to delve into the mission of *Study in Turkey* with the help of revisiting the function of other interrelated ‘chain elements’ of the higher education system and its internationalisation which incorporates a central and complicated structure. The reason behind revisiting all the possible constituents in this structure is that in order to talk about the mission of the *Study in Turkey* project, situating it first within the broader mechanism of the higher education system, and acknowledging the facilitating portrayal of such an initiative of the state, would be a healthy starting point.

Figure 1 helps one to see the key elements of the system and the inherent connections, where the igniting source is relatively the most powerful constitution: the state itself with its compatible instruments, and in this case the instrument being *Study in Turkey*. It is arguable that resorting to an organisational framework for the sake of detecting difficulties and changes of national higher education institutions in the interim of internationalisation could be of use and meaningful (Hiratsuka, 2019).

As can be observed in Fig. 1, it is not only the role of higher education institutions to get ready to welcome international students and sustain the academic, social, and cultural integration of these individuals successfully, it is also the state’s role to oversee the whole process and assure that the components of this highly dynamic mechanism work well in a harmonious fashion. Accordingly, *Study in Turkey* fits into the picture as one of the regulating interventions of the state, by forming a reflection of the policies which developing countries in particular ought to bring forth (Yao, 2018), where policymakers devise certain ways of harnessing the secrets of altering circumstances (Hussain & Shen, 2019) such as quality management systems (Crişan-Mitra & Borza, 2015). These ways are, and ought to be, in sync with changes, and also in line with the regulated policy requirements (Wekullo, 2019). Universities are the indispensable actors of well-balanced and constructive internationalisation moves. As



**Fig. 1** 12 Strategies for building a capacity for international graduate student success (Adapted from: Choudaha & Hu [2017])

such, they advocate policy changes at the governmental level (Jibeen & Khan, 2015) through careful strategic planning (Karaferye, 2019).

Considering the fact that international and domestic students tend to have common struggles (Perry, 2016), the state can enable certain positive washback—raising the awareness of stakeholders to the notion of the quality of a university, which might be brought up by initiatives like *Study in Turkey*, for example. It is pointed out that internationalisation

is actually a catalyst which prompts universities to reform themselves to react to the continuous demands of the global knowledge society (Ota, 2018), and it augments the quality of education through the outcomes of internationalisation such as cultural diversity in a university (Leusenkamp, 2017). All in all, such attempts carry the possibility of affecting the general issues of the system, which in turn can assist in the betterment of international ranking of the universities of the host country in a world where internationalisation has turned out to be a pillar of the modern higher education institution (Marks et al., 2018) and the thinking that most of the time internationalisation goes hand-in-hand with the competitive league of universities.

Qiang (2003) depicts internationalisation within diverse entities by collating data from the findings of the research found in the literature. These entities are organisations whose characteristics and situational responsibilities are noted in the following table (Table 1).

The mission of *Study in Turkey* is basically to help the state to supervise the internationalisation of the higher education institutions in Turkey by acting as an ‘entrance’ to the virtual borders of the country, and by communicating clues about the higher education system and universities.

**Table 1** Characteristics and situational responsibilities

Governance	Expressed commitment by senior leaders Active involvement of faculty and staff Articulated rationale and goals for internationalisation Recognition of international dimension in mission statements and other policy documents
Operations	Integrated into institution-wide and departmental planning, budgeting and quality review systems Appropriate organizational structures Communication systems (formal and informal) for liaison and coordination Balance between centralized and decentralized promotion and management of internationalisation Adequate financial support and resource allocation systems
Support Services	Support from institution-wide services units, i.e., student housing, registrar, counseling, fundraising, etc

## 4 CONTEXT

It is essential to talk about the context for which and in which *Study in Turkey* is conceived, especially taking into account the shareholders, where the context could be taken as the changing globe together with the market of the universities and the sum of imaginable partners around the world, and the latter could be the recent sociocultural setting of Turkey. In point of fact, any kind of international planning ought to be internationalised to the full extent. But at the same time it has to reflect the ingrained facets and also expectations of the local and national community (Ardakani et al., 2011) and their realms.

Having said that, it is worth articulating that a symbiotic relationship between international students and the ethos of the universities of which they become members is easily witnessed around the world. This means that international students add to the sociocultural context of the host universities—if not to the climate of the whole country in the long run—and these institutions begin to possess an enriched atmosphere, which is de facto a fundamental criterion for serving well in the international arena. This atmosphere can simply be identified through all the features of a campus which provide students with a welcoming, safe, peaceful, study-oriented, and socially inclusive experience (Alfattal, 2016). Besides, there is the ‘third place/culture’ effect which is observed in the studies, about the phenomenon that “students who return home have become more complex members of their own society as their reintegration into their home country requires them to integrate the experiences, values, and knowledge gained from their overseas study with the experience of being and working at home” (Cuthbert et al., 2008, p. 13). Consequently, internationalisation of higher education is profoundly related to both the host country and the original country of the international students.

Nevertheless, it would be fair to say that is not all. The presence of any international community in one higher education institute might stimulate potent changes in the acquisition and dissemination of information, improving skills, and intellect (Rahman & Alwi, 2018). Professors’ connection with international students is also mutually beneficial for both parties, as this interaction enhances international students’ sense of belonging while simultaneously increasing the intercultural communication skills of professors (Wang & BrckaLorenz, 2018). Similarly, the rapport between domestic and international students is vital for desired cross-cultural experiences (Rose-Redwood & Rose-Redwood, 2018). It is

declared that primary indicators of internationalism of higher education institutions show evidence of genuine mutuality and reciprocal cultural relationships within the university (Welch, 2002, p. 439).

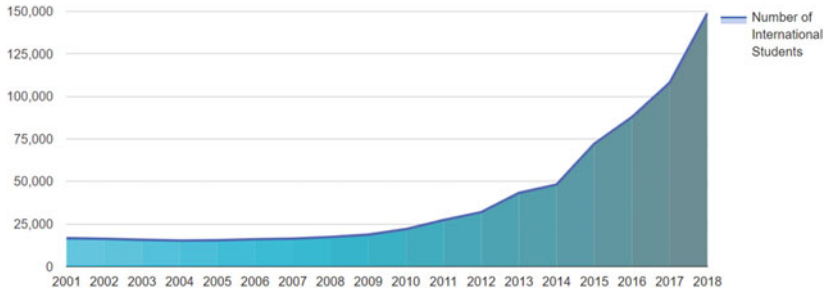
Nonetheless, it is noted that studies so far have usually looked into the academic performance of international students in higher education organisations (Li & Zizzi, 2018), and not into their social adjustment and well-being. What is more, “researchers and practitioners argue that the psychosocial adjustment of international students might be enhanced with a continuous and multi-pronged approach...” (Johnson et al., 2018, p. 1865) which would require a rigorous attitude towards the matter, eminently recognising this gap in the literature.

To that end, it can be said that *Study in Turkey* at a larger scale enlightens international students by informing them about Turkey, the cultural heritage, places to visit, demographics apace with existing living and learning conditions, by highlighting some hints about university environment. In general, all of these make it a functional project, and this is because the initiative is inclusive—it touches upon pivotal subjects by approaching internationalisation from many angles. Taking into consideration that university education is key to the economic and political development of a country which seeks leadership in a knowledge economy which has yet to be created. Higher education then becomes an anchor for positioning the economic, technological, and innovation competitiveness of that country within the region and beyond (Knight, 2011).

## 5 EVALUATION

The *Study in Turkey* initiative, as is the case for any project, is susceptible to threats with respect to time and money, plus instability in and outside the country which are all influential in its effectiveness. Hence, continuing structural amendment to the project in light of the threats can be conducive. On the other hand, due to the worldwide efforts of internationalisation, greater student mobility across countries has become visible (Özoğlu et al., 2015) and initiatives such as *Study in Turkey* seem to be capturing more and more international students who want to study in Turkey, thereby suggesting that the project fulfils its function (See Fig. 2.).

The statistics here indicate that the number of international students has doubled in the last five years. This calls for a disciplined and systematic



**Fig. 2** The number of international students by years (Source <http://www.studyinturkey.gov.tr/StudyinTurkey/PartStatistic>)

educational practicum for international students within the boundaries of Turkish higher education institutions more than ever (Yükselir, 2018). This escalation in numbers might also be due to the fact that there is a trend of internationalisation around the world, or it might stem from ‘marketisation’ initiatives at the tertiary level which try to reach out to more and more people crossing borders. As a matter of fact, receiving higher education through experiencing life abroad is one of the major causes of the population movement in today’s world (Safipour et al., 2017). Moreover, globalisation, as the reason and result of the internationalisation process, plays a significant role. Günçavdı and Polat (2016) reported that “it is highly possible that universities are exposed to effects of globalisation more than other educational institutions, because universities in Turkey have become institutions where international students come and take part in teaching and learning process thanks to exchange programmes and exams” (Erasmus Student Exchange Programmes and YÖS-Foreign Student Exam, for example). The international student population has been boosted in Turkey since 2010 by modifications to the Turkish foreign policies and educational schemes (Nguluma et al., 2019). Owing the biggest higher education system in Europe, Turkey is expected to host more international students in years to come (Özer, 2017). Initiatives and projects like *Study in Turkey* gain more value in this regard.

That “the impact of the Covid-19 crisis on international student mobility has been estimated to be significant” (Jayadeva, 2020, p. 1) is worth delving into within this context in a world which has been shaken by the short- and longer term effects of a pandemic in countless ways.



To put it another way, the statistics pertinent to Turkey and also to the Study in Turkey initiative might provide assistance for making educated guesses regarding international student numbers not only for Turkey but also for the rest of the world during the crisis. It is not surprising that international mobility, including student mobility, has come to a halt during lockdowns, and concerns about health seem to have overridden all other issues. That said, the financial side of student mobility in terms of investments in higher education, investments of universities in their relevant infrastructure, and fiscal problems arising for individual students intending to move to other countries for education purposes, all have an impact on the overall system. Last but not least, worries about online learning and the fact that online learning opportunities do not per se necessitate going overseas for education, call for research. Indeed, it ought to be underlined that “distance education can have an international component in that it provides access to such programs without the costs of physical mobility” (de Wit & Altbach, 2019, p. 15). Revisiting student mobility for tertiary education in the ‘new era’—be it in the form of physical moving around and/or in the form of online education given by universities—would be a wise act. Doing so would definitely require checking the already-in-hand data representing the former cases, yet depicting the most recent picture of initiatives like *Study in Turkey*.

## 6 FUTURE

In the future, globalisation will accelerate, accompanied by a pursuit of internationalisation in the field of education and at universities. It might be helpful to take another look at these two concepts and make an effort to differentiate them for a clearer road map (Table 2).

It is obvious that globalisation, with its denotation and connotations, is a term consistent with the neoliberal world whereas internationalisation is more to do with educational and intellectual cases of change, movement, and advancement. When creating the field of vision as educators, perhaps it is wise to stay away from the rather ‘fierce’ calls of globalisation, but accept the local, national, and cross-national for internationalisation, because strategies of education of the decades to come must start with a common foundation of standardised teaching at an international level but which is adapted to local conditions (Gacel-Ávila, 2005). The *Study in Turkey* initiative ought to progress by engaging international students first, without being concerned about the numbers, stressing that when

**Table 2** Distinctions between globalisation and internationalisation

	<i>Characteristic features</i>		<i>Result</i>
Globalisation	The acceleration of movement of people, ideas, knowledge, capital, goods and services through national borders	The process by which different cultures and nations become homogeneous	Competition, commercial knowledge-transfer
Internationalisation	The response of educational institutions to the globalisation process	Higher degree of internalisation results in the higher degree of globalization and vice versa	Physical mobility, academic cooperation and academic knowledge transfer

Source Pipia, 2017

their academic, social, and personal well-being is inspired and satisfied, an added value to all the participants can be assured. To do so, the state, higher education institutions and students ought to be speaking the same language, striving for a shared good. The need for longitudinal studies to be conducted without neglecting all the players ought to be reiterated.

## 7 CONCLUSION

The *Study in Turkey* initiative as a Turkish case could provide other marketers of higher education institutions with the project structure, dimensions, and information which might shed light on their continuing internationalisation efforts. The *Study in Turkey* website is consistent with the trends in higher education marketing, because it is a significant tool for social and online marketing (Judson & Taylor, 2014; Mocan & Maniu, 2015), and could provide concrete examples for related marketers. For example, it shows how a similar webpage can be designed, and the kinds of essential information which the webpage can have. This can include necessary information about higher education institutions, student exchange programmes, scholarship opportunities, etc. Moreover, the Turkish case can demonstrate the ‘landmarks’ of the changing horizon of higher education which were emphasised by Knight (2008).

The Turkish higher education system has proven to be a rich and successful one with the available educational partnerships and international exchange programmes carried out with other countries in the world (Durnali et al., 2018). Apparently, the authorities have managed the complexity of the internationalisation of higher education systems and that of the institutions. It is true that international education is convoluted, and it exposes students to varying experiences which carry four dimensions which could be labeled as internal (psychosocial), structural (institutional), external (socio-economic), and linguistic (Martinez & Colaner, 2017), oftentimes containing challenges of functioning in an alien cultural context and educational system for the learner (Van Horne, Lin, Anson, & Jacobson, 2018). It is said that today many institutions are boosting fiscal and competitive pressure to be able to catch the attention of and retain international students. They must innovate not only to enhance existing international student enrolment but also to balance it with relevant learner support services which might advance academic success involving professional expectations from the future (Choudaha, 2017) enabling international students to express: “Veni vidi amavi” in the places they receive education.

All things considered, even though the mediating role of the state in higher education has been evolving fast, it could still be an engine during the transformation of national higher education institutions by monitoring the financial resources to ensure the survival of and maintain the endurance of a world-class group of universities in the global platform (Horta, 2009). The *Study in Turkey* project can be instrumental in achieving this. The growth of international students suggests that it is indeed successful. More studies, including longitudinal mixed method research are required, however, to check the effect of projects. This can be helpful for projections of other initiatives which resemble *Study in Turkey*. It is also suggested that future studies can review research which originates from different countries, to see the social and cultural differences in international student mobility. Cross-cultural studies also ought to be conducted with participants from around the globe (Li et al., 2013).

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# Promoting the Russian Higher Education System in Global Hyper-Competition

*Oxana Karnaukhova*

## 1 INTRODUCTION

From the end of 1970s to the mid-1980s, higher education globally has gone through dramatic changes. The growing competition among academic institutions and the aggressive struggle to increase the number of students and financial resources was linked with an emerging economy of knowledge (Williams, 1995). The economy of knowledge is considered the highest stage of the postindustrial development, which results from the rise of information society. In these circumstances, knowledge and education stay as non-commodity sectors in the economic system, and the state becomes the most important contractor.

In the 2000s, under social and economic pressures, higher education met the challenge of marketisation at the national and global level (Papadimitriou et al., 2018). While a market-based approach (previously marked as an intangible value for a society was not fully implemented

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to the sphere) countries throughout the world initiated reforms based on different models (Kaneko et al., 2006). These reforms mirror the basic trends of marketisation. The first trend is competitive funding on the basis of research and/or project effectiveness assessment, which has shifted the sole responsibility of the state to the consumer. The second trend is increasing university-industry links to ensure that the results of academic research are used by national, and ideally, international companies. The distinction between fundamental and applied research has been erased in favour of applied projects. The third trend which universities face is the increasing separation of capital and investment markets. Governments tend to outsource activities, leaving some institutions with the minimum in necessary financing. Among such institutions higher education appears. To reimburse expenses, universities discover new mechanisms such as loans for students, outsourcing services, trust funds, state-private cooperation, and commercial activities.

In Europe, marketisation is considered much less successful than in the United States (Hemsley-Brown & Oplatka, 2010). The first reason is that in most European countries, universities are state-governed. So the design and logic of management contradict with market forces as we know them. Second, in most European countries, the government administers or influences higher education. The intervention of market regulations typically requires a totally new concept of entrepreneurship, which tends to cause enormous social controversy. This is linked with the third reason of existing broad social contract which regulates social equity, professions, and education.

The Russian higher education system entered the global market in 1990s after the crash of the USSR, but began its active march after joining the Bologna process in 2003. Firstly, to speed up the adjustment of the Russian model of higher education to the European and global market, and the promotion of Russian education abroad, the President of the Russian Federation, VV Putin approved the Concept of the State Policy of the Russian Federation in the field of training of national personnel for foreign countries in Russian educational entities in October 18, 2002 (Concept, 2002). The Concept, as it is known, represents a systematic view of the content, main directions, and provision of international activities of the Russian Federation in the field of training of specialists for foreign countries. One of the prioritised areas of the Concept is the training of intellectual elite—that is to say, the attraction of the most talented foreign citizens for learning and research in

Russian educational institutions. The Concept has underlined the significance of Russia's 'comeback' to the constellation of regions and countries under the former Soviet intellectual influence, such as Commonwealth of Independent States, East Asia, Ibero-American region, to name few.

Secondly, in the context of the innovative development of the Russian Federation, defined, among other regulations, by the Science and Technology Initiative roadmap and the Digital Economy of the Russian Federation programme (Digital Economy of the Russian Federation, 2017), the importance of human capital quality at the state level increases dramatically, and determines a distinctive role of higher education institutions in attracting the most talented students, including foreign citizens.

## 2 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Marketisation is apparent in the growing role of private fees, in the increasing inequalities between the resources and status of education in different institutions, and in the varying experiences of consumption within socio-economic systems. It can also be recognised in the growing importance of competition between institutions, and in the abundance of corporate activity, such as marketing and business plans (Marginson, 1999, p. 230). Marketisation of higher education is usually considered to be a result of globalisation and an effect of universalisation. It is also seen as a 'paradigm shift' in the area of higher education presumably throughout the Western world (Newman & Jahdi, 2009; Nielsen, 2012). Since the end of the 1990s, marketisation has been widely criticised as a cause of transformation of students to consumers, and of education itself to a commodity (Barnett, 2011; Furedi, 2011; McMillan & Cheney, 1996). According to Judson and Taylor (2014), for example, the benefits of higher education marketisation are far from feasible, while financial benefits for universities are more visible.

Commodification of higher education demonstrates the new focus on the marketing of services and branding of the university (Białoń, 2015; Kara & Shields, 2004). Beyond the changes brought by digitalisation (active use of social media, online learning platforms, etc.), Noaman (2012) demonstrates a progressive reliance on marketing and branding trends in outreach efforts, and on advertising campaigns (Trends, 2014). Indeed, while educational entities have employed various types of marketing and branding strategies, the state as a whole prioritises the increase of its market share of international students, in effect

making international education a driver of prosperity. This is likely the most significant trend in recent years, and its impact on enrolment globally is discussed in detail in every country which claims a flagship in the global education. In terms of marketing and branding, many countries have already redefined their national education system as outstanding in the global marketplace. Russian education is belatedly moving in the same direction.

### 3 STATE OF THE ART

Attracting talented students from abroad has been one of the leading trends in university development since the early 2000s (de Wit, 2019). However, the global trend is now changing from attracting international students mainly for master's level studies, to increasing the number of international students at the bachelor's level, and subsequently accompanying the most talented throughout their cycles of study, including re-recruitment for master's and post-graduate programmes (Ho, 2017).

Before the pandemic of 2020, UNESCO and the OECD predicted that the total number of international students studying outside their home country will exceed eight million by 2025, indicating a global higher education market of billions of dollars. However, the countries which make up the top 20 countries in terms of attractiveness among international students are members of the OECD or its partners, and have remained unchanged for many years (UNESCO, 2018). For instance, in 2015, according to the UNESCO Institute for Statistics, 177 countries with incoming mobility and 207 countries with outgoing mobility had 3.2 million students and 4.07 million students, respectively (UNESCO, 2018). The discrepancy is most visible in the breakdown of the incoming student mobility. Among the OECD countries, more than three million international students come to study, with the largest number in the United States (25.6% of the total number of foreign students in OECD countries and partners), the United Kingdom (12.16%) and Australia (8.3%). Russia stands sixth (6.38%) after France (6.75%) and Germany (6.46%) which also attract a significant number of students (OECD, 2015, 2016, 2017).

Many international students in these countries originate from Asian countries. Three-quarters of Asian students study mainly in three countries confirming domination of Anglo-Saxon educational institutions, namely the United States, Australia, and the United Kingdom. Europe

is the next region in terms of the number of students going abroad to study. At the same time, it ought to be noted that most European students (82%) prefer not to leave the territory of Europe, but choose to study in neighbouring European countries. Further, the United States and Africa are lagging behind, with only 265,000 and 256,000 students, respectively, studying in other countries in 2015.

Three-quarters of the African students enrolled in the OECD countries and partner countries study in Europe, mainly in France (42%), the United Kingdom (14%), and Germany (8%), while students from North and Latin America are distributed half-n-half between the United States and Europe. The explanation is hidden in plain sight: strong postcolonial sentiment and natural, historical, cultural, and linguistic ties (16% of students from Latin America study in Spain, 25% of students from North America study in the United Kingdom) (UNESCO, 2018). Globally, the most mobile students were citizens of China, India, Germany, the Republic of Korea, Saudi Arabia, France, Kazakhstan, Nigeria, the United States, and Malaysia (OECD, 2017).

Interestingly, during the three years 2013–2015, the top ten countries in terms of the number of students participating in outbound mobility remained virtually unchanged. Since 2013, however, Vietnam dropped off of the list (1.56%) and Nigeria was added (1.85%). But in general, the number of students wishing to study abroad is growing annually.

An analysis of the leading educational systems which are engaged in a traditional internationalisation framework of attracting, supporting, and training talented foreign students demonstrates a number of distinctive features and tendencies. First, the world is witnessing a clear upward trend in the number of foreign students (mainly from Asian countries) wishing to study at prestigious higher education programmes abroad. The export of educational services of the respective countries plays an important role in the overall structure of the country's exports, which makes it one of the important priorities of state policy. For foreign students, including the most talented ones, the choice of the country for study is defined to a certain extent by a number of external factors, including language of study, cultural and historical ties between the countries, cost of study and residence, migration policy and employment opportunities, geographical location, political conditions, and educational framework (the Bologna Process and the European Higher Education Area, for example). The

trend towards the development of international research and educational complexes prevails, including transnational education, training of specialists for the global economy, and intercultural communication.

Analysis also suggests that the global e-learning market is developing as part of the so-called internationalisation at home market. According to Global Industry Analyst, its global turnover in 2010 amounted to \$52.6 billion, and by 2022 it is planned to reach \$241 billion (Global Industry Analyst, 2017). In turn, according to the reports of the analytical company Ambient Insight, the greatest growth of the e-learning market is also demonstrated by Asian countries: India (55%), China (above 50%), and Malaysia (above 50%) (Ambient Insight, 2016). In order to attract foreign citizens to study at leading universities, the Internet—websites of educational organisations in foreign languages and official groups in social media networks—is actively used.

State-centralised efforts of the Russian Federation to increase globalisation of educational services in the form of internationalisation have been underway for several years. Chief among the activities are the State Program ‘Concept of Export of Educational Services in the Russian Federation for the Period 2011–2020’; the State Program of the Russian Federation ‘Development of Education’ for 2013–2020; External Economic Strategy of the Russian Federation until 2020; Concept of the Long-Term Social and Economic Development of the Russian Federation until 2020; Concept of Promotion of Russian Education on the basis of Rossotrudnichestvo Representative Offices; Priority Project ‘Modern Digital Educational Environment in the Russian Federation’; and Priority project ‘HEIs as the Centres of Innovation Creation Space’.

In 2013, the implementation of the Project 5–100 started to improve the competitiveness of Russian universities among the world’s leading scientific and educational centres, and aimed to strengthen the position of Russian universities in the global scientific and educational space. One of the objectives of the project is to increase the number of foreign students in selected universities, specifically within the framework of joint programmes.

In 2014, the Concept for the Promotion of Russian Education based on the Rossotrudnichestvo Representative Offices Abroad was approved by the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The Concept aims to form a system of effective measures to promote Russian higher education abroad, defines the main functions and objectives of the RCSC, and sets the following objectives:

- defining a system of effective measures to promote Russian higher education using the potential of Rossotrudnichestvo offices abroad, taking into account Russia's foreign policy interests and in order to ensure the formation of effective instruments of Russian 'soft power' in this area of international humanitarian cooperation;
- assisting creation of conditions and opportunities for the successful socialisation and effective self-realisation of foreign citizens studying in Russia, their familiarisation with the culture of the peoples of Russia;
- strengthening ties with national and international associations of graduates of Russian (Soviet) educational organisations;
- forming an advance supply and timely consideration of the demand for information on the state and prospects of development of Russian education and educational opportunities in Russia;
- giving an additional impetus to the development of comprehensive mutually beneficial relations with foreign educational organisations in various countries of the world in order to contribute to the further strengthening of the prestige of the Russian Federation in the international arena;
- increasing the share of all interested organisations in the promotion of Russian education and science abroad using the latest information and communication technologies, including distance education opportunities.

Currently, the following structures are engaged in promoting Russian education in the world: the Federal Agency for the Commonwealth of Independent States, Compatriots Living Abroad, and International and Humanitarian Cooperation—Rossotrudnichestvo (with offices in 80 countries), and the Ministry of Science and Higher Education of the Russian Federation using the official website for selection of foreign citizens for education in the Russian Federation, [Russia.study](http://Russia.study), and the 'Study in Russia' website (Future in Russia web-service since 2020). The national brand of Russian education 'Study in Russia' is promoted by foreign representative offices of various state structures and universities. Although the Rossotrudnichestvo network is wide enough, its activities are extremely narrow and focused on language and culture promotion, while management is centralised and highly bureaucratic.

#### 4 ATTRACTION OF TALENTED STUDENTS AS A MARKETING STRATEGY OF THE RUSSIAN ECONOMY OF EDUCATION

In recent decades, targeted efforts to identify and work with gifted children and talented young people have been among the top priorities of governments, corporations, and communities in many countries around the world. Educational institutions at various levels and their industrial partners are increasingly focusing on joint activities in this area because of the increasing competition for ‘undistinguished capital’, which is human talent/giftedness.

Foreign students can have a positive impact on the development of economic and innovation systems of municipal, regional, and state importance. The integration of successful foreign students into the national and international labour market contributes to the creation of knowledge, innovation, and growth of economic indicators. Additionally, a favourable experience of stay of foreign students in the country leads to the formation and maintenance of long-term friendly relations between the countries. Shaping the future world elite and strengthening interest in the Russian language and culture, universities contribute to the reinforcement of the international influence of Russia. Attracting talented foreign citizens to study at Russian universities also contributes to the internationalisation of the educational process, and to the development of intercultural, linguistic, and intellectual competences of Russian students and their successful professional integration to the global economy.

The overwhelming commitment of Russia’s authorities to quantify internationalisation is highly feasible in the approved roadmap of the priority project ‘Development of the Export Potential of the Russian Education System’ (Export Potential of the Russian Education, 2017). By 2025, the number of foreign students and the profit of universities from their studies ought to reach 710,000 people and 373 billion rubles, respectively. Nevertheless, successful achievement of these indicators, to a certain extent, depends on the implementation of the project’s benchmark point dedicated to the development of a mechanism for attracting the most talented foreign students to study in Russian educational institutions.

First, it is necessary first of all to determine the key distinctive characteristics of the target audience. It ought to be noted that there is no single approach to the definition of the term ‘talented person/student’ in



Russia. At the same time, the definition generally accepted and most often used in the context of the implementation of one of the priority directions of the Russian state policy in the field of education is as follows: a talented/gifted student is a student who is distinguished by obvious achievements or has internal prerequisites for such achievements in one or another type of activity (educational, scientific activity, creativity, leadership ability). A similar definition can be found in Johnsen (2004). Thus, the most talented foreign students who are attracted to study in Russian educational organisations are foreign citizens meeting the criteria set by Russian educational organisations, which have demonstrated outstanding abilities and have obvious achievements or internal prerequisites for such achievements in educational, research activities, leadership, art, and/or sports.

Among the main criteria for talented foreigners considered as potential entrants to Russian educational institutions of higher education are the following:

- high academic motivation, identified through participation in distance and face-to-face formats of qualifying events (Olympiads, competitions, research and project sessions/schools, etc.).
- compliance with the minimum requirements in the country of residence of a foreign citizen to the results of the final certification required for admission to higher education programmes, as well as other requirements developed as part of the project 'Development of the export potential of the Russian education system' as well as educational organisations.

Considering the effective practices of selection of individuals who have demonstrated outstanding ability, and the obvious achievements or internal prerequisites for such achievements at the national and international levels, it ought to be noted that there are two opposing approaches: meritocratic and egalitarian. The use of the meritocratic approach implies an initial differentiation of the potential of learners according to its implementation through actual achievements in real life. In this case, when attracting foreign students to study in Russian educational institutions, it is assumed that there will be a concentration of resources and efforts to search for and select talent at the stage of pre-university training and career guidance, and in the process of holding special selection events

(Olympiads, competitions, etc.) at various levels at the stage of admission to major educational programmes.

Within the framework of the egalitarian approach, priority is given to equal opportunities for all, which is reflected in the thesis that each person is talented. This approach is the basis of the Concept of the national system of identification and development of young talent, approved by the President of the Russian Federation in 2012 (Concept, 2012). In this context, the main focus is given to the effective organisation of the educational process, providing opportunities for each student to express, apply, and develop his/her talent to succeed in further professional activities. With regard to the problem of this Concept, the implementation of the egalitarian approach assumes the concentration of resources and efforts, first of all, on a significant increase in the total number of foreign students studying at the main educational programmes in Russian universities, for further identification and development of talents in the learning process. The egalitarian approach is supported by the fact that the identification of talented students can be a rather lengthy process associated with the analysis of the development of a specific student in the framework of a step-by-step search in the process of his/her education through learning programmes which involve individual development trajectories, in the process of individualised education, self-education, professional self-determination, etc.

Identification and attraction of talent are the most interconnected and are, undoubtedly, priority directions. The following mechanisms are implemented within the framework of the above-mentioned directions:

- development of the system of search and selection of talented and highly motivated foreign citizens for studying in Russian universities through subject Olympiads, interdisciplinary project contests, festivals, competitions, various levels;
- activation and improvement of practices in organising and conducting summer and winter schools in various areas of science, technology, art and sports, including language, profile and/or interdisciplinary project shifts for talented and motivated foreign citizens on the sites of educational organisations, practice bases and sports tourism, national and regional children's centres, recreation camps, as well as field sessions and schools on the basis of the network of Russian Centres of Science and Culture (Rossotrudnichestvo, RCSC) and partner organisations in priority;

- development of a single information digital resource of foreign students who have demonstrated outstanding ability, which, on one hand is a unified federal database of winners and medalists of Olympiads, contests, listeners of mass open online courses (MOOC), participants of project sessions/schools, etc., and on the other hand—an online platform to support the process of search, attraction and further development (including career advancement) of talented foreign citizens, an electronic portfolio which captures their achievements and received competences;
  - implementation of large-scale scholarship/grant programmes to support talented foreign students at various levels;
  - development of MOOCs and educational programmes implemented online, aimed at using the potential of e-learning and distance learning technologies to identify and attract the most talented foreign citizens, including within the framework of educational programmes of preparatory departments;
  - development and implementation of globally competitive interdisciplinary educational programmes in foreign languages in priority areas of scientific and educational activities of the university, their large-scale promotion and information support through federal services;
  - creation of a single state information and education platform based on the ‘one window’ principle based on existing services, providing foreign citizens with access to the full range of information required for their involvement in educational programmes of Russian universities, participation in selection procedures, as well as ensuring the effective dissemination of Russian language and culture in the online space;
  - formation and promotion of the university brand, region, and national education system in the world; and
  - development of a favourable migration policy, improvement of the federal migration legislation, simplification of procedures for employment of talented foreign students and graduates and their integration into the Russian economic space.

The support for talented foreign students studying at Russian universities might, among other things, involve the implementation of the following mechanisms to ensure the creation of the necessary conditions

to maintain and develop their motivation, and to maximise the potential of talent:

- creation of a favourable ecosystem at the university/municipality/region level, ensuring comfortable stay of foreign students (admission, accommodation, meals, social support, socialisation, bilingual living environment) for successful development of talents; training of personnel of educational organisations and regional/municipal services, ensuring high academic performance and comfortable stay of foreign students;
- personalisation of education, which implies the development of individual trajectories of student development, including the use of online services, taking into account the specifics of their creative and intellectual abilities;
- formation of personal and professional self-determination of talents through interaction with representatives of the real sector of the economy through the tools of project and research activities, production practices, and employment;
- pilot testing of experimentation, incubation of innovations and the possibility of introducing products of educational activities of talented foreign students in production;
- stimulation and support of scientific-pedagogical workers who interact most successfully with talents and students with a high level of motivation for learning and self-actualisation through the allocation of subsidies and grants;
- development of the international segment of the Alumni Association and international professional communities.

These mechanisms are specified in accordance with the best practices which are implemented in the leading countries of education export, and the achievements of the Russian Federation in this field. They have been adjusted, and presented in the form of recommendations to the creators of the National Priority Project on the Global Development of Russian Education.

## 5 RUSSIAN PRACTICES OF INTERNATIONALISATION AND EDUCATION EXPORT

The Russian educational system is actively competing against different national educational systems within the framework of global hyper-competition. It is possible to enhance the competitiveness of Russian education in the international market by strengthening international cooperation; enlarging the recognition of Russian higher education institutions in the world (in the global professional community and among potential customers: students, employers, partners); and increasing the number of foreign students in Russia and the number of higher education institutions holding high positions in international rankings. Thus, the export of educational services is becoming one of the main instruments of Russia's integration into the global educational space, as it contributes to the realisation of the country's interests in the geopolitical, economic, and social spheres, and as it increases its participation in global science, culture, and education.

According to the Institute of International Education (USA), in 2017 Russia ranked seventh in the list of exporters of education with a total foreign student share of 6% (Atlas, 2017). The available statistical data from the Center for Statistical Research of the Ministry of Education and Science of the Russian Federation (Education, 2017) demonstrated the situation of the export of Russian educational services for the 2015/2016 academic year before launch of the Priority Program 'Development of the Export Potential of the Russian Education System' in 2017/2018. The distribution of foreign students by full-time in 2015/2016 was 67.7%. The largest number of students studied on a contract basis: 70.9% (60% of all foreign full-time students and 93.8% of all foreign part-time students). As for the level of training, the most popular programmes for foreign students in the Russian Federation were bachelor's degree programmes (45.3% of all foreign full-time students). The largest proportion of foreign students study in higher educational institutions of the Central Federal District (Statistics, 2017); this trend persists at both undergraduate and graduate, as well as PhD programs. Different regions have unique characteristics. When considering both full-time and distance learning modes, the following districts can be singled out among the leaders in terms of training levels:

- trainees of the pre-undergraduate study departments: Central Federal District (35.2%), Northwestern Federal District (23.2%), Volga Federal District (16.1%);
- bachelors: Central Federal District (43.9%), North Federal District (17%), Northwestern Federal District (10.3%), Volga Federal District (10.3%);
- masters: Central Federal District (45.1%), Northwestern Federal District (16.5%), North Federal District (15.7%);
- PhD students: Central Federal District (52.8%), Northwestern Federal District (15.8%), North Federal District (10.2%).

According to the classification of universities by form of ownership and affiliation, the largest number of foreign students studied at public universities (54.8%), private universities (16.6%), public medical universities (9.0%), and universities of the Government of the Russian Federation (4.0%).

In the Russian Federation, the largest number of foreign students came from countries which share a common border with the Russian Federation and have strong ties, including business, economic, and historical links—namely: Kazakhstan (24.8%), Ukraine (7.8%), China (7.6%), Uzbekistan (7.3%), Turkmenistan (6.4%), Belarus (5.4%), Tajikistan (5.1%), and Azerbaijan (4.6%). Having analysed the share of foreign students who studied in the Russian Federation in the 2015/2016 academic year, the countries with the highest share of students studying in the Russian Federation as a percentage of that country's total number of students studying in a foreign country are as follows: Tajikistan (96.8%), Kazakhstan (94.2%), Uzbekistan (77.6%), Kyrgyzstan (66.9%), and Armenia (51.1%).

In other words, the largest number of foreign students studying in the Russian Federation came from the CIS countries (68.3%, the largest share in Kazakhstan—36.3%) and Asia (16.7%, the largest share in China—45.4%), followed by the Middle East and North Africa (5.0%, the largest share in Iraq—20.9%), Sub-Saharan Africa (4.0%, the largest share in Nigeria—17.3%), Western Europe (2%, with Germany accounting for 27.3%), Latin America (1.2%, with Ecuador accounting for 20.1%).

Statistics on the distribution of foreign students by field of study in the Russian Federation differs from other countries of the world. The most popular fields of study in full-time education are healthcare (18.6%), economics and management (14.1%), humanities (without law) (11.2%), and the Russian language (8.2%). The least popular fields of study are

the social sciences (0.5%). The income from the provision of educational services to foreign students in 2015/2016 amounted to 21,148,625,482 rubles.

In the 2015/2016 academic year, the countries with the highest number of foreign students who were studying on a contractual basis, relative to the total number of students, can be identified as North America and Oceania (86.1%), Asia (78.5%), and the Middle East and North Africa (73.3%). In turn, the minimum value of this indicator is observed in the CIS countries (49.2%), Eastern European and Balkan countries (43.0%), and the Baltic States (40.8%). Based on these data, the Priority Project on Export of Russian Education set 10 countries as the most attractive for Russia in terms of enrolment of foreign students: China, India, Republic of Korea, Malaysia, Indonesia, Vietnam, Mongolia, Brazil, Angola, and France.

The main instrument for attracting foreign students to study in educational institutions of the Russian Federation is the state scholarship programme, allocated on a competitive basis. The stipends are granted for education of foreign citizens and stateless persons in accordance with the Resolution of the Government of the Russian Federation 891 of 08.10.2013 (Resolution, 2013). The Russian Federation scholarship for foreign citizens provides study for free for the entire period of education, including the pre-undergraduate period, and state academic scholarship, regardless of progress. Russia.Study is the single operator for receiving applications for such a scholarship. The largest number of scholarships was allocated to citizens of China (850 units), Vietnam (800 units), Tajikistan (700 units), Moldova (including Transnistria) (580 units), and Kyrgyzstan (460 units). In recent years, the number of scholarships for Mongolian (488 units) and Syrian citizens (438 units) has increased.

According to the data, 9112 scholarships were allocated in the 2016/2017 teaching year, which is 1727 more than in 2015/2016 (Statistics, 2017). The leading countries in terms of the number of scholarships have changed, namely: China (1370), Vietnam (1129), Ukraine (732), Tajikistan (560), and Moldova (including Transnistria) (519). The increase in the number of scholarships also allowed Mongolia (488) and Syria (438) to approach the levels of leading outbound countries.

Thus, according to the results of the study concerning the export of higher education services in the Russian Federation the following observations can be made:

1. The number of foreign students in the Russian Federation has been growing year by year and was 6% of the global number of foreign students representing 182 countries (effective for the 2015/2016 academic year). That makes Russia one of the leading exporters of education.
2. The largest share of foreign students is in countries with common borders and strong ties with the Russian Federation, including business, economic, and historical links: Kazakhstan (24.8%), Ukraine (7.8%), China (7.6%), Uzbekistan (7.3%), Turkmenistan (6.4%), Belarus (5.4%), Tajikistan (5.1%), and Azerbaijan (4.6%). However, territorial remoteness, although with obvious influence on a choice of the region of study, is not the key factor (so the largest number of international students is concentrated in the Central and North-western Federal Districts that is Moscow, Sankt-Petersburg and nearby territories).
3. The largest share of funds for full-time education (48.5% per year) is allocated by the central government to public higher education institutions.
4. Statistics on the distribution of foreign students by field of study in the Russian Federation differs from the global one, so the most popular areas of full-time education are health (18.6%), economics and management (14.1%), and humanities (without law) (11.2%).

Definitely, the Russian Federation as an internationalised nation is far from sustainable global leadership, and is successful only in implementing certain mechanisms for mass attraction and retention of the most talented foreign students. Several universities are included in the top world and national rankings. Indeed, the QS Rankings included 22 Russian universities with one university ranking 108th. According to the Times Higher Education (THE), the top Russian university comes in at number 30. And the top 500 universities of the Shanghai ranking included only two Russian universities.

## 6 CONCLUSION

Currently, there is no comprehensive national strategy for recruiting foreign students to study in the Russian Federation. Several universities are developing their own internationalisation strategies, which set out the specifics for recruiting foreign students. All mechanisms are used by



higher education institutions to some extent. In addition to participation in specialised exhibitions, development of printing materials, and the use of online platforms (an educational organisation's website, social networks, specialised online platforms and online media), one of the new forms of attracting students is the intensification of cooperation with recruiting agencies on issues of recruitment of foreign students. Also, a number of universities utilise existing foreign students for recruiting activities, who, as 'international ambassadors', promote higher education institutions in their home countries.

Meanwhile, Russian education has competitive advantages which are used on an intuitive level by HEIs. University education in Russia has the fundamental character, so in Russia it is possible to obtain deep and fundamental knowledge in all areas. The country is best known for its strong scientific schools in the fields of physical, mathematical, and natural sciences. Russia is a recognised world leader in training mathematicians, physicists, chemists, geologists, engineers, programmers, physicians, and specialists in natural sciences. Diversification of proposed educational programmes and a wide choice of universities would help to satisfy students as consumers of specific services, namely: 896 universities in 85 regions of the country—from Kaliningrad to Vladivostok—are waiting for foreign applicants; 205 educational directions of training—from mathematical and natural sciences to actor's art; 657 directions and specialties under the programmes of bachelor's degree, master's degree, specialist, post-graduate studies (residency, adjunct programmes), and internships. Russian universities also offer pre-university undergraduate programmes (bachelor's, specialist's, and master's degrees), short-term programmes (Summer University or semester in Russia, for example), programmes of studying Russian as a foreign language, programmes of professional retraining, and advanced training.

The opportunity to study on a scholarship is an attractive idea because Russia is one of the few countries globally providing foreigners with the opportunity to study free of charge. Every year the Russian government allocates tens of thousands of scholarships at Russian universities for foreign citizens (15,000 stipends were allocated in 2017, for example). Additionally, some categories of foreigners, including compatriots, can be admitted to budget places on a competitive basis with Russians. Another possibility is to take part in university Olympiads, where winners and prize-winners are given privileges when entering leading Russian universities (in terms of scholarships and budget places).

There exists an opportunity to obtain double diplomas in high-ranked fields of study. Diplomas of Russian universities are recognised in most countries of the world. This procedure is facilitated by Russia's intergovernmental agreements with more than 60 countries, including Finland, Spain, Cuba, India, Vietnam, China, Venezuela, Namibia, and France.

Russian universities are proud of their long-term experience in the training and adaptation of foreign study students. Mentorship programmes for freshmen and student communities; the rich culture of which Russia is so proud; and its unique climate and cultural zones, including the active promotion of multiculturalism and multi-faith are among the value-based advantages which can be promoted.

Despite the variety of different mechanisms and the abundance of policy documents, there have been no major changes in terms of exporting educational services in the Russian Federation, perhaps because of the lack of a single concept which would cover all participants from the development of educational programmes and their promotion to specialised legislation which facilitates the entry and training of foreign citizens in Russia, for example.

Among the problems and limitations which hinder the growth of the export of educational services in Russia are the following:

- Weak development of the Russian education brand;
- Weak interaction at the level of regional administration and university, university-industrial cluster, which is a potential employer of graduates of branches, as well as university-university;
- A small number of English-taught programmes designed for the global educational market;
- Insufficient technological base for developing and launching training programmes in the existing branches and network universities;
- Insufficient communication skills of Russian universities in the foreign-language segment of social networks: low level of dialogue (lack of attention to feedback, and as a consequence, extremely low level of discussion in social networks in all Russian universities); haphazard distribution of content, and finally;
- Matching the complexity of the Russian national legislation with the legislation of the recipient state impedes the promotion of Russian education abroad and the development of joint educational projects.

The pandemic has dramatically revealed the existing strategies of higher education, and challenged the traditional quantity-based promotion and internationalisation approach of higher education. It demonstrates the core weakness in Russian promotion—a decade of incoherent roadmaps which aim for global leadership. At the same time, the pandemic suggests that these weaknesses will be minimised in the future, at least in the following directions: the capability of the Russian legislation to answer the needs of a transnational labour market in highly qualified foreign specialists, by adopting new simplified migration regulations, specifically for the targeted countries; the ability of higher education institutions to adjust rapidly to the technology-dependent teaching and learning process through online and blended learning techniques; and the strong commitment of institutions to assume responsibilities for promotion of the Russian education abroad (Rossotrudnichestvo), and to serve an effective communication channel between Russian universities and targeted countries and regions.

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# Shift to Market Orientation? The Changing Trend of the Higher Education Sector in India

*Julie Vardhan*

## 1 INTRODUCTION

With almost all the countries aiming to create global citizens, the effects of globalisation on the higher education sector are in the areas of growing internationalisation, massification, and marketisation. Foskett and Maringe (2010) note that a number of factors support the globalisation of higher education institutions—diminishing trade barriers, increasing student and staff mobility, higher education rankings, influence of international organisations like UNESCO, and increasing demand for a highly skilled global workforce. Among the requirements of a globally skilled workforce are individuals who are competent in the English language, are able to adapt multi-culturally, and are adept at critical and creative thinking. These individuals encompass the ideology of thinking globally and acting locally (Tan, 2008). Further up, the gradation in technology and communication has ensured an integration of knowledge and

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products with markets, processes, and ideas. The integration has led to an increased demand for highly skilled knowledge workers.

The focus of education since ancient times has been its ability to qualify and socialise (Nussbaum, 1998). While qualification is an indication of usefulness of the education, socialisation refers to the formative value of education (Bendixen & Jacobsen, 2017). However, there now seems to be a shift in the orientation of education, with the forces of globalisation compelling the education sector to include marketing and market orientation in its consideration. In continuation with this proposition, Mok (2002) has identified four major trends which affect the higher education sector in current times: denationalisation, decentralisation, autonomisation, and marketisation. While denationalisation refers to the inclusion of private institutions in the sector, decentralisation refers to a shift in the form of governance from that of control to one of supervision. Autonomisation refers to universities having more freedom and academic autonomy in terms of their offerings in programmes, courses, and curriculum. Marketisation refers to additional revenue-generating activities by universities. That market orientation has a positive consequence for customer satisfaction. There is also a relationship between customer satisfaction and profitability which have been corroborated in the study by Lings and Grenley (2009). Using the same principle in the educational context it can be interpreted that in a university setting, application of the marketisation principle would lead to more value for the stakeholders, and greater profitability for the universities.

The present study is undertaken with the objective of understanding the implementation of the market orientation in the higher education sector in India. Specifically, the following aspects of marketisation were considered: massification, privatisation, internationalisation, and financing. Secondary data were analysed on these aspects, especially data from the last five years from various government organisations and associations which are related to higher education in India. This chapter seeks to extend knowledge in the market orientation approach in the higher education sector in India by focusing on the strategies which are adopted by the entire sector, rather than on individual institutions. The study ought to provide leaders and policy makers in the higher education sector in India to orient the institutions towards providing the learning environment as per the need of the learners.

A review of the concept of market orientation and marketisation is discussed in the next section, followed by a description of the marketisation tenets as seen in the higher education sector in India. The discussion section highlights the myriad ways in which marketisation is applied at the institution level. The chapter ends with a discussion of the implications of the study.

## 2 REVIEW OF LITERATURE ON MARKETISATION IN HIGHER EDUCATION

The influence of marketing has been well recognised and documented in a vast number of studies, and applied to both business and non-business organisations (Kotler & Armstrong, 2016). Marketing itself has seen a transition from a product-centric view (Marketing 1.0) to being consumer-centric (Marketing 2.0) to a third stage in which it is considered to be human-centric (Marketing 3.0). Here, all the stakeholders are considered to be important, and marketing is intended to create sustainable value for all. Similar to the transition in marketing, there seems to have been a transition in the concept from marketing orientation to that of market orientation (Kohli & Jaworski, 1990). The construct reflects the extent to which an organisation has adopted the concepts of marketing into the functioning of the organisation (Camelia & Mariaus, 2013; Hammond et al., 2006; Ngo & Cass, 2011). It is considered to be linked to creating a sustainable and unique value to the customers, thus leading to the creation of competitive advantage for the organisation (Kohli & Jaworski, 1990; Narver & Slater, 1990). Market-oriented firms place the highest value on creating superior customer value (Slater & Narver, 1998; Zhou et al., 2009), and consequently such organisations would ensure deployment of necessary resources. Ngo and Cass (2011) in their study suggest that creation of superior customer value is the basic premise of market orientation and of the marketing function. Several studies have documented the role of marketing orientation in improving business profitability, innovation, employee commitment, and performance of the organisation (Kirca et al., 2005; Noble et al., 2002; Tran et al., 2015). Market orientation is considered to be an integrative and inclusive concept, and meant to incorporate the entire market, including all the stakeholders. In this study, the term ‘market orientation’ or ‘marketisation’ are alternatively used to denote the organisation-wide applicability of the marketing concept. Moreover, instead of looking at



the marketisation concept from the institution level this study considers the various dimensions of market orientation from the perspective of the entire sector.

Market orientation has been considered as an area of study in the education field for over a decade, as a way to understand the university-student relationship (Lozano, 2006). The Balridge National Quality Program has emphasised the linking of market orientation to that of education. Among the seven criteria included in the Balridge Quality Program, three directly emphasise the market orientation role of the university. The first criterion, for example, emphasises the organisation's need to take adequate care of its stakeholders with the students being among the primary stakeholders or the key customers. The second criterion requires that the organisation must be able to meet the requirements and expectations of the stakeholders. The third criterion revolves around the organisation's need to be able to guide students in learning and succeeding (Tran et al., 2015). Few studies proposed the addition of new concepts to the fundamental concepts in marketing for the marketisation process to be included in the academic field. So, apart from customer value, cost, convenience, and communication, Newman and Jahdi (2009) added calibre, capabilities, and charisma, for marketing to be integrated with the education sector:

- Calibre refers to a change in the view of academic staff as employees to providers of a service, as people who are to be managed rather than as people who are engaged in intellectual activity.
- Capabilities are defined as the ease of obtaining information by the students, and relates to the responsiveness of the faculty and staff in responding to them.
- Charisma or collateral is the insistence on the value foundation of the university as a brand (Roper & Davies, 2007).

The transition of an academic system towards adopting business ideals means that a higher number of private players are invited to take part in the activities. Moreover, the changes mean that business ideals in organising, managing, and measuring the results of activities will increasingly influence the organisation. The shift also ensures that institutions undergo more evaluative and regulatory control, which would result in measurable rankings, away from the traditional universities' rules-based meritocracy

(Olssen, 2002). The traditional view of education places more emphasis on quality of education and the ensuing output of knowledge, whereas the shift in the education system towards a market orientation seems to be aimed towards ensuring that a positive image of the institution along with efficiency in academic outcomes are achieved.

Many studies on the marketisation of education have been conducted across countries (Bendixen & Jacobsen [2017] in the Danish context, Ginsburg et al. [2003] in Chile and Romania, Mok [1999] in Singapore, Tran et al. [2015] in the United States, and Naidoo & Wu [2011] in India). Among the higher education sector, marketisation seems to have been applied across a number of economic and social contexts, one having been termed as the ‘marketised system’ and the other, the ‘marketising system’. Loosely tied with the developed and the developing nations nomenclature, those in the marketised system of higher education have incorporated some degree of marketisation into their education sector, while the marketising system is where the education sector has yet to develop a marketisation approach.

The United States is often considered closest to the marketised system, because its higher education institutions have a high degree of autonomy. Among the prominent features of the marketised system is a significant number of private institutions, whose financing is derived from the tuition fees, the university’s own funds, and donations. In the United States, home to a number of rankings and league tables, a considerable amount is spent by the institutions in building brand image and managing reputation. The countries which are part of the marketised system are the UK, Australia, Canada, New Zealand, Netherlands. Japan and Korea stand a bit apart from this system, because Japan has a substantial private sector (more than 75% in terms of students and institutions) and a high level of private funding.

The marketising systems are the higher education institutions in countries where the governments are initiating internationalisation approaches in the wake of creating global citizens. These systems are driven by a number of ideologies and pragmatics. Ideologically, many of the governments consider marketisation and the ensuing competition to be pushing the institutions for greater efficiency and responsiveness to stakeholders. Pragmatically, marketisation helps in sharing the financial cost, especially important given that many governments face financial constraints and must reduce public expenditures on education.

### 3 THE MARKETISATION PROCESS IN INDIAN HIGHER EDUCATION

The Indian higher education sector is widely connected to the Indian culture of diversity, acceptance, and accommodation of disparate convictions and ideas. India had a rich system of indigenous education which though informal, was well established prior to the introduction of the Western education system imported by the British. The gurukul system not only ensured imparting the knowledge and skills which are required for an individual, but most importantly emphasised learning human values and life skills. With the onset of the British rule and prior to independence, India witnessed the emergence of the Colonial model of higher education, with limited access and imposition of the English language as the medium of instruction in selected institutions. The two systems continued well until the pre-independence era, and encompassed differing value systems. Since 1947, after independence, India has witnessed a high growth period in the higher education sector, with the government aiming to increase the reach and quality of higher education. India, with a population of more than 1.2 billion, has a young population base of 0.672 billion in the age group of 15–64 years old who constitute a major demographic dividend for the country. This demographic dividend would be an invaluable human resource to the country for uplifting the economy, and the society if people have access to higher education. With this objective, the University Grants Commission (UGC) was formed by the government as the regulatory body to advise, set standards, and coordinate between the centre and state in the management of higher education institutions and universities. With around 800 universities and 34,584,781 enrolled students, India is witnessing a tremendous growth in its higher education sector. The higher education system in India is considered to be the third largest in the world, after China and the United States. With a growing and young population base, the Indian government is eager to develop the human capital through internationalising its higher education sector, while making it accessible and marketable.

Although there are many studies which point to the negative consequences of utilising marketisation in the higher education sector, several studies also mention its inevitability and necessity. Molesworth et al. (2011) list the techniques which are used by the higher education institutions in their marketisation approach. It begins with each higher education institution trying to reduce its cost, and improve its offerings,

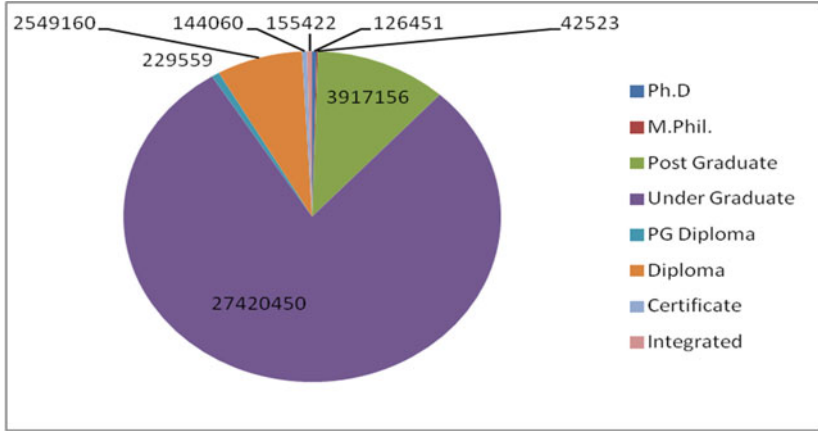
in order to differentiate itself from the competition; using a number of sales techniques to attract the potential customers; and highlighting the career prospects of the students through advertisements and linking up with the industries with promise of a better workforce. The marketisation is more pronounced from the consumer's end—the students who attend university not to gain knowledge of a subject but primarily to become an employable person. When there is an explicit focus on skills to be acquired in order to be employable, efforts to address other concerns are often dismissed by the institutions and the students. Analysts point out that critical thinking, abstraction, and creativity are oftentimes relegated to the background, because these are not considered the focus for learning. Termed as 'academic capitalism' (Slaughter & Rhoades, 2004), a number of studies point to the shift in purpose of education (from public good and helping to create an equitable society) to that of institutions trying to compete for a share in the market.

Based on the review of literature on market orientation and the marketisation of higher education, the following four aspects would be considered as typical features to observe the marketisation of the higher education sector in India.

### 3.1 *Massification*

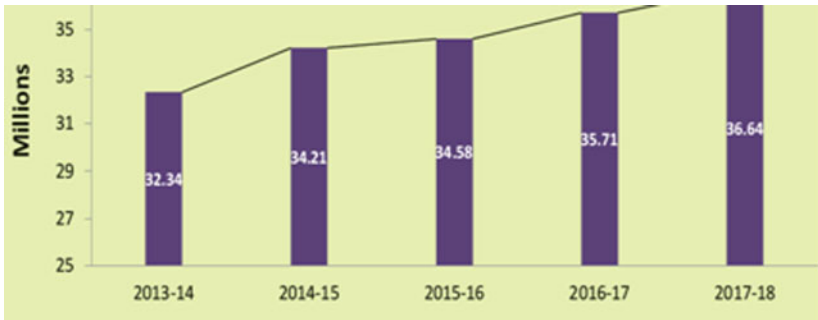
One of the ways the market orientation is facilitated by organisations is through the spread of its ideas or products across the maximum number so as to have the widest reach. Termed as 'massification', in the higher education system massification is considered as one which provides 15–50% of the relevant age group with access to higher education. Universal access is achieved when the higher education system is able to provide access to more than 50% of the relevant age group, which was termed as 'post-massification' by Reiko. The number of universities post-independence (1950–2017) in India has multiplied by more than 30. Along with the growing population, the number of students enrolled in higher education has been growing over the years. Figure 1 shows the enrolment number at various levels of higher education in India in 2015–2016. As seen in the Figure, 79% of the enrolled students are taking up undergraduate programmes.

The share of enrolment in traditional courses of humanities, social sciences, and pure sciences has declined, and there has been a growing appreciation for professional courses, and accordingly an increase in the



**Fig. 1** Student enrolment at various levels in higher education in India (*Source* Adapted from All India Survey on Higher Education, MHRD [2015–16])

number of private institutions, from which graduating students anticipate better job prospects. The enrolment has grown considerably during the last five years, increasing from 32,336,234 in 2013/2014 to 36,642,378 in 2017/2018. The overall growth was 13.3% during this period which is shown in Fig. 2.



**Fig. 2** Student enrolment in higher education sector (*Source* AISHE Report [2017–18])

Gross Enrolment Ratio (GER) has increased during the last five years, from 23.0 in 2013/2014 to 25.8 in 2017/2018. The rise in the student enrolment shows that both the government's initiatives and institutional initiatives for increasing enrolment for expanding the reach of higher education have been working.

### 3.2 *Privatisation*

The liberalisation of the Indian economy in 1991 and the economic reforms led to an increase in the establishment of a number of private universities. There were correspondingly significant changes in the governance structure, with power transferred to private institutions or boards similar to corporations. The higher education sector continues to experience a change from the nationalisation model to that of a market-oriented model. The number of universities and similar institutions listed on the AISHE portal has increased from 723 in 2013/2014 to 903 in 2017/2018 as shown in the Table 1, with a consistent rise in the state private universities, from 153 in 2013/2014 to 262 in 2017/2018.

Table 1 shows the major university types in India and the growth in their number over the years. While the central universities in India are established by an act of parliament, the state universities are established by state legislature act. The deemed universities are those institutions which

**Table 1** Major university types and the number of universities

<i>Major university type</i>	<i>Number of university</i>				
	<i>2013–2014</i>	<i>2014–2015</i>	<i>2015–2016</i>	<i>2016–2017</i>	<i>2017–2018</i>
State public university	309	316	329	345	351
State private university	153	181	197	233	262
Deemed university-private	80	79	79	79	80
Institute of national importance	68	75	75	100	101
Central university	42	43	43	44	45
Demmed university-government	36	32	32	33	33

*Source* AISHE, Ministry of Human Resource Development, Government of India, 2017–18

have been accorded the status of a university by the central government to award their own degrees, and the institutes of national importance are prestigious institutions which have been accorded the status by the parliament. The technical institutions are considered as a separate sector, and follow different regulations according to their respective sectors, like the AICTE and the Medical Council of India. The state private universities and deemed private universities are private institutions which have received the approval from the central or state governments to operate as universities, and award degrees under the regulation of the Universities Grants Commission.

The evolution of privatisation in the Indian higher education system has been described as “from half-baked socialism to half-baked capitalism” by Kapur and Mehta. According to these authors, the massive privatisation is not due to ideological changes but instead due to the fact that government funding over the years in the higher education sector for central and state universities has stagnated. Private funding, on the other hand, has witnessed a steady rise for private universities, deemed universities, and the unaided colleges.

### 3.3 *Internationalisation*

The demand and supply dynamics in the education sector has led to the growing marketisation of the system not just at the national level but also globally (Naidoo & Wu, 2011). A number of higher education institutions, therefore, develop marketing strategies in order to attract international students, or brand themselves as international universities. In a study by Casidy (2014), the marketisation of the universities has led to the increasing number of international education providers and the ensuing competition. There has been an increase in the number of students seeking international education through outward mobility and in some countries an increase in the inward mobility of students.

The growing aspiration of the young population to gain international degrees and knowledge has ensured a continued demand for international programmes in India. The internationalisation of higher education in India is mostly with the student mobility, with a large outward mobility of students. The number of Indian students abroad has increased from 55,444 in 1999 to about 255,030 in 2016. It is forecasted that 400,000 Indian students will leave the country to enrol in foreign universities by 2024. Inbound mobility has traditionally been modest, but reached

30,423 in 2014 (AISHE, 2017). Although many foreign institutions are establishing their centres in India, some Indian institutions have also established their branch campuses on foreign shores. The demand for open and distance education also seems to be growing, with many takers for the online and blended learning courses.

### 3.4 *Financing*

The responsibility of financing higher education is shared by both the public and private sector in India. Funding for public universities is the responsibility of the central and state governments, with 80% of public higher education funding being from the states and 20% of the funding being from the central government. About 82% of state funding goes in non-plan expenditure—routine administration and maintenance—and barely any in capacity-building (FICCI, 2011). The central government funding is more focused towards central universities and centres of excellence, which caters to a small percentage of total students. According to FICCI (2011), the private expenditure on higher education has increased about 12.8 times during the last decade. Among the household expenditure on higher education, it has been found that the share of tuition and other fees has increased to about 53%, which is due to an increase in the share of private institutions (FICCI, 2011).

With the reduction in funding of higher education institutions, they are finding ways to generate revenue and to reduce expenses. Consequently, institutions are relying more on tuition fees, thereby educing research grants for faculties, restricting scholarship schemes, increasing the number of programmes, and the raising of more revenue through the creation of short-term programmes or by keeping teachers on contract (Tran et al., 2015). Some universities choose to collaborate with industries in providing training or consultancy services, while several universities also tend to expand to other regions in the nation or even internationally as a means to generate revenue.

## 4 DISCUSSION

The growth in private institutions, and the emphasis on individualism, are emphasised in neoliberal market models (Fumagalli & Morini, 2013). Indeed, neoliberal market models are associated with policies of free trade, privatisation, and reduction in government spending, in order to increase



the role of private sector in the economy and society (Boas & Gans-Morse, 2009; Goldstein, 2012). The higher education sector in India is finding fewer investments in the form of subsidies or grants by the central government, and the cost is shifted to the students, especially for private universities, the funding for which is based almost entirely on tuition fees. A number of studies which are critical of neoliberal principles in the education sector claim that as education starts being considered as a commodity, geared for consumption, all the policies and practices by the institutions will also be submitted to the market forces (Corsani, 2013). Education, therefore, is considered as a consumer good, meant for individual consumption, and the advancement of the student is measured in terms of income-generating capability (Thomas & Davies, 2002). Marketisation and globalisation mean that nations and regions compete for the best students, the most skilled researchers and instructors, and the best placement of their graduates. The linkage of educational objectives with marketisation is criticised by a number of scholars, because research and academic work are not immediately suitable for commercialisation. Education cannot be traded or marketed with the other commodities, but through the value which education provides. The increasing importance of educational markets compared to the value of knowledge has led to varying perceptions and debates on marketisation in the education sector.

Among the other features of market orientation which are adopted by universities are the initiatives taken up by the universities so that they are perceived as being effective in their objective by all their stakeholders. The way in which universities attempt to attract and build the brand image, range from renting or purchasing of prime sites at city centres, spending on infrastructure, or conducting open-house sessions in order to attract new students. In this new regime, academic knowledge circulates not just through traditional forms of classroom seminars but also online learning. The increasing use of blended learning where the faculty and students interaction is based on minimal contact hours in person and more through the Internet, is among the changing pedagogy to ensure learning goals are met keeping the students convenience. Among the various branding techniques adopted by the universities are the ways in which potential students are made aware regarding the programmes of the universities, the coordinated use of logos and promotional tools, university uniform and sportswear as a form of identification by the universities, creating non-degree certificate programmes, customised training programmes, industrial tours, alumni and parents meetings, and being a part of a

number of cultural and sporting events. The university becomes an institutional player in the new economy through public–private partnership and other organisational networks to capitalise on the knowledge capital. Among the increasing collaboration with the institutions in the economy, many private industries are interested in having their say in curriculum development and instructional methods.

Studies have found a positive correlation between the level of market orientation within a firm and the ability of the firm to achieve its objectives (Jaworski & Kohli, 1993; Lings & Grdenley, 2009). The marketisation process in the higher education sector has been introduced to gradually replace the traditional forms of academic management (Santiago et al., 2006), with policies which are more suitable for knowledge-driven global economy. Tran et al. (2015) and Chapleo (2015) consider that marketing and branding remains key in an environment beset with sweeping changes. Among the benefits of adopting marketing strategies, researchers mention that branding and marketing provide the students with the awareness which is required to provide decision-making regarding selection of the university, help in increasing the loyalty base, and the reduction of student attrition (Angulo-Ruiz & Pergelova, 2013).

## 5 CONCLUSION

The study by Murphy (2011) draws on the conflict which is being faced by universities in this age and time. The earlier notion of universities being sequestered ivory towers away from the vagaries of the marketplace has shifted to that of an institution which is bound by cultures of accountability, competition, and market forces. While many argue that these cultures seem to be weakening the sense of purpose and societal prestige of the university, the market forces seem to be too strong to leave the institutions unaffected. The review highlights that in an increasingly competitive environment, the higher education sector in India has been adapting to the marketisation process considerably. Arguments in favour of the marketisation process include the market's capacity for generating social and economic benefits, and increasing efficiency in the sector, encouraging differentiation due to an over emphasis on competition and performance related reward schemes.

The four dimensions which were discussed show that the market orientation concept has been increasingly integrated at the institution level, and

also as a strategy by the entire sector. The increasing massification and corresponding rise in student enrolment show the growing accessibility of higher education which has been the guiding force behind a number of government initiatives. The study also focuses on the increasing role of private institutions in the higher education sector. As students become more discerning and with a greater number of options, universities are forced to adopt marketing strategies in order to attract the prospective students. The growing competition from international universities and the growing mobility of students across countries are other factors which seem to have an effect on the globalisation and the ensuing marketisation process in the higher education sector.

This chapter contributes to knowledge of the market orientation concept in the higher education sector in India, focusing on the strategies which have been adopted by the entire sector. Future empirical studies on these four aspects would further corroborate the role of the market orientation approach in higher education. The study ought to provide leaders and policymakers in the higher education sector in India guidance on how to orient institutions towards providing the learning environment as per the need of the learners. The practices of marketisation only need to ensure that the value of knowledge continues to be the driving objective for institutions.

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# The Digital Transformation of the Commercial Area of a Peruvian Business School

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## 1 INTRODUCTION

The only thing constant is change. Today's consumers are different from yesterday's. They have more knowledge and more access to information, and they know that nowadays the product will come to them, not the other way around. Many companies, on the other hand, due to the

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presence of new consumers, the availability of technology, and exponential competition, have seen it necessary to evolve, and even to totally transform themselves.

The external diagnosis that any educational institution, regardless of its level, carries out will make it clear that executives ought to make short- and medium-term decisions focused on keeping their organisations attractive and competitive in the contemporary market. It can certainly be said that the offerings on the market are more innovative all the time. It is necessary then, for these organisations to, on the one hand, redesign, optimise, and automate their processes, and on the other hand, motivate their employees to increase their productivity and improve their commercial outcomes.

Institutions of higher education also face different forces which oblige them to generate more noticeable changes in the definition of their internal processes, by adapting to the current demands of the market. They become agents of change which contribute to the growth of their institutions and the country as a whole. To that end, educational institutions ought to transmit knowledge to their students, and provide the best classroom experience by using a pedagogical methodology which results in better-trained employees and entrepreneurs.

However, where are the most talented individuals who seek post-secondary training? One of the main challenges which educational institutions face is student recruitment and retention. These days, innovation and programme revitalisation are not enough. Not even the wholesale improvement of courses and curriculum are truly sufficient. It is necessary to create for these talented students a satisfactory experience from the time they are identified and recruited up to the after-sales service which is provided to them upon graduation. In effect, it is necessary that the differentiation which the educational institution wishes to achieve extend to the administrative, academic, and general service areas. These areas ought to contribute to value creation so as to increase the perception of quality among the student body.

In this context, the process of change management starts with the identification and prioritisation of the particular needs of each institution and has, as its objective, the formulation of different strategies which allows it to be more attractive and stay competitive in the global environment. Digital transformation is playing a decisive role in the changes which are being generated in organisations and their stakeholders. The tools it provides, especially those related to data analysis, are allowing institutions



to obtain information and generate knowledge to make sound decisions, for example, in commercial management, enrolment, and registration of students.

In this chapter, a case of the digital transformation in the commercial area of a top Peruvian business school is analysed. Located in the city of Lima, with more 50 years on the market, more than 200 calls for applications to various programmes throughout the year, more than 10 thousand students enrolled per year, and revenues of more than 27 million USD annually, the business school had to undergo a cultural and digital transformation to continue competing in the current global market.

The commercialisation—marketing and sales—of programmes is no longer carried out in the same way as in years past. There is a difference between traditional marketing and digital marketing. The prevailing marketing focus in the educational sector is ‘inbound’ marketing, which centres its strategy on the digital environment through social networks like Facebook, Instagram, and LinkedIn; through platforms like YouTube; and also through shared content in blogs and SEO (search engine optimisation), providing, in this way, useful information meant to reach the hands of the public, with the goal of attracting prospective students to the website, where the brand can interact with these interested people and build long-term relationships with current and prospective clients (Hall & Witek, 2016).

The digitalisation of the marketing process heightens an organisation’s competitiveness due to the emerging opportunity for value creation, and, consequently, income generation. In order to maximise the benefits which they receive, companies tend to move from a transactional model focused on the product, to a relational commitment focused on good service and full knowledge of the client (Kamalaldin et al., 2020).

This chapter continues with the presentation of key concepts which will serve as the foundation for providing readers with context regarding the topic and the situation in which the case study was carried out. In this section, a definition of higher education is given, and three determining elements for the implementation of change and the improvement of internal processes are presented: organisational culture, change management, and digital transformation, including a brief analysis of the digital culture which is currently being developed in Peru. Next, the chapter continues with a brief presentation of the commercial area of the educational institution which was studied, and the development of the six

phases which were carried out during the process of the digital transformation of the commercial area of the business school. Finally, the chapter ends by presenting a summary of the lessons learned, the results, and the conclusions regarding the digital and cultural transformation of the commercial area.

## 2 CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

After presenting the concept of higher education, its evolution, and the context in which it is carried out, this section explains the determining elements in the whole process of the implementation of the changes and the improvement of internal processes, with the goal of obtaining better operational, commercial, and financial results for the whole organisation.

### 2.1 *Higher Education*

Educational organisations are those whose main activity is the provision of educational services. That is to say, they generate, disseminate, share, or transfer knowledge to students through theoretical, practical, or research-oriented training, independently of the training type or method through which it is imparted (Ron & Rodríguez, 2018).

More and more institutions of higher education participate in a dynamic and complex environment (Araya-Castillo, Escobar-Farfán, Bertoló Moyano, & Barrientos Oradini, 2016) due to the influence of market globalisation (Denegri et al., 2013). These institutions face legal and normative factors, demographic changes, international competition, and technological advancements, in addition to the economic and sociocultural factors which impact their results (Hall & Witek, 2016). This situation generates important changes in the educational sector (Altbach, Reisberg, & Rumbley, 2009): it foment the creation of new institutions of higher education (Jain et al., 2013) and motivates the continued improvement of the activities which are carried out (Dill, 2007). Therefore, institutions of higher education focus on reaching optimal performance, generating income, and obtaining academic and social prestige (Brunner, 2006). This leads institutions to adjust to a more competitive market, to which is added the importance of seeking greater differentiation, reputation, and prestige.

For many years—centuries, even—universities were seen as institutions whose purpose was to prepare for the future through the formal production of knowledge and the training of the elite. However, now academic institutions and their educational systems have evolved and democratised. Even the process of innovation has changed, from a linear model to a network model, with the processes of innovation distributed or open (Unesco, 2008). Institutions of higher education ought to modernise; the diagnostics carried out in them have identified opportunities for improvement and challenges to face in the twenty-first century (Regalado-Pezúa & Toro, 2019).

With this modern focus, there is increasing interest in improving both the student experience and contact with alumni. Institutions of higher education ought to focus not only on investment, return, or market indicators but also on students' and alumni's levels of satisfaction and quality of service (Jain et al., 2011). Innovation in academics, in processes, or in the supply of products and services within educational institutions plays a determining role in educational marketing. New tools ought to be used in commercial processes to achieve the best results in brand positioning and the highest recruitment of quality students.

For educational institutions, the student experience is a determining factor in the marketing of academic programmes. This is reflected in the constant evaluation of the user experience through a five-step customer journey map which is constantly being monitored: the first step involves the identification of the pain points; second come customer research and verification of the journey map through process mapping, mystery shopping, and/or interviews; third is the data collection and student recruitment stages; the fourth step involves the analysis of the information and layout of the touch-points to carry out the reconstruction of the customer journey; and, finally, results are systematised and recommendations are made (Fallast & Vorbach, 2019).

## 2.2 *Change and Improvement of Internal Processes*

In the following section, three determining elements for the implementation of changes and improvement of internal processes are presented: organisational culture, change management, and digital transformation. These elements ought to be analysed holistically to meet the objective of increasing the quality of service and user experience in an educational organisation.

### *Organisational Culture*

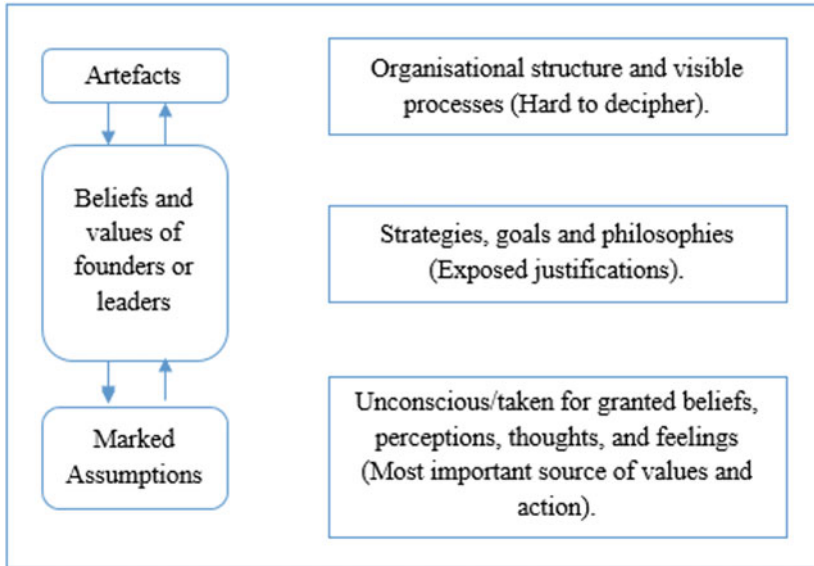
As previously signalled, the constant changes in the business environment are also impacting the commercialisation of products and services in all organisations, independently of the sector to which they belong. Supervisors ought to be prepared to make adjustments within their companies as quickly as possible, modifying their processes, optimising their resources, and always trying to stay as competitive as possible in the market. However, there is a high rate of failure due to delays in implementing these adjustments, due to the lack of attention which is paid to organisational culture.

In this context, organisational culture is composed of different aspects, including behaviours, symbols, and values which frame the way a company acts (Goffee & Jones, 2001). Culture is variable, and there is no standardised model to depict culture for all institutions in general. The situation in which each company finds itself, its strategic objectives, and the organisational policies which are outlined by senior management are components which will build and frame the cultural style which each organisation ought to have. Understanding this will allow decision-makers to manage the changes which ought to be carried out most effectively.

Within organisations there are different levels of culture, as can be observed in Fig. 1, which influence the way in which these organisations ought to be analysed in order to implement the changes which they seek. Knowing how to understand the cultural state within the organisation allows for the chosen strategy to be followed. The term 'level' refers to the degree to which cultural phenomena are perceivable to the observer. There are three levels: the first of them refers to the artefacts or more visible aspects of culture and consists of being able to observe, hear, or feel cultural phenomena when the observer is in a new group with an unknown culture, interpreted by its technology, organisational structure, celebrations, processes, and even its physical space (Eschain, 2004).

The second level refers to the beliefs and values adopted from someone else. These adopted beliefs and values correspond to the actions which group members have due to the guidelines which were indicated by another, who could be the founder or leader. At this level, the way in which procedures are carried out or results are obtained through actions can be observed (Eschain, 2004).

Finally, the third level refers to marked assumptions, in which repeated solutions to problems can be identified using what, at some point, becomes a hypothesis. However, in light of the solutions which were



**Fig. 1** Levels of culture (*Source* Adapted from Eschain [2004])

attained, the group makes these solutions a part of its reality—that is to say, ‘group assessments’ which define group actions using the values and beliefs cultivated by the group, and, therefore, something outside of the guidelines cultivated is practically inconceivable (Eschain, 2004).

### *Change Management*

The implementation of new forms or processes within organisations generates reactions inside individuals which directly impact the very same changes which they want to carry out.

Change, understood in the context of organisations, refers to the modifications to the different organisational structures, policies, norms, strategies, etc. (Sandoval Duque, 2014). In the same way which change is understood to be the way to solve the organisation’s circumstantial needs, it is brought about mainly by the transformative ability within the organisation itself, and in the competitive market in which it is located (Sandoval Duque, 2014). Change is also understood to be the transformation(s) which could become reality at a given moment as the situation changes,

and as actions which diverge from the status quo are taken (Gairín-Sallán & Rodríguez-Gomez, 2011).

There are many ways to classify change. One of them could be origin. Change can be analysed as a result of two types of sources: external sources and internal sources (Sandoval Duque, 2014). Organisations cannot control the external forces which impact them; these are known as exogenous causes. Meanwhile, internal forces are inherent to the organisation and totally within its control; they are known as endogenous causes. Not identifying these two causes in a timely fashion, or not interpreting them correctly, can lead to serious results. Indeed, it has led various organisations to bankruptcy, for example, as recently happened with the world's first travel agency, Thomas Cook, or previously with companies like Kodak or BlackBerry, which went from being institutions of global renown to swiftly exiting the market because they could not interpret external changes to their industries quickly enough (Regalado-Pezúa, 2019).

It is also important to keep in mind that companies operate in a dynamic environment of constant change and adaptation. As such, it is critical for organisations to restructure, adapt, and prioritise timely changes in their routine operational processes (Jamanca-Ríos, 2019; Sandoval Duque, 2014).

On the other hand, investment in human resources increases and improves the perception of organisational innovation. However, the higher the intensity of change within the company, the weaker the effect of investment in the employees. This leads to the evaluation of the progressive implementation of the changes which are to be made (Kim & Choi, 2020).

According to Lingmont and Alexiou (2020), organisations' implementation of new technologies, such as Smart technology, artificial intelligence, robotics, and algorithms (STARA), are perceived as a threat and generate instability in different jobs. However, the perception of threat tends to decrease over time as a culture of technological adoption is generated within the company.

In the same way, another determining aspect which can influence change management positively or negatively is the organisational climate. In every change, the stakeholders, including employees, play a primary role. The management of a good organisational climate favours the process of change; this ought to be led by senior management, and ought to influence the decision-making which guides the organisation through

the required processes of change, and in the creation of an organisational culture (García Solarte, 2009; Segredo Perez, 2013).

The aforementioned is justified in the performance of each employee. The behaviour of each person is not only based on that person's personality or mannerisms, but also depends on the environment in which they act (Acosta & Venegas, 2014). Some representative factors which greatly affect the change management of organisations are framed personally as lack of motivation, inadequate feedback, and a lack of personnel training regarding the implications which an organisational change can generate (Martínez Bustos et al., 2018).

Despite all of this, when necessary change management is achieved within an organisation, and this change management minimises impact, it leads directly to a process of improvement, as long as there is a greater acceptance of the actions which are now carried out in comparison with those which existed before the start of the process (Gairín-Sallán & Rodríguez-Gomez, 2011). Therefore, in order to achieve effective change management, it is important to identify the stakeholders and understand which specific processes in which they participate.

Finally, another important factor in the process of change, especially when it is about transforming processes through the application of technology, is the management of common behaviours (habits or customs) which employees have. Said differently, it is necessary to analyse the way in which activities have been carried out over long periods of time, as they are themselves subject to change. To carry out these changes, it is also important to take into consideration leaders' and supervisors' behaviour, and the generation to which they belong. In other words, it is necessary to adapt the process of change based on whether or not the employees in question belong to Generation X (1966–1979), are Millennials (1980–1995), or belong to Generation Z (1996–2010).

### *Digital Culture in Peru*

The digital culture in Peru has featured the penetration of electronic equipment. According to the *Digital 2020: Global Digital Overview* report, the Peruvian market consumes a lot of television: 96% of the adult population does so. This impacts organisations' decisions regarding commercial strategy budget distribution. If the organisation has a large enough budget, it can choose this medium to ensure that its message reaches the widest possible audience. In Peru, television advertising allows the greatest possible exposure of the brand on the market.

The *Digital 2020: Global Digital Overview* report also indicates that 86% of the adult Peruvian population has cell phones. Moreover, of 24 million social network users, 23 use their Smartphones to access their social network accounts. This means that, if a publication is made on a social network or if a content is sent, there is a high probability of it being viewed on a cell phone. Therefore, advertisements, emails, posts, web pages, and other digital material must have a responsive design; that is, the web design must be able to adapt to the size of the device.

Brands that wish to penetrate the Peruvian market cannot avoid social networks, although this will depend on the age of their target audience. The *Digital 2020: Global Digital Overview* report indicates that 73% of Peruvians maintain a social media presence. Currently, Facebook is the social network with the broadest audience. This means companies' digital strategies must use Facebook as an advertising channel. Instagram is also noteworthy, its use having grown substantially within the past year.

Additionally, companies must have different payment options available for their products and services. Statistics show that there is a low penetration of credit in Peru; however, it has been on the rise in recent years. Currently, online transactions have increased throughout the country, and organisations must have online payment platforms for clients who prefer using this payment method.

### *Digital Transformation*

As explained above, environmental scanning—external and internal—and stakeholder management are necessary tasks when changes must be made. Therefore, organisations ought to establish cross-sectional processes of change which allow the strategic objectives proposed by senior management to be reached. To achieve this, a culture of technological change in processes must also be implemented, which will allow for the optimisation of resources in the short, medium, and long term; this will also generate greater efficacy and efficiency within the organisation, and contribute to a better user experience.

The process of digital transformation is the alignment of the company with a new digital model for each point of contact in the client experience (Sánchez, 2016) and which constitutes the first phase of integration with digital networks and devices (Vacas Aguilar, 2018). Currently, this transformation process brings along with it the need to implement new workplace positions, for example, Chief Digital Officer (CDO), who



ought to be in charge of leading all of the digital changes which are required by the organisation (De la Peña & Cabezas, 2015).

The business models of each company ought to be changeable, and must be adapted to the dynamic needs of the target audience. However, this does not always happen and varies according to the organisation's line of business. For example, the educational sector is in the midst of a transitional stage in which nineteenth-century teaching models consisting of the transfer of knowledge by objectives, and lectures given by professors are being left behind in favour of a collaborative learning model which is focused on the student–teacher interaction in which the participants build knowledge, supported by digital resources and professors who fill the role of facilitator (Area-Moreira, 2018).

The incursion of new business models has sparked structural transformations and organisational changes within institutions. This set of changes is framed in the use of technology and the implementation of new digital devices which have obliged the search for qualified resources which contribute to operational management and support. According to Vacas Aguilar (2018), these devices can be divided into two types: the first type has been christened digital devices, referring to those devices which are based on other analogue devices which fulfil the same function in an improved way, and the second type refers to those which, from the beginning, were created to carry out new functions.

In the same way, the process of digital transformation has pushed organisations to create administrative areas which allow the needs of the target market to be studied more deeply in order to develop adequate solutions to external and internal problems. Usually these processes are under the care of the innovation area within organisations. Additionally, these institutions have seen it necessary to focus on a culture of constant innovation and integration of digital transformation processes within their administrative areas, to be able to compete in a global market (Heeren & Hoyle, 2019).

In the business school case, the change was proposed by the commercial director, who, during the process of cultural transformation in the commercial area created two key sub-areas: the Service Measurement and Change Management area and the Commercial Intelligence area, which, after mapping out all of the operational and commercial processes, helped implement the changes which the digital transformation achieved in the business school's commercial area. It is important to mention that although the objective was to achieve the digital transformation of the

commercial area of the educational institution, for the success of the project, following Morris (2018), a cultural transformation in the organisation and a change in senior management's mind-set also ought to be undertaken simultaneously.

Next, the six consecutive phases in which the business transformation process was carried out in the case business school are presented: the first phase, called Environmental Scanning, consisted of an analysis of the environment to look for opportunities for improvement in the commercial area, according to specific needs. During the second phase, called Design of the Solution and Initiation of the Change, the strategies to be implemented were established. The third phase, called Testing of the Solution, was when the experimentation took place, and any adjustments which took place were explained. In the fourth phase, called Main Challenges, the challenges which are faced during the transitional period were described. During the fifth phase, called Digital Transformation and Cultural Transformation', the organisation carried out these two elements of the process. The sixth and final stage, called the Presentation of the Results and Recommendations for Change, framed the main qualitative and quantitative results which were obtained from the process.

### 3 CASE: THE DIGITAL TRANSFORMATION OF THE COMMERCIAL AREA OF ESAN

ESAN was founded in 1963 through an agreement between the governments of Peru and the United States (Coleman, 2013). Its organisation and launch were trusted to the Graduate Business School of Stanford University.

Currently, at more than 57 years old, it offers a doctoral programme, an MBA, specialised masters degrees, programmes for executives in different formats, cooperative programmes, and other professional and academic services. In summary, it offers a variety of specialisation, training, and refresher graduate programmes. Its courses are taught in both Lima and in the country's interior, which allows it to help contribute to decentralisation. The master's degrees and programmes which are offered have been designed in response to market needs and the economic development of Peru.

The educational offerings include advanced programmes which lead to the specialisation in traditional areas of business management, like

marketing, finance, administration, operations, and logistics; specialisation programmes which have come about due to growth in new economic sectors that demand more specified topics; and specialisation programmes for executives which offer a range of possibilities in all areas of management.

With those offerings, which are growing more dynamic all the time, the senior figures in the organisation charged the Commercial Director with carrying out a diagnostic of the institution's commercial management. Afterward, the Commercial Director decided to initiate the process of the business school's digital transformation. To date, this process has allowed the school to maintain its position of market leadership, and offer competitive products, for the markets in which it is present. These changes also involve the experience of the students, and the most active participation of the academic coordinators of the different products.

The commercial area of the business school has a dominant role in the institution—it is in charge of the marketing and sales of the different graduate-level programmes, and 50% of the institution's revenues depend on its efforts. Some of its key functions include the following: the initiation of communication with prospective students, due to the fact that commercial area staff interact directly with them during their first contact with the organisation; the data collection regarding the training needs of executives in their professional life cycle; and the contribution to the improvement of the user experience throughout the whole commercial process, from the time prospective students begin searching for information through different channels to the time they choose their respective programmes and apply and register.

The digital transformation of the commercial area required, in the beginning, the redefinition of processes and the optimisation of resources, which were later reflected in time saved, cost reductions, improved learning and growth within the organisation, a strengthening of the culture of continual improvement, and the implementation of more agile and efficient processes. These changes brought about improved results, allowing more prospective students to be reached, and offering more products and services to more interested people. In this way, the number of applicants was increased and, as a result, a greater number of students registered in the different programmes which were offered by the organisation.

The digital transformation was carried out in six phases, which are presented and explained as follows:

- Phase 1: Environmental scanning: opportunities for improvement
- Phase 2: Design of the solution and initiation of the change
- Phase 3: Testing of the solution
- Phase 4: Main challenges: critical factors for success
- Phase 5: Digital transformation and cultural transformation
- Phase 6: Presentation of the results and recommendations for change.

### *3.1 Phase I: Environmental Scanning: Opportunities for Improvement*

To carry out environmental scanning, it was necessary to evaluate each process of the commercial area, from the market research regarding the candidate to the student's registration in the chosen programme. The evaluation process made it clear that there was a dearth of information to analyse the KPIs, and to monitor the competition which would have allowed for timely and accurate decision-making. This situation came up time and again in both the marketing processes, and in the sales processes of the commercial area.

Using agile information-gathering methodologies, operational personnel proposed various improvements. Their experience in the commercial area allowed them to identify key processes to accelerate their work and reduce operational (manual) activities. However, proposing change, from the original situation to the hoped-for situation (automation and digitalisation of processes) required project planning regarding the improvements to be made and the deadlines for their implementation.

As a result of the diagnostic carried out, the following opportunities for improvement were identified:

- A service measurement and change management area which involved all of the commercial processes of the business school was needed in order to identify opportunities for improvement, key points, and gaps between the idea state and the current state of commercial processes. This would be an area focused on processes and quality improvement, one in charge of translating needs, pain points, and opportunities to improve into the digital transformation project.
- A Commercial Intelligence area was needed to analyse the results obtained in the exercise. This area needed to be able to monitor

the market and the competition in real time and carry out database analytics. This would be an area focused on analysing the current situation, detecting niche markets with unexploited potential, and profiling the demand for different product categories.

- It was necessary to motivate the team to innovate in product launches, which would allow team members to anticipate the needs of the market and respond to the trends and demands of internal and external clients.
- It was necessary to map out and redesign processes, and to monitor the commercial system, in order to replace the processes found with others which would allow for a holistic focus regarding commercial activity, with better commercial and financial results.

Given these findings, the Commercial Director decided to take on the challenge to start the process of digital transformation, in spite of the barriers which were found, and the scarcity of resources.

### *3.2 Phase 2: Design of the Solution and Initiation of the Change*

The digital transformation of the commercial area of the educational institution began at the end of 2016 with the naming of a new commercial director with a marketing-focused profile, and who was also process and digital transformation-oriented. His first decision, after a cursory diagnostic, was to reorganise the work team and redistribute the employees' functions. In this way, with the goal of integrating the different units in the area, covering the needs of the commercial process and market demands, a reorganisation of the entire area was begun, and key people were appointed, among them the Coordinator of Quality Measurement and Change Management and the Coordinator of Commercial Intelligence.

Months later, under the leadership of the Commercial Director, there was an important push to strengthen the Commercial Intelligence area, supplying it with people who knew about the topic, expanding their ability to provide services in the areas of marketing, sales, and academic direction. The services which the area provided aligned with the four main functions which the whole Commercial Intelligence area ought to carry out: market research, analysis of information, monitoring of commercial actions, and development of management tools.

At first, the Commercial Intelligence area was very small, with processes which were not very agile, and which used new technology very little regarding the management and publication of information (The organisation mostly used Excel spreadsheets.). The methods which were used to communicate with stakeholders were not very effective, and much of the work carried out was lost with time, due to the fact that only emails were used to publish information and communicate about the products.

Information was gathered in coordination with operational personnel because their functions incorporated a broad vision of commercial processes. The methodology which allowed for information to be collected included in-depth interviews carried out with those involved. Also, more information was obtained through participant observations and consultations made by the work teams.

In order to implement an agile, strengthened intelligence area which was in-step with the current trends and the constant changes of the digital era, it was important, in the first place, to change the way the team thought. This was achieved through constant talks, training, and agile meetings.

During the meetings it became clear that the team needed to make changes, making internal and external clients' satisfaction the central point. After that, many products which the area offered were changed, keeping in mind the internal client, the processes, and the level of systemisation of the same, both in their formulation and in their publication. Finally, the information was centralised and organised in order to provide quick access to the stakeholders and users in the organisation.

After having mapped and documented the processes of the commercial area and the stakeholders' needs, the need to create a data repository for the commercial area was identified, because the exploitation of information using transactional systems demanded too much time and was manual. To this ought to be added the fact that not all of the internal systems were interconnected and that consequently, the data which they generated were not integrated (information redundancy); this slowed the system down and caused errors in product development and in the end, generated many delays in commercial and strategic decision making.

It was decided that a Datamart ought to be created for the commercial area so that information for the Marketing and Sales area could be better managed, with the goal of centralising client information located in different transactional systems. This allowed for better and more timely analysis, which translated to faster service for internal clients.

For the design, traceability of information (states: prospects, students, and alumni) was analysed, and variables in the transactional systems' databases were identified. In the development of this project, the participation of the IT area was important, because this area participated in the design and development of the Datamart.

Given the need for a system which allowed interactions with end clients to be registered, the Backoffice was created. It worked as a customer relationship management system (CRM) and replaced the traditional registration method: Excel spreadsheets which had been used up until that point.

The design of the Backoffice took approximately six months. It started with a review of the tools which are used by sales advisors; that is to say, it started by making a model in a simple Excel spreadsheet so that in the second stage programming components could be added to standardise and automate key processes, thus identifying the characteristics which a commercial system ought to have.

In Fig. 2, the prospect converting process is explained; this process centred around the Backoffice.

In the beginning, the prospects (people with interest or potential interest in a programme) are called leads. For each call for applications, leads are recruited through different sources, which could be grouped in MailChimp and Sendinblue, both message-sending platforms. The difference between the two is their reach. While the former is more restricted,

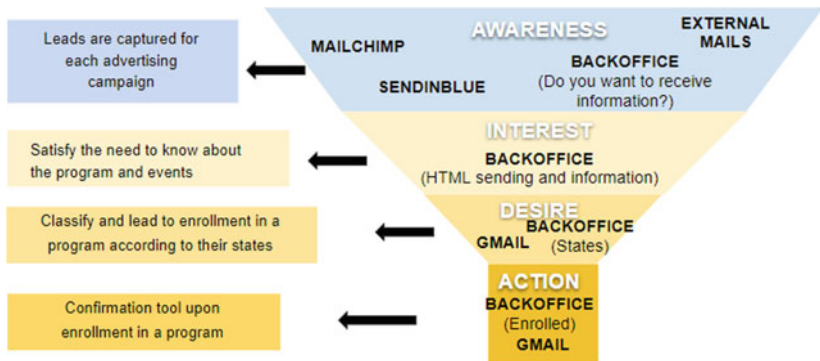


Fig. 2 Converting prospects funnel (Source The Authors, Commercial Direction)

the latter has a greater reach and fewer restriction criteria. Messages can also be sent through the Backoffice, a platform which manages the contact between the client and the commercial executive. These mailings have other classification criteria. Finally, messages can be sent to the leads through external media, which means that the people within the database of one of these providers can receive communications related to the programmes which the business school offers.

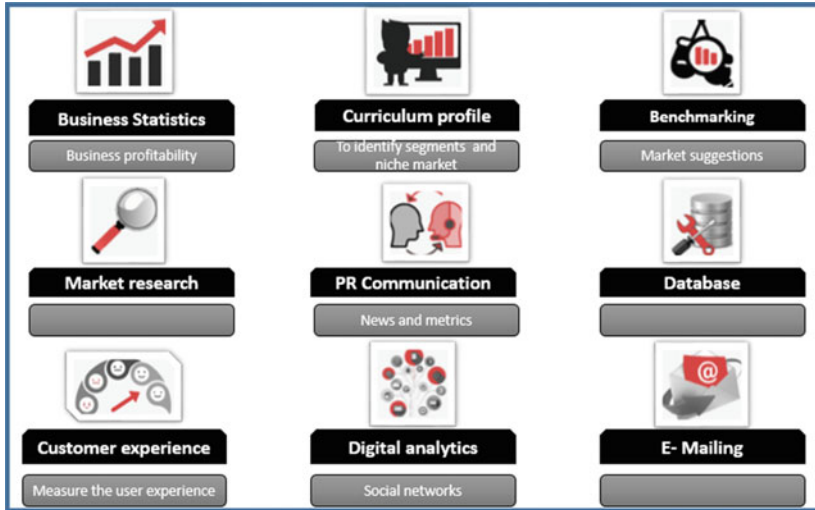
The information which is sent depends on the target audience towards which the provider is oriented. When the lead shows interest in response to the information received, that person becomes a prospect, and is later managed through the sales management platform Backoffice. When the person communicates with the Commercial Executive, the latter can define the level of interest which the prospect is showing, and can classify the prospect according to the states of sales which were previously defined by the commercial area. The conversion process ends when the prospect finally registers in one of the school's programmes.

Previously, for the publication of information for internal clients, Excel spreadsheets were used and were sent via email. This made the publication process slow; moreover, internal clients managed multiple versions of the product, making it difficult to recognise the most current version of a document. To this ought to be added that the editing histories of the documents were lost in the emails sent. Therefore, in order to provide better service to internal clients, service which was timely, dynamic, and centralised, a commercial Intelligence portal was developed in which all of the products and services offered were centralised. Now, the information is published to interactive, easy-to-share Dashboards.

In the development of the portal, the needs of the stakeholders were considered, as was the feedback which was received from the different levels of the organisation... keeping in mind that they all had different requirements. Afterward, the portal was designed, structured (based on the products which the area offered), and developed. The portal centralises background information, which had previously been shared with internal clients, and the current information, so that now it is possible to access the portal link and select the required product.

Figure 3 shows the products which are offered to internal clients, including business statistics, profiles by programme, benchmarking, market research, surveys, databases, client experiences, digital analytics, and emailing. Each of these has a determined purpose which contributes to effective decision-making.





**Fig. 3** Topics of commercial intelligence area dashboard (*Source* The Authors, Commercial Direction)

For the presentation of the Dashboards, a dynamic, an innovative tool was identified which, in addition to being easy to use, fulfilled internal clients' needs: Google Data Studio, a comprehensive tool which is constantly being innovated.

### 3.3 Phase 3: Testing of the Solution

For the testing phase, various tests were carried out. In the beginning, sales advisors were brought into use the system with one of the products in their portfolio. They were monitored throughout the entire commercial process, and their observations were taken into consideration. Throughout that process, opportunities for improvement were quickly identified, making for an abbreviated cycle of continuous improvement. This process allowed for the viable minimum product (VMP) to be obtained without impeding customary commercial actions. This phase helped to tweak the solution and gain the commitment of the stakeholders for their adoption of the new technology due to the advantages it offered commercial advisors.

### 3.4 *Phase 4: Main Challenges: Critical Factors for Success*

Among the difficulties in starting the digital transformation project, the following critical factors were identified: (1) lack of support from senior management so the project could be endorsed for the work team so that the expected objectives could be met after its implementation; (2) the lack of resources assigned to implement the project, not just in financial terms but also in the time of the personnel involved, which meant leaving other processes and/or their daily activities on standby; (3) lack of commitment on the part of the entire commercial team involved in the project; and (4) lack of direct participation of all personnel involved during the planning and implementation stage of the project.

One determining factor in the whole digital transformation process is the commitment of all of the stakeholders. This process ought to be understood and adopted by the whole work team, due to the benefits which it produces in the short- and medium-term.

### 3.5 *Phase 5: Digital Transformation and Cultural Transformation*

One of the most difficult processes to manage was cultural change. This is because the employees in the commercial area had been working together for a long time in a certain way, and the area's processes had reached a level of maturity which the work team maintained, operating within its comfort zone.

One of the strategies to manage the change, in addition to the group training sessions, was individualised training sessions. Despite the realisation that this type of training requires a greater amount of time and effort, the advantage is that it responds to the individual profile and learning style of each member of the team.

It also allowed for the team to be divided into small groups according to different criteria, such as knowledge level, learning style, process knowledge, etc. This method quickly helped identify the system's needs and opportunities for improvement.

The main results of this phase were the following:

- The new Commercial Intelligence area team adapted to the change quickly.
- In the team, a culture of innovation—of doing things in a new and agile way—was created.

- The products for internal clients became simpler and easier to understand.
- Client feedback became necessary. Agile meetings to review requirements and deal with concerns were organised.
- The relationships with stakeholders and with the IT area became closer. This made interaction between the Commercial Intelligence area and the other areas more agile.

### *3.6 Phase 6: Presentation of the Results and Recommendations for Change*

The results of this implementation were presented to the different authorities and stakeholders of the organisation, such as the directors and academic coordinators, the professors and departmental chairs, the financial area supervisors, the admissions executives, the registrars, etc. This allowed the system to expand beyond the internal use of the commercial area, so that it could be used holistically by the entire organisation.

The implementation of the system began in 2018 for all of the programmes in Lima: both master's degrees and executive education programmes. The implementation occurred after the system's effectiveness had been proven through the pilots, creating a minimally-viable product which allowed commercial activities to continue without negatively affecting the activities carried out by the commercial executives. At this point it is important to remember that in 2017, all of the processes in the commercial area were identified and mapped out, and KPIs were implemented which allowed for the results to be monitored, and processes to be optimised.

Both the Service Measurement and Change Management area and the Commercial Intelligence area actively participated in testing and later in quality control. This has permitted continuous improvement, so that this tool is more robust and reliable all the time.

The solution which was developed and which is currently implemented now allows for more conscious decision-making which is based on real-time results. Prospects are traceable, because their history and lifecycle can be known. Continuous improvement projects can emerge on a conceptual level, and then be carried out in real life, supported by the information which the system provides. This process is dynamic, and consumer behaviour is volatile, which is why constant monitoring of commercial activity, its processes, and KPIs is recommended.

## 4 RESULTS OF THE PROCESS OF DIGITAL TRANSFORMATION

The main results of the commercial area's digital transformation were the following:

- The conversions rate, defined as the relationship between students admitted to a programme divided by the total number of prospects, was higher than 4%, which indicates that the probability of finalising the registration process increased.
- The processes were redefined and optimised, which led to the fluid coordination between co-workers. This could be seen through the degree of commitment which employees had to improve the services which they provided. It was measured through observation, attendance-taking at talks and trainings, and team and individual feedback.
- Hours which re-spent on sales management were reduced by 30%, which was measured through taking a sample of the activities carried out by commercial executives for sales follow-up; it went from being 3 min per prospect to approximately 2 min. It also allowed for the traceability of the prospects and the improvement of service, as shown by the lower number of unnecessary sales contacts for the client.
- The desired digital transformation of the commercial area was achieved, and the mind-set of the different work teams was changed, thus indicating the cultural transformation of the commercial area and other involved areas.

These results reflect the achievements which depend specifically on the digital transformation of the commercial area. However, commercial results could still improve if the academic departments take other actions, such as improving their products, taking care with regard to their students' experience, and establishing long-term relationships with their graduates.

## 5 CONCLUSION

To achieve the digital transformation of a functional area of an organisation, it is necessary to analyse the elements which influence the implementation of the changes and the improvement of internal processes, including organisational culture, change management, and cultural transformation. To improve the quality of service of all of the processes and the user experience, these elements ought to be analysed holistically.

The commercialisation of the programmes which are offered by educational institutions is changing due to the presence and management of the competition, including online options; to the personalised requirements of the demand; and above all, to the use of new technological tools. In the past three years, the case business school has gone through a stage of modernisation of its commercial processes in which it has achieved optimisation of resources, automation of critical processes, and monitoring of the results. This entire initiative all began with the change in mind-set of the Commercial Director, which sparked the cultural transformation of the commercial team, and ended in the digital transformation of the commercial area of the business school.

Unfortunately, many times work teams initially resist organisational innovation—the more radical the change, the more resistance they offer, because innovations can be perceived as threats to job stability, generating a deficient climate within the company. Therefore, it is advisable that innovations be progressively implemented, because their impact decreases over time due to increased adaptability and acceptance, thus leading to a favourable change in the organisational culture.

Higher education is an extremely competitive market. Therefore, achieving differentiation is important if an organisation in this sector wishes to excel and stay in the market. These goals can be achieved through continuous improvement, supported by digital tools, and resulting in resource optimisation and increased process agility and efficiency. Digital transformation helps identify opportunities for improvement faster. It involves the entire team, as evidenced in the case.

The digital transformation of the commercial area was carried out in six phases over the course of two years. One result was that it helped the commercial processes generate greater value for the institution; that is to say, it caused processes to become more agile and efficient. This allowed time to be saved, costs to be reduced, learning and growth within the

organisation to be improved, and the culture of continuous improvement to be strengthened.

The main results of the digital transformation process of the commercial area are reflected in the increase in the conversion ratio from applicant to registered student, in the redefinition of commercial processes and optimisation of resources, in the reduction of sales management hours, and above all, in the cultural transformation of the commercial team and other areas.

The main challenge for the authorities of the case business school is the alignment of the whole process of digital transformation of the commercial area to the remainder of the functional units of the institution. Other challenges include motivating academic chairs to innovate their products, to take greater care with the student experience, and to establish longer term relationships with their alumni networks.

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# Gaming the Rankings: Richard Freeland and the Dramatic Rise of Northeastern University

*Garrett H. Gowen and Paul S. Hengesteg*

## 1 INTRODUCTION

The marketisation of higher education in the United States is a historical process as much as it is contemporary. Emerging and expanding in the chaotic political landscape of the 1800s without central control or reliable funding, universities had to develop in a way which maximised competitive advantage, and which pursued all opportunities for patronage (Labaree, 2017). Within the past fifty years, however, this process has penetrated further into the sanctums of higher education, imposing market-driven logics through the primacy of research and its concomitant funding (Levin & Aliyeva, 2015; Slaughter & Rhoades, 2004), the

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increase of part-time and adjunct professors at the expense of unionised, tenure-track professors (Rhoades, 2019; Umbach, 2007), the influx of managerialism and rationalised quality-improvement schemes (Birnbaum, 2000; Vican et al., 2019), and, ultimately, the commodification of knowledge and students (Saunders, 2007, 2014; Slaughter & Rhoades, 2004). Although each university boasts its own individual culture, history, and set of specialties, it remains under enormous pressure to conform to the moral order of marketisation in order to survive (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983; O’Neil, 1986; Stensaker et al., 2019).

Rankings now operate as a powerful mechanism of marketisation. Indeed, they structure patterns of school choice (Griffith & Rask, 2007), override the historical values of higher education (Elsbach & Kramer, 1996; Pusser & Marginson, 2013), and prescribe appropriate “moral habits” for university dwellers, from presidents and provosts to professors, staff members, and students (O’Neil, 1986). Rankings, which range from state-sanctioned ratings (College Scorecard, for example) to those published annually by the *US News and World Report* and *Times Higher Education*, confer tangible benefits to institutions which comply with their worldview. This worldview is largely defined externally to colleges and universities by politicians, parents, and other influential actors whom project market-oriented outcomes onto the purpose and benefits of higher education (Kraatz & Block, 2008). Whereas institutions might typically buffer themselves against such intrusions through symbolic myths or informal practices (Meyer & Rowan, 1977), prior research has demonstrated that rankings are able to change, not only the fundamental activities of universities, but the behaviour and self-management practices of people within a university (Sauder & Espeland, 2009). In essence, their inhabitants become “disciplined” as they negotiate new meanings of their work and the work of higher education.

Accordingly, this chapter reframes the well-known story of Northeastern University, which in the 1990s was characterised as a “blue-collar commuter school whose main draw was its low cost” (Bombardieri, 2015). The appointment of Richard Freeland as president in 1996 began a ten-year period of rapid transformation which saw the regional player emerge as a national university which could compete with other elite universities (Freeland, 2000). Rankings were central to Freeland’s “Top 100” plan, which explicitly sought to manipulate Northeastern University’s position in the *US News and World Report* ranking as a means of institutional improvement. Drawing inspiration from Sauder

and Espeland's (2009) study of law school rankings, this chapter deploys insights from new institutionalism and Foucault's concept of discipline, to understand (1) how rankings constitute a mechanism of marketisation which effectively reshapes the principles and purposes of universities (such as Northeastern University) with defined, unique identities; (2) the processes and consequences of marketisation which is driven by rankings; and (3) how organisational theory can be leveraged for nuanced accounts of change in higher education.

## 2 RANKINGS: CONTEXT AND HISTORY

Although rankings in the United States might be a relatively recent phenomenon, they emerged within a well-established history of "social statistics" (Espeland & Sauder, 2007). Weber (1946) argued that quantification was a key component of modern culture, which derived its power from "calculability" in pursuit of hierarchy, efficiency, productivity, and other hallmarks of bureaucratic authority. To some degree, the quantification which undergirded the strength of bureaucracy was also essential to the early success of the American university. The American state struggled to rebuild in the post-Civil War period, thereby empowering universities to produce "experts" to staff the burgeoning civil service bureaucracy. In return, universities received legitimacy as public sources of knowledge (Nemec, 2006; Pusser & Marginson, 2013). Bureaucracy is, in some respects, a totalising institution—it reshapes societies to respond to the meaning of numbers and ranks, and to the types of people who accompany them (Goffman, 1961; O'Neil, 1986). Foucault (1977) elaborated Weber's contention, noting that quantification is a mechanism for organising and partitioning individuals and spaces: "Each individual has his own place; and each place its individual" (p. 143).

Within this historical context, it is perhaps unsurprising that rankings are powerful and meaningful (Bowman & Bastedo, 2009; Griffith & Rask, 2007; McDonough et al., 1998). The most well-known American ranking, assembled by the *US News and World Report* magazine, was first published as a survey of university presidents in 1983 (Stuart, 1995). By 1990, *US News and World Report* began regularly publishing the standalone "America's Best Colleges", which contained more information than the annual ranking issue. The first *US News and World Report* rankings were based entirely on assessments of reputations by leaders in higher education, eventually evolving into a constantly changing formula which

is based on a variety of variables (funding ratios, graduation rates, and job placement rates, for example). Although subjective metrics (institutional reputation among peers, for example) have been supplanted by more objective measures (graduation rates, for example), they still constitute one-fifth of the overall ranking calculation (Morse et al., 2019).

Rankings are consistently criticised for inadequate methodology, or for reinforcing unjust norms (see Pusser & Marginson, 2013). But there are clear effects of rankings on both organisational and individual behaviours. At the organisational level, Bastedo and Bowman (2010b, 2011), Bowman and Bastedo (2009), and Sauder and Fine (2008) found that shifts in position altered institutional access to valuable resources, such as money, prestige, and reputation. Further, Elsbach and Kramer (1996) described how rankings threatened collectively-held organisational reputations. At the individual level, Griffith and Rask (2007) and McDonough et al. (1998) depicted how patterns of school choice are influenced by rankings, which significantly impacts who goes to which college or even who goes to college.

It is clear that rankings are a powerful conferrer of legitimacy within the organisational field of higher education. Such legitimacy is not inherent, however. Universities and individuals within the field play a part in negotiating and maintaining the power of rankings (Giddens, 1984). Universities which seek to game the rankings produce contradictory narratives. The very act of transgressing the rules of the rankings to induce a beneficial position undermines the projected objectivity of the rankings themselves (Sauder & Espeland, 2009). The transition from reputational assessments to clinical formulas belies a deep investment in the perceived “scientific nature” of hierarchy and quality. That which is scientific and natural ought not to be easily manipulated. Conversely, the amount of effort which is needed to subvert the rankings is significant, potentially involving vast sums of money and years of strategic planning. Such exertion is perhaps a reminder of the importance of rankings, and a simultaneous reinforcement of their role in the field. It is further a reflection of processes of commodification due to the sheer investment which is required, and to the consequences thereof.

### 3 CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

To understand the processes and consequences of marketisation through the mechanism of rankings, we opted for a specific organisational approach to access the macro-level movements of organisations, fields, and their concomitant logics. With this approach, we can analyse the challenges for universities, as they fight to survive within the field of higher education, the market pressures which enable survival, and the steps which can be taken to ensure survival, and to improve their relative position. Rankings, however, are a multi-level phenomenon, manifesting within the everyday interactions which comprise organisations. As argued by Sauder and Espeland (2009), rankings infiltrate the everyday life of institutions, where the consequences of marketisation alter the behaviour of the inhabitants, and shift the purpose and kinds of work which occur. Accordingly, we drew insights from both new institutionalism and the disciplinary perspective of Foucault to better understand the nuances of rankings, and their role as a mechanism of marketisation.

#### 3.1 *New Institutionalism*

New institutionalism is perhaps the dominant tradition within organisational theory (Suddaby, 2015). In a broad sense, institutional theories attempt to explain the complex relationship of social structure and individual agency, usually privileging the ways in which macro-level structures constrain actions, perceptions, and behaviours (Barley & Tolbert, 1997; DiMaggio & Powell, 1991; Selznick, 1996; Suddaby, 2015; Zucker, 1977, 1987). Unlike the rational-exchange theorists, who advanced a conception of a rationally-minded *homo economicus* as the central unit of institutions and decision-making, new institutionalism draws on a range of more socially-determined intellectual threads. Accordingly, organisations become institutionalised as social processes, obligations, or actualities come to take on a “rule-like” status in the social thought and action of organisational members (Meyer & Rowan, 1977). Institutional rules are unreflexive, embodying classifications which are built into the institution as “reciprocated typifications or interpretations” (Berger & Luckmann, 1967, p. 54).

New institutionalism emerged alongside the concept of the organisational field, which served to bind a collection of interdependent organisations and institutions which were operating with “common rules,

norms, and meaning systems” (Scott & Davis, 2007, p. 118). The organisational field itself comprises of a number of competing “logics” which prescribe proper, legitimate structures and behaviours, and proscribe improper, deviant structures and behaviours. As such, organisational fields can be staging grounds for institutionalisation, a process by which social processes, myths, and ceremonies become embedded, normative rules within social thought and action (Meyer & Rowan, 1977). Institutionalised organisations, therefore, reflect the demands of the field, rather than, or at the expense of, the demands of their work. Accordingly, DiMaggio and Powell (1983) argued that highly-structured organisational fields provide a context in which “individual efforts to deal rationally with uncertainty and constraint often lead, in the aggregate, to homogeneity in structure, culture, and output” (p. 147). In contrast with older perspectives on institutions, which prioritised informal structure and self-interested sectarianism (see Perrow 1986), new institutionalism posited organisational legitimacy and survival as the central mechanisms of institutional life. Stated simply, institutions must manage norms, values, and attitudes to conform to broader expectations (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983; Scott, 2008).

In order to maintain legitimacy, institutions undergo a process of “buffering”, wherein formal organisational structures are erected to protect informal (the actual) practices from the pressures of the environment (Orton & Weick, 1990). Institutions, universities in particular, undergo “mission drift” as they stray from their original purposes in pursuit of favourable resources, expanded prestige, or competitive position in the field (Jaquette, 2013; Morpew, 2002). Processes of certification, such as rankings or state mandates, are sources of powerful influence within organisational fields, promising expanded resources after more commercial orientations are in place (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983).

Buffering, therefore, allows institutions to “decouple” formal and informal structures. Institutional survival depends upon securing legitimacy, which often involves adopting inefficient or purely symbolic practices (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983). As noted by Sauder and Espeland (2009), however, buffering does not always occur when an external pressure threatens institutional legitimacy. In the case of law school rankings, for example, Sauder and Espeland (2009) described the process of self-internalisation which embeds the influence of rankings beyond a symbolic buffer. In other words, the institution became more tightly-coupled, which is counter to the expectations of new institutionalism, and

a demonstration of the analytic boundaries of the new institutionalism approach (see DiMaggio, 1988).

### 3.2 *Discipline*

In *Discipline and Punish* (1977), Michel Foucault elaborated on the evolution of disciplinary practice, from an overt and performative act, to a more subtle and insidious process. Public executions and other ostentatious displays of sovereign power, for example, eventually gave way to self-policing and individual notions of constant surveillance. This shift in the mechanisms of discipline led to a disciplinary power which is diffuse, and enacted through the “penetration of regulation into even the smallest details of everyday life” (Foucault, 1977, p. 198). At the centre of this regulatory expansion is the body, the site of disciplinary power, which is simultaneously made more obedient and more useful through mechanisms, or “distributions”, of discipline. Consequently, discipline is constitutive of the self, establishing people as objects within a web of discourse which defines what is legitimate and what is mad or deviant. Discipline is “an art of rank, a technique for the transformation of arrangements. It individualises bodies by a location that does not give them a fixed position, but distributes them and circulates them in a network of relations” (Foucault, 1977, p. 146). Individualisation occurs through quantification and other processes which make constant supervision and monitoring, and also the internalisation of disciplinary notions, possible.

Foucault’s broad conceptions of disciplinary power complement formal-rational ideas about bureaucracy (see Weber, 1946, for example) with a “physiology of bureaucracy and power” (O’Neil, 1986, p. 45) as the definitive feature of the disciplinary society. As disciplinary discourse establishes normative categories for individuals, it also constructs a “field of comparison” which creates and enforces differentiations among categories (Foucault, 1977, p. 182). In the context of institutional approaches to organisational theory, discipline is an essential part of defining what is legitimate and what is illegitimate within an organisational field. Isomorphic pressures draw their analytic power from overarching categories of acceptable knowledge and ways of being, and also from access to resources such as money and prestige (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983; Sauder & Fine, 2008). Further, the logics which comprise organisational fields are “made real” in local contexts through their institutionalisation in

policy and practice (Foucault, 1978; Swidler, 1995). Disciplinary power, therefore, functions as a mechanism of diffusion within organisational fields. In the words of Foucault, “power produces reality” (p. 194).

The inclusion of discipline contributes to the theoretical tools which can uncover the conditions under which particular organisational forms are constructed as gold standards to be emulated (Friedland & Alford, 1991, p. 244). Institutional responses are complex, as are the various environmental pressures which constitute, and compete within, an organisational field. A disciplinary perspective complements new institutionalism by accommodating the responses which are adopted by organisational members (Sauder & Espeland, 2009). Moreover, external pressures like rankings introduce conflict. Indeed, ways of framing and forming meaning around the everyday life of an organisation are shaped and reshaped through the collision of multiple logics (Vican et al., 2019). How individuals negotiate these conflicts, ultimately as part of social interactions, forms the foundation of institutions and disciplinary power, and is an entrance into understanding the local mechanisms of organisational response (Hallett & Ventresca, 2006; Powell & Colyvas, 2008).

## 4 METHODS

This chapter utilised the case study method (Merriam, 1998) to explore how the *US News and World Report* rankings influenced institutional change at Northeastern University. We defined Northeastern University as a distinct case, and bound our data sources temporally. Specifically, our data were drawn from the years 1998 through 2002, a period which captured the majority of the university’s efforts to influence its position in the rankings. In some ways, Northeastern University represented an “extreme case” because it pursued a rise in the rankings overtly, and as an institutional policy (Chen, 2016). The changes during this brief period profoundly altered the university, and likely propelled Northeastern University into a more desirable echelon; few other institutions charted such a dramatic path.



### 4.1 *About Northeastern University*

Founded in 1898 as “a night school at the Boston YMCA”, Northeastern University is a private, four-year, not-for-profit institution (Bombardieri, 2015). Today, the university is classified as a doctoral university with the highest level of research activity, and boasts an enrolment of close to 20,000 students. The university is composed of nine faculties (colleges and schools), and runs graduate campuses in Charlotte, Seattle, Silicon Valley, and Toronto. In 2015, Northeastern University’s endowment stood at 743 million USD (Northeastern University, 2016).

Northeastern University’s current status as a nationally recognised university is largely due to the actions of its sixth leader, President Richard Freeland (Kutner, 2014). At the outset of his presidency, Northeastern University was described as utilitarian at best, and held the 162nd position on the *US News and World Report* rankings for “Best National University”, a position which was characterised by Freeland as “almost a third of the way down in the third tier” (Freeland, 2000). In line with his ambitions of national status for the university, Freeland would single-mindedly pursue the advancement of Northeastern University in the rankings as the central part of his strategic vision.

### 4.2 *Data*

Data were drawn from multiple secondary sources, including campus publications, public statements made by Freeland and other campus officials, meeting minutes, institutional documents, and journalism. Historical data were accessed and gathered using the Wayback Machine, an Internet archival tool which allows users to view and download cached sites over a number of years. Given the focus on the rankings project at Northeastern University, sources which specifically describe the rankings and the president’s initiatives, and the reactions from faculty members, students, and journalists, were chosen to compose the case. Although the conclusions find Freeland’s actions to be enormously effective in actually achieving the stated goal of improved rankings, the case relies upon multiple perspectives to recreate the contemporary debate over the merits of the plan in action.

### 4.3 *Limitations*

Limitations centre on the types of data which were used to construct the case, which limit the construction of the case of Northeastern University during the period in question. Although historical data allow for a broader understanding of an institution's evolution, there is difficulty in understanding "how struggles for legitimacy played out in daily life" (Barley, 2008, p. 507). Using news accounts and statements by important people within the university provided some insight into the broad patterns of activity which contributed to, and resulted from, the university's activities. It remains unlikely, however, that textual sources could provide enough information to produce a complete, meso-level account of the case (Fine & Hallett, 2014). Accordingly, the inferences which we drew about interaction-level processes and meaning-making are limited.

## 5 FINDINGS

When Richard Freeland, an academic administrator and historian, was appointed president of Northeastern University in 1996, the university was in a dire situation. It suffered federal budget cuts throughout the mid-1980s and early 1990s, which precipitated declining student enrolment and hundreds of employee layoffs. Beginning in 1991, the man who would become Freeland's predecessor, President John "Jack" A. Curry, pursued a mantra of "Smaller but Better", in response to the adversity which Northeastern University faced, by focussing on the institution's strengths, and by improving its attractiveness as a regional university (Ellis, 1998). Freeland grappled with this history in his first address to the professors, students, and staff members of the university following his hiring, by striking an optimistic tone:

We do not face an easy time. Northeastern is going through a transition. Charting a path to bring this university through the next few years as a stronger, more vibrant, more recognised institution will take the best intelligence and dedicated energies of all of us. I know we can do it. There is so much strength here. There is so much talent here. There is so much loyalty here. These wonderful buildings around us bespeak our strength. And there are sturdy traditions on which to build. (Freeland, 1996)

Freeland's vision emphasised the distinctive character of Northeastern University as an institution known for cooperative and practical education, access for "young people from modest backgrounds", and for service to the Boston community (Freeland, 1996). Yet "smaller but better" was not enough for him. Foreshadowing his future initiative to advance Northeastern University's position as a national university, Freeland urged that "we have work to do in continuing to serve students from our surrounding communities while reaching out aggressively to enrol larger numbers regionally, nationally and internationally" (Freeland, 1996). He wanted to propel Northeastern University onto the national stage as an example of a "premier urban university" (Freeland, 1996).

This section will present the case of Northeastern University under Freeland's leadership, during which the institution was transformed from an urban commuter college to a highlyranked and well-regarded research university. As we shall argue, Freeland's vision was the foundation for his revitalisation plans, with all routes to quality, survival, and excellence depending upon the mechanism of the *US News and World Report* rankings.

### 5.1 *The National University: Rhetoric and Vision*

By October 1998, President Freeland began implementing the changes which would presage his call for Northeastern University to aggressively advance in the rankings. In his annual address to the campus community, Freeland highlighted the modest position of Northeastern University on that year's *US News and World Report* rankings (somewhere around #162). He characterised the position as "impressive progress that nonetheless makes clear how far we still have to go" (Freeland, 1998). Accordingly, Freeland declared that "we enter the new year and a new century with rising fortunes", suggesting that "our surest path to heightened achievement and recognition is to attain excellence" as a national research university (Freeland, 1998). The president seemed to favour the idea of becoming a national university since he first arrived on campus, notably using the term as part of his first address to the faculty members, staff members, and students. Moreover, Freeland made his vision part of the decennial accreditation process.

The accreditation report itself consisted of five separate documents, each titled with one of the five pillars of Freeland's vision for the promise of a new century: national, research, student-centred, practice-oriented,

and urban (Northeastern Accreditation Documents, 1998). Freeland referred to the goals as “the mantra”, and national status was the first priority (Freeland, 1998). As a term, “national” both encompassed the other four categories and went beyond them: “National recognition is critical in our move from a quasi-public, regional university to a private university that draws students from around the country and world and competes on the basis of the quality of our faculty and our programs” (Northeastern Accreditation Documents, 1998). The primary indicator of Northeastern University’s progress towards this national goal would be “the image others have of us” as determined by the *US News and World Report* (Northeastern Accreditation Documents, 1998). In fact, national status seemed to depend upon Northeastern University’s ranking by the publication, and the report outlined four key aspects of the university which would shape the university’s reputation: the strength of its co-op programme, increasing enrolment, a renewed capital campaign for university improvement, and congruence with other national university practices (Freeland, 2000a).

On 3 May 2000, Freeland initiated an ambitious programme to advance Northeastern University to be among the top 100 national research universities within the following decade. Freeland characterised the move as a strategic imperative which fit within his overarching vision to “raise our level of achievement and recognition and truly become, both in reality and in perception, the better university envisioned in the ‘smaller/better’ formula” (Freeland, 2000a). In short, Freeland aimed to make Northeastern University a truly national university which stood within the top tier of higher education (Freeland, 2000a). Freeland acknowledged that Northeastern University’s position in the *US News and World Report* rankings had fluctuated between the third and fourth tiers since the early 1990s (Freeland, 2000a). He also pointed to some key successes, however, which convinced him the time was right for this ambitious agenda, citing a 1999 magazine headline about Northeastern University’s business programme which read “Harvard, MIT, Stanford and Berkeley trumped by Northeastern” (Freeland, 2000a). Freeland characterised the increasing recognition of the business programme as “a triumph in education”.

According to Freeland, this goal of greater recognition was “not just a matter of aspiring to excellence” (Freeland, 2000a). It was a necessity for survival in a field of increasingly expensive and undifferentiated private universities, and where Northeastern University’s “special advantages” of

co-op education and community engagement did not necessarily “return the highest possible value in the reputation of [students’] degrees if they are to compete with public institutions” (Freeland, 2000a). Calling the effort a “task of supreme importance”, Freeland believed that their “commitments as professional educators” always ought to drive the desire for improvement (Freeland, 2000b).

Despite his apparent ardor, Freeland indicated some disquiet with the idea of gaming the rankings, claiming that rankings “are hardly the best or most important indicators of institutional quality or even of reputation” (Freeland, 2000b). Yet Freeland also argued that strengthening the perceptions of Northeastern University among prospective students, other academics, and the general public was “terribly important”, and that the popular rankings are “useful indicators of how we are doing in this respect” (Freeland, 2000b). Freeland said that Northeastern University had “a wonderful story to tell”, and that a rise in the rankings would be “a test of success” following ten years of institution transformation, of “smaller but better” (Freeland, 2000b).

## 5.2 *Restructuring the University*

In order to achieve his strategic imperative, Freeland outlined four key moments which made this goal possible: (1) the reform of Northeastern University’s co-op programme, (2) changing the academic calendar, (3) increasing the number *and* quality of new student enrolment, and (4) the inauguration of a \$200 million capital campaign.

### *Co-op Reform*

Freeland declared Northeastern University’s storied co-op programme to be “our defining characteristic for decades”, stating that co-op “remains the basis of our claim to national recognition” (Freeland, 2000a). Accordingly, Freeland’s first actions largely focussed on reform of the co-op programme, which was intended to provide students with longer-term full-time career training and work experiences, in tandem with the traditional curriculum (Northeastern University, 2016). In his inaugural address, Freeland called the isolation of co-op, professional education, and liberal arts from one another a “key obstacle”, which “leaves students to figure out for themselves how liberal learning undergirds professional skill, how concrete experience informs academic theory, and how abstract conception leads to practical insight” (“Inaugurating a new era”, 1997).

He challenged professors and staff to confront this fragmentation and “invent an integrated plan of practice-oriented education” (“Inaugurating a new era”, 1997). By the autumn of 1998, Freeland and Provost David Hall planned to make co-op reform a top priority: “Our historic position as a national leader in co-op is by no means assured... We must change because we have a great opportunity to lead a national movement toward practice-oriented education” (Freeland, 1998).

Several years into his tenure, Freeland published the “Call to Action of Cooperative Education”, a reform plan for revitalising the co-op system (Freeland, 2003). The plan was meant to “make [Northeastern University] competitive with other major universities” in tandem with gains in student quality and graduation and retention rates (Freeland, 2003). The initiatives which were proposed by the plan included moving co-op staff physically and organisationally into the colleges, re-designing the curriculum of each college and major so that co-op aligns with other courses, develop professors and staff members, creating a web-based scheduling system, and researching and promoting the ways in which co-op enhances student learning. Perhaps even more importantly, Freeland wanted each student to have an increased ability to “gain the benefits of both liberal and professional education” throughout their undergraduate career (Freeland, 2003).

### *Changing the Academic Calendar*

Freeland also sought a major reform of Northeastern University’s academic calendar, changing it from a quarter-based to a more traditional semester-based system. The so-called “4 × 4 model” would divide the academic year into two 15-week semesters during which students would take four courses of four credits each (“Faculty approve semester proposal”, 2000). In order to graduate in five years, therefore, a typical student would need to attend courses for seven full semesters and two summer sessions, and complete three 26-week co-op placements (“Semester calendar takes shape”, 2000). The calendar reform was considered to be an important step towards reforming the co-op programme, bringing Northeastern University into line with other major universities. By adopting this calendar, Freeland believed that Northeastern University would reduce anomalous inconsistencies, and increase the visibility of the institution’s unique and attractive qualities (“Faculty approve semester proposal”, 2000).

The proposal was not popular with everyone on the campus. Professor Charles Ellis, the chair of the Senate Agenda Committee (SAC), found it to be more rigid than he would like, and cautioned that budget officials ought to more thoroughly evaluate the cost of the transition. Ellis also urged Freeland to reconcile the feelings of both the professors and the student body. The plan had been supported by a majority vote at the faculty level; the results of a student referendum, however, reflected a desire to keep the quarter-system. The student government president channelled the frustrations of the student body, stating that “a lot of students felt that the [conversion to semesters] was a done deal...they were frustrated in terms of the referendum”. Freeland dismissed the student concerns and emphasised the importance of the conversion for realising the Top 100 goal (“Faculty approve semester proposal”, 2000).

#### *Increasing Enrolment and Quality*

Beginning in 1997, President Freeland instituted a cap of 2800 on the enrolment of new first-year students, stating that the university needed to focus on recruiting high-caliber students, and on improving the quality of the Northeastern University experience. In April 2000, however, just a few months before Freeland announced his Top 100 initiative, the president lifted the cap as it became clear that both the yield rate and academic standards for the upcoming academic year would dramatically exceed expectations. A subsequent enrolment spike surprised many in the university community when overall first-year applications dropped by over 2000 compared with the previous admission cycle, despite average SAT scores improving from 1128 to 1133. Patricia Meservey, the acting vice president for enrolment management, suggested that the new numbers reflected positively on Northeastern University: “It’s really very good news for the university because it means we’re attractive to more students and because it provides us an opportunity to continue our progress toward becoming one of the top 100 national research universities in the country”. Meservey noted that several factors might have led to the increased enrolment, including the improved reputation of Northeastern University’s academic programmes and physical campus, strong economic conditions which might favour the decision to seek private education, and an earlier effort to distribute financial aid notifications (“university gears up for a new year”, 2000).

Freeland indicated that the admissions cap of 2800 students would return for the 2001–2002 academic year, emphasising the importance of

increasing Northeastern University's retention and graduation rates. In his October 2000 address, the president stated that he was seeking to "do a better job of attracting talented applicants who can flourish at Northeastern and also to do more to support through to graduation those who enrol... There is no more important objective within our overall agenda of change than this" (Freeland, 2000b). Freeland noted that Northeastern University's graduation standards were not yet comparable to other major universities, and "every member of the faculty as well as the offices of admissions and financial aid, our support services, university relations, our alumni, our physical plant department, even our efforts to become a pre-eminent urban university" would be harnessed towards this aim (Freeland, 2000b).

### *Capital Campaign*

Alongside the efforts to increase enrolment and the caliber of students at the university, President Freeland announced a new capital campaign to "double the private giving level and fund important initiatives that support Northeastern's smaller-and-better vision". The \$200 million effort would fund endowed scholarships, professorships, research support, and new technology, among other things. Freeland dubbed the effort the "Leadership Campaign", because it was "linked to our determination to be a national educational leader".

By 2006, the Leadership Campaign funded the hiring of over 100 professors, and the construction of ten residence halls, a fitness centre, and academic buildings (Bombardieri, 2015). The expansion of Northeastern University's physical facilities allowed for the dramatic increase of residential students and for a greater number of student engagement opportunities on campus. President Freeland's goal was to increase the attractiveness of Northeastern University beyond its traditional mooring as a practice-oriented, urban university:

Our location in Boston helps a lot, of course, and our special strength in cooperative education causes many students to choose us over other places. But even here the competition is stiffening. Many universities are incorporating funded internships into their offerings. We need to show that we get better results in terms of learning, personal development, jobs and life prospects than our imitators. (Freeland, 2000b)



The competition in the Boston-area meant Northeastern University had to expand its financial bearings in order to differentiate itself from its competitors. Moreover, as Freeland noted, the university had to make-up ground before it could truly compete among the major national institutions.

### 5.3 *“Making a Great University Even Greater”*

In November 2001, Freeland was awarded a three-year contract extension by the Board of Trustees. The Board’s report concluded that, under Freeland’s leadership, the university was “qualitatively better and financially stronger”, specifically naming the rankings initiative as a main point of achievement (“Freeland gets a new three-year contract”, 2001). With the support of his Board, and a general sense of confidence from the university community, Freeland pushed ahead with the Top 100 plan.

Not everyone was as enthusiastic. As part of the launch of his initiative, President Freeland asked Judith Ramaley, a former president of the university of Vermont, to assess the Northeastern University’s progress towards Top 100 status. Ramaley warned that, while employees often remained committed to ranking goals, they were “also growing a little weary” (“Freeland gets new three-year contract”, 2001). During his 2001 address to the university community, Freeland relayed Ramaley’s observation that Northeastern University had “reached the ‘trail-mix’ stage of institutional change” during which “we had undertaken an inspiring journey, and we were making good progress... but we had a long way to go, and we were getting tired and a little cranky”. She recommended that the Northeastern University community “pause, sit on a rock, remind ourselves why we have undertaken this trip and have some trail mix to recharge ourselves for the rest of the way”. In a pithy gesture, bags of trail mix were distributed to attendees on their way out of the auditorium (“Freeland beats drum for top 100”, 2001).

#### *Faculty Senate Initiatives*

Following President Freeland’s declaration of the Top 100 plan, the Senate Agenda Committee (SAC) decided that “the primary focus for the 2001–2002 Faculty Senate would be initiatives in support of the university’s newly declared quest for top 100 status among national research universities” (Faculty Senate Annual Report, 2002; Faculty Senate Minutes, 2001). In an October 2001 address to the campus

community, Professor Robert Lowndes, the chair of the SAC and former 'special aide' to Freeland ("Lowndes re-elected to top agenda committee post", 2002), recognised that "all top-100 institutions will be determined to maintain their status", and that Northeastern University's success "will require an integrated strategic effort that embraces giant strides rather than small steps" ("Lowndes sets ambitious agenda", 2001). Lowndes and other faculty members viewed Freeland's goal as a way to increase the number of tenure-track professors on campus, and to implement new development programmes. The SAC chair asserted that Northeastern University was "too dependent on lecturers and academic specialists", and that, while the contributions of adjunct professors was vital and important, it was "the contributions of the professoriate that mainly shape the academic reputation of the university" ("Lowndes sets ambitious agenda", 2001).

Setting the agenda for the upcoming year, Lowndes directed the Faculty Senate to form five new committees which would be dedicated to different initiatives in support of the Top 100 status (Faculty Senate Annual Report, 2002). Each committee made recommendations to the Faculty Senate, and a summary was presented in the Senate's 2001–2002 annual report. The recommendations ranged from enhancing the honours programme to developing more attractive four- and five-year degree programmes (Faculty Senate Annual Report, 2002). The report also outlined "faculty salary equity funds to begin to reverse the dramatic declines in salary competitiveness over the last decade" and "thereby recruit and retain the best faculty and enhance our academic reputation" (Faculty Senate Annual Report, 2002). The Senate also began to assess the potential of Northeastern University's athletics programme to contribute to the rankings initiative, and whether or not budget reallocations might "differentially advance the status of the university and expand its name recognition among potential student applicants and, in addition, contribute to higher retention rates" (Faculty Senate Annual Report, 2002).

### *Restructuring the Provost's Office*

In February 2002, Freeland announced a plan to restructure the office of the provost following the retirement of Provost Hall. Freeland proposed the creation of "a new division of enrolment management and student life that would be led by a new senior vice president" ("President announces restructuring plan", 2002). The new division, which would be composed

of units previously organised underneath the provost, was focussed on the issue of “student-centredness”, and it would both allow the provost to concentrate more heavily on faculty and research initiatives, and align with comparable organisational structures at other major universities.

The announcement came as a surprise to the Faculty Senate and the remainder of the university community. In response, the Senate advanced a resolution expressing “its deep concern about the process, the timing, and the outcome of the proposed restructuring of the Provost position”. Further, it requested “that the President and the Board of Trustees postpone any further action...so that the merits can be fully addressed by the students, the faculty, and the Administration”. Professor Lowndes stated that the resolution was about “collegiality” and its purpose was threefold, namely to (1) place the concerns of the Senate on record, (2) slow the process for further examination, and (3) preserve the power and influence of the provost within the academic enterprise (Faculty Senate Minutes, 2002).

Freeland, who appeared before the Senate as it considered the resolution, explained that “he had not invited discussion by the university community because, historically, a vice president’s responsibilities have not been a topic of public debate or Senate deliberation”. Freeland had concluded that the move would place Northeastern University into a comparable organisational framework as other top universities, which could only aid the institution in its pursuit of higher rankings. Lowndes and others disagreed, stating that they could not determine any single trend in how enrolment management divisions were structured. The president of the student government agreed, citing concerns that the new structure would have a potentially negative effect on students. Freeland dismissed the idea, replying that “he did not see any adverse effect in the interactions with students” (Faculty Senate Minutes, 2002). The resolution passed; however, Freeland did not reverse his decision.

### *Putting a Finger on the Scale*

In April 2002, Northeastern University launched a new, \$3 million marketing campaign which touted “the strengths of Northeastern’s academic offerings and its flagship cooperative education programme”. Sandra King, the vice president for university relations, said that “Northeastern offers an academic product that has been highly regarded in too narrow a circle”, and that the time had come to take “our message out to specific geographic areas that the university has targeted”. Northeastern

University's foremost strategy included a new partnership with the Boston Red Sox which gave the university "permanent signage on the Fenway Park tri-vision screen, a full-page ad in the Red Sox official magazine, and a scoreboard 'brainteaser,' written by Northeastern professors and staff, during the fifth inning of each home game" ("university launches marketing campaign", 2002). President Freeland acknowledged Northeastern University's increasing presence as "a new chapter in history" for the institution. In his 2002 address, Freeland called on the university community to meet the challenge of "making a great university even greater" by continuing to raise Northeastern University's reputation (Freeland, 2002). He declared that the new marketing campaign promised to "tell our story more aggressively than ever" (Freeland, 2002).

Northeastern University was not advancing quickly enough, however, largely due to Northeastern University's large population of co-op students. Co-op students still counted as full-time students according to the ranking methodology, despite the fact that they were away from the institution gaining practical experience (Kutner, 2014). Indeed, Northeastern University's coveted status as a leader in "practice-oriented education" meant that hundreds of students were counted as consumers of university resources throughout the academic year. In order to bolster Northeastern University's advancement in the ranking, President Freeland marched into the Washington, DC, offices of *US News and World Report* in 2004 to meet with Robert Morse, the data expert behind the rankings (Kutner, 2014). During the meeting, Freeland attempted to persuade Morse to change the methodology to better reflect the transient status of co-op students. Morse refused, but he did help Freeland to "better understand the criteria" with "just enough insight for Freeland to work with" when he returned to Boston (Kutner, 2014). Following the meeting, Northeastern University changed the process for counting co-op students during the academic year. Instead of counting co-op students as they completed their offsite service, Northeastern University removed them from the roll which drastically improved its cost-to-student ratio (Kutner, 2014).

## 6 DISCUSSION

Northeastern University's meteoric rise to the upper tiers of the *US News and World Report* rankings marked a distinctive shift in how the university and its inhabitants thought about their purpose, work, and relationship to their immediate community. Drawing upon our case and our conceptual understandings of how rankings shape institutions and alter the everyday lives of their inhabitants, this section presents some insights into the processes and consequences of marketisation through the mechanism of rankings.

### 6.1 *The Promise of the Rankings*

Immediately upon his appointment, Freeland articulated a vision of Northeastern University as a “national university”, which was a complete divergence from the institution's prior mission, and a firm statement of market principles. Northeastern University was not a desirable organisational form, especially as compared to the prestigious universities which dominated and drove competition among higher education institutions (Friedland & Alford, 1991). Moreover, the deterioration of Northeastern University throughout the 1990s presented a challenge which Freeland apparently did not believe could be solved by simply adhering to the mission (Morphew, 2002), which until then emphasised service to the surrounding urban, low-income community. Freeland recognised that the *US News and World Report* rankings operated as the gatekeeper to valuable resources for survival, especially prestige, reputation, and legitimacy (Bastedo & Bowman, 2010b; Bowman & Bastedo, 2009). These resources, in turn, could be leveraged to increase admission rates among desirable student populations: wealthy, highly-educated families which would pay attention to, and value, the rankings as an indicator of quality or return on investment (Griffith & Rask, 2007). Rather than reluctance to go along with the rankings, which Freeland himself acknowledged as a poor measure of quality, Northeastern University aligned its entire programme of revitalisation to a more prominent position in the rankings. Survival meant access to the benefits of success within a heavily marketised field.

Freeland was not alone in seeing the potential of the rankings. Indeed, faculty leaders also saw the realisation of their goals in Northeastern University's rise. Improving Northeastern University's ranking involved

generous increases in salaries and available tenure lines, which greatly appealed to the Faculty Senate as it embarked on Freeland's proposals. Gaming the rankings produced a tangible benefit for professors and the university overall (Sauder & Espeland, 2009). Yet faculty members did not openly accept Freeland's proposals without some conflict. The reform of the academic calendar, for example, was meant to bring Northeastern University into line with other institutions, and to better preserve the unique co-op programme. The faculty members questioned the efficacy and cost of the proposal; Freeland ignored them in pursuit of alignment with the field (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983). Interestingly, the academic calendar reform further underscored the distinctive elements of Northeastern University's practice-oriented curriculum, an unusual occurrence according to new institutionalism. However, Freeland undermined this distinctiveness later in his tenure, by no longer reporting co-op students as part of the rankings, and by de-emphasising their role in advertising... a capitulation to field-level pressures (Bombardieri, 2015; DiMaggio & Powell, 1983; Kutner, 2014).

As Northeastern University climbed the rankings, campus officials began spinning a tale of revitalisation, which attributed causal relationships between the rankings and positive local developments. Rankings increased Northeastern University's attractiveness to high-achieving prospective students, and a causal link was quickly established after enrolments unexpectedly jumped. This symbolic construction contributed to Freeland's efforts to promote the rankings as key to Northeastern University's success. Accordingly, professors, staff, and students received powerful messages which justified and valorised the Top 100 plan (Foucault, 1977). As field-level influences became apparent on campus, the consistent messaging by Freeland and others normalised the presence and importance of rankings across the university—notably, the increased focus on promotion and rebranding, both in the rhetoric of the national university and the public advertising campaigns, conveyed a message to external constituents and to professors, staff, and students.

## 6.2 *Normalisation*

The valorisation of the Top 100 plan was essential to its success, establishing it as an institutional myth of sorts which encapsulated a triumphant organisational saga (Clark, 1972; Meyer & Rowan, 1977). The transition from local, urban college to national university was drastic, and

represented a break with the institution's mission and years of accepted practice. By adopting the market-focussed emphasis of the rankings, Freeland brought Northeastern University into comparison with élite universities. His rhetoric and actions strove to construct Northeastern University as a similarly élite establishment (Foucault, 1977). This shift in competitive set operated as an act of normalisation, which allowed for the measurement of gaps and for the identification of differences (Foucault, 1977). Freeland began this process early in his tenure, comparing Northeastern University's ranking-gains to Harvard, Stanford, and other major universities. Such rhetoric had local implications. Campus leaders, for example, were able to talk about institutional statistics, such as graduation rates and SAT averages, with comparative language. After a benchmark was firmly established, the campus community was able to define the meanings which were represented by a low graduation rate. Even though these measures were a central part of the *US News and World Report* rankings, they could only secure meaning through the normalisation of the field (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983; Foucault, 1977).

This process was most apparent as Northeastern University transitioned its academic calendar, and established enrolment caps. First, the calendar shift aligned Northeastern University with other universities, and enhanced the ability of prospective students to evaluate Northeastern University as part of the decision-making process. Interestingly, the calendar shift also allowed Northeastern University to better organise its distinctive co-op programme, a pattern of support which did not initially appear to be affected by increasing isomorphism (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983; Elsbach & Kramer, 1996). Northeastern University quickly absconded with this development, however, after the process for counting enrolled students was altered. The calendar shift now aided campus officials in improving an important statistic for the rankings. Second, the establishment of the enrolment cap acted as a major signal of differentiation and prestige-seeking. Many people at Northeastern University linked enrolment to increases in the rankings, a logic which likely influenced how others interpreted Freeland's Top 100 plan.

### 6.3 *Surveillance and Internalisation*

As the Top 100 plan moved forward, it became clear that faculty members and staff members were altering their activities accordingly. The penetration of competitive rhetoric revealed the ways through which professors'

work could be measured and improved, either in terms of efficiency or even expanded hiring. Although they did not fall completely into line, faculty leaders were generally supportive of the plan, and underlined various ways to improve Northeastern University's climb up the rankings. Faculty senate documents articulated an awareness that increased rankings would link to increased funding and hiring, and that behaviour would need to change in line with the priorities of the rankings. The incompatibility between the rankings and the prevailing logics of the professoriate, however, were not ignored. Indeed, Freeland encountered resistance when aligning professors' time with other, more marketised institutions (Vican et al., 2019). The new culture of managerialism, although tied to potential material benefits, still necessitated active surveillance to ensure compliance across the professoriate (Foucault, 1977; Sauder & Espeland, 2009).

Unlike other external pressures which alter the everyday operations of a university (accountability demands and legal regulations, for example), the rankings offer a path to survival, and access to resources which can be sheathed in obligatory, public grumbling. In many ways, rankings represent an inverse of the idea of institutional buffering: distaste with rankings and public affirmations of the mission of higher education mask enormous institutional efforts to improve ranking position (Meyer & Rowan, 1977; Orton & Weick, 1990; Sauder & Espeland, 2009). Moreover, the disciplinary process internalises the marketised logic of rankings with both the structure and denizens of the institution (Foucault, 1977; Sauder & Espeland, 2009). By 2002, Freeland's initiative became embedded within many of Northeastern University's policy mechanisms. The Faculty Senate reported a large number of committees and programmes which were specifically related to Top 100 priorities, from professor recruitment to academic library policy. The rankings were made "real" through institutional policy, as members of the campus community enacted the rankings in their everyday work (Swidler, 1995). Campus leaders, for example, constructed tautological narratives about student quality and the influence of the rankings on Northeastern University's position in the student decision-making process. As discussed earlier, professors internalised notions of "gaming the gaming", using the Top 100 plan to reinforce their own positions on campus, namely through the capital campaign. Professors likely became invested in this new order, however, because it enabled them to achieve the traditional aims of the academy.



## 7 CONCLUSION

Freeland's ambitions yielded results. In August 2005, following Freeland's meeting with the *US News and World Report* editors, Northeastern University advanced 17 points in the rankings over the previous year, from 115 to 98. The news came one day after Freeland announced his retirement. Freeland's tenure represented a period of massive organisational change—one which involved a complete reordering of institutional priorities, traditions, and values. Rankings operate as a mechanism which prescribes particular habits and modes of action for universities, chief among them the elements of marketisation. In many ways, this manner of organisation presents a threat to universities which lay claim to historical goals of learning, knowledge production, and contribution to society. Rankings reshape how people value what makes higher education unique, aiding in the transformation of knowledge, students, teaching, and other intellectual efforts, into goods for sale. The case of Northeastern University represents a complex moment during which one specific university reckoned with its collapse, and based an entire programme of reform on the premise of accepting a new regime to improve its position in the rankings. In turn, these improved rankings allowed Northeastern University to continue its existence at the expense of what made it unique. In the era of marketisation, survival, not purpose, is the prime imperative of the day, and everything can be sacrificed in its pursuit.

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# Gender and the Marketisation of Higher Education: A Nordic Tale

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and Rómulo Pinheiro*

## 1 INTRODUCTION

Policy reforms in the last two decades have significantly impacted the context in which universities around the world operate. The Nordic countries have all adopted elements of new public management, placing

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emphasis on accountability, performance, and evaluations—aspects which are intrinsically associated with the marketisation of higher education. Some people see the introduction of new management techniques, funding instruments, and a rising competitive ethos within universities as a threat to traditional academic norms and identities, leading to resistance from parts of the academic profession. Even though literature on the influence of managerial policies on academic work is abundant, little is yet known regarding the role which demographic factors like gender play in academics' perceptions of their changing work environments and roles.

This chapter addresses this knowledge gap by shedding light on academics' attitudes towards managerial reforms and the rise of higher education markets in three Nordic countries: Finland, Norway, and Sweden. All three countries have experienced considerable reforms in recent years, inspired by new public management. Finland has adopted drastic reforms by separating universities and academics from the state, and by exercising acute changes in funding. Norway's approach has been more gradual, but still focuses on aspects of new public management, including performance-based funding, bibliometrics, and centralised authority for both efficiency and accountability purposes. Finally, Sweden has also introduced similar changes to its higher education system, such as performance-based funding, national evaluation systems, and more formal autonomy. In all three cases, there was a clear move towards the adoption of market-based mechanisms and the infusion of a competitive ethos into what were traditionally egalitarian higher education systems, which advocated horizontal rather than vertical differentiation on the one hand, and collaboration rather than competition on the other hand (Pinheiro et al., 2019).

In this chapter we compare the attitudes and behaviours of university staff members towards current trends (global and regional) in higher education. More specifically, we investigate different interpretations of the effects of the marketisation of higher education along the gender divide. Empirically, the marketisation of higher education is operationalised in the form of three distinct yet interrelated elements: (1) managerial practices, (2) perceptions regarding competition, and (3) motivations for undertaking academic work.

The chapter begins by discussing the shift towards markets and managerialism in Nordic higher education, and outlining the gender issue in higher education on five different levels. It then turns to the issue

of gender in the context of the marketisation of higher education by outlining the main ideas from the literature, which also serves as the basis for deriving our six hypotheses. The chapter continues by detailing the data and analytical method. Finally, it presents the main findings, a discussion of the findings, and a short conclusion.

## 2 THE RISE OF MARKETS AND MANAGERIALISM IN NORDIC HIGHER EDUCATION

In the last three decades, administrative reforms across the whole of the Nordic region have been characterised by the prevalence of new public management and post-new public management imperatives. New public management has focused on efficiency and accountability in the form of outsourced contracting, privatisation, autonomy, and managerialism; post-new public management has stressed the importance of horizontal and vertical collaboration and coordination (Greve et al., 2016). Despite similarities across countries, most notably in convergence at the reform initiative level (Geschwind et al., 2019), studies have not found evidence of convergence towards a single model for organising public services (Christensen & Lægrend, 2011; Gornitzka & Maassen, 2011). That said, most countries across the Nordic region have wholeheartedly adopted competition and marketisation strategies, falling short of privatisation mechanisms, as is the case elsewhere, most notably Anglo-Saxon countries (Hansen, 2011, as cited in Greve et al., 2016).

Since the mid-1990s, the Nordic countries have been the targets of far-reaching government-led reforms which are aimed at making the higher education sector more efficient, accountable, and responsive to societal dynamics (Fägerlind & Strömqvist, 2004; Pinheiro et al., 2019). As a result of new public management-inspired reforms, universities have been given more autonomy to go about their business. Schmidtlein and Berdahl (2005) distinguished between substantive and procedural autonomy. Substantive autonomy relates to the *what*, or the goals to be achieved, whereas procedural autonomy pertains to the *how*, or means to achieve these goals. As a direct result of reform processes, the traditional social contract, or ‘pact’, between society and higher education, brokered via the state, was altered from one which is based on trust (institutional) to one which is based on contracts (transactional), with the ex-post forms of managerial control (Gornitzka et al., 2004). Enhanced institutional autonomy has resulted in increased oversight, leading to the rise of a

new governance regime which is characterised by an emphasis on quality, performance, and accountability (Hazelkorn, Coates, & McCormick, 2018). As observed in other sectors such as health care (Læg Reid et al., 2005), the prevalence of this new governance regime, while fostering the procedural autonomy of universities, has, as a side effect, reduced their substantive autonomy (Bleiklie et al., 2017; Stensaker, 2014).

As a means of ensuring that universities make better use of their strengthened (procedural) autonomy, governments across the Nordic region have embarked on a revamping of governance and leadership structures. The traditional professional logic of delegation and *primus inter pares* (first among equals) management was thought to be inadequate to handle the new accountability demands which emerged from this renewed social contract which is based on performance management and measurement (Berg & Pinheiro, 2016). In line with new public management (Christensen & Læg Reid, 2011), managerialism emerged as the natural solution, manifesting as the rationalisation of internal governance structure, the standardisation of roles and procedures, and the centralisation of decision-making authority (Ramirez & Christensen, 2013). Metrics, management by objectives, and other forms of performance management mechanisms have also been implemented (Hansen et al., 2019). Benchmarking, for example, has become an intrinsic feature of managerialism approaches in higher education, with global rankings of all types and shapes pervading the inner workings of universities (Hazelkorn, 2009).

### 3 GENDER IN HIGHER EDUCATION

There are two sets of literature which deal with gender in the context of the governance and management of higher education systems and institutions. One set centres on the role of gender at different levels of analysis, while the other privileges the relationship between marketisation practices and gender roles in academia. Given the scope of this chapter and its research topic, we rely here on the second set to generate hypotheses.

#### 3.1 *Gender Issues in Academia: Five Levels*

Gender differences and imbalances have been discussed in the literature and analysed from several angles. From this plentiful and rich literature, five levels of analysis have been identified: (1) individual, (2) interactional, (3) organisational, (4) systemic, and (5) cultural (O'Connor et al., 2015).

Each of these levels presents a different set of issues for female academics on their scholarly journeys.

At the individual level, studies have suggested that males are more likely to start their academic careers at a higher level (Probert, 2005), receive higher salaries at each academic level (Curtis & Thornton, 2014), and reach senior academic posts or hold senior management positions (Johnson et al., 2015). Population studies revealed that female students tend to enrol in academic disciplines considered to be ‘soft’, such as education or welfare, while males are over-represented in STEM disciplines (White et al., 2011; Wilson et al., 2010). Unsurprisingly, in many national contexts, university leaders and managers (rectors, vice-rectors or presidents) emanate predominantly from the STEM fields, where males dominate (O’Connor et al., 2015). Even though this image is gradually changing, it still illustrates that horizontal segregation is alive and well (Blackmore, 2014).

Additionally, there is the problem of male and female academics’ life choices. In highly stratified higher education systems, such as in the United Kingdom, the United States, and Australia, men tend to enrol in more prestigious institutions, and consequently have better career prospects later in life (Ceci & Williams, 2011; Leathwood & Read, 2009). Defenders have argued that female academics are poor at career planning, have low self-esteem, and lack adequate political and/or self-promotion skills, all of which are thought necessary for engaging more effectively within existing academic structures. In short, “blaming the victim” (O’Connor et al., 2015, p. 527) lies at the heart of individual-level arguments which explain academic gender differences.

At the interactional (or relational) level, the extant literature suggests that female academics face another set of problems. They tend to have a ‘negative coefficient’ attached to them, which is visible in publication and research funding data, where men dominate (Benschop & Brouns, 2003). Van den Brink and Benschop (2012) argued that it is not impossible for female academics to reach the same level as men in terms of certain performance indicators, such as number of publications. Due to other commitments, however, female academics are usually older when they manage to catch up. In practice, ‘catching up’ often also means that women have to work twice as hard as men to achieve the same results (O’Connor et al., 2015). Those women who do manage to attain leading positions tend to be seen as disruptive, challenging, and irritating by their male colleagues. Finally, there is evidence of male academics exercising

heroic masculinity and patronising sexism, sometimes neglecting women's right to be part of managing structures 'for their own good', thereby promoting the view that new public management and the marketisation of higher education are underpinned by a male-dominated ideology (O'Connor et al., 2015; Grummell et al., 2009).

Turning now to the organisational level, studies have shown a tendency for those people in charge of employment to see males as more employable than females, even when the objective level of performance is the same (O'Connor et al., 2015). Other studies centred on issues such as the glass ceiling (Morley, 2013; Pell, 1996; Teelken & Deem, 2013), leaky pipeline (Bailyn, 2003; Blackmore, 2014), and other concepts as explanatory factors for the difficulties which women face in reaching top positions. Some also argued that culture and the criteria of excellence in higher education are implicitly based on a male model, making it difficult for women to access power other than as 'pseudo males', where their position is essentially fragile. Several universities, most notably in the Nordic countries, have introduced affirmative action models to achieve greater gender balance (Pinheiro et al., 2015). To date, however, these actions have achieved rather little, with seemingly no significant correlation between policies and observed outcomes (O'Connor et al., 2015).

At the systemic level, the position of women in society has been found to have an impact on their academic roles and positions. Having to take care of children and other family responsibilities implies that strategic tasks like international collaborations and publishing, and access to prestigious and competitive research grants, might be mission impossible for some female academics (Blickenstaff, 2005; Ceci et al., 2014). Recent studies show that, even in the gender-friendly Nordic countries, female academics disproportionately sacrifice their professional careers in cases where the family needs home support (for child-rearing, for example). In some countries such as Austria and throughout the Nordic countries, however, the introduction of quotas for women in decision-making positions in universities (or in the general public sector) was found to have a positive effect nationally (Mctavish & Miller, 2009; O'Connor et al., 2015), and helped to change the image of male leadership.

Finally, studies at the wider cultural level have mostly found that well-established stereotypes legitimise men's access to senior leadership positions (Grummell et al., 2009). Leadership and managerial positions

are seen as ‘unnatural’ for women, because peoples’ beliefs about leadership align with their views on gender roles in society at large (Piterman, 2008; O’Connor et al., 2015).

### 3.2 *Gender and the Marketisation of Higher Education*

The literature which is situated at the confluence of gender and the marketisation of higher education (Hansen, 2011) is also significant, but reveals rather ambiguous results. Studies have found that those people with a more optimistic attitude believe that managerialism, with its focus on performance indicators, offers hope that procedure formalisation might increase women’s access to senior positions (Deem et al., 2008), as empirically demonstrated by Sang (2018). According to Mctavish and Miller (2009),

[t]he decline of older collegiate male based “club” cultures, a greater social and gender composition of university staff and students and the growth of managerial and functional hierarchies in teaching, learning and student support have all increased opportunities from which women have benefited. (p. 189)

Lamont’s (2009) arguments which focus on the subjective character of peer evaluations underlined the limitations of such strategies, although there is evidence from experimental studies that accountability reduces gender bias in academia (O’Connor et al., 2015). Other studies are less conclusive. Some literature even favours a more negative view of female standing in academia, after new public management principles are introduced to universities. Saunderson (2002), for example, suggested that, in the UK context, ‘macho managerialism’ presents an opportunity but also a threat to female academics who aspire to senior positions.

In the context of neoliberalism, research activities with the potential for commercialisation, particularly in specific areas of biosciences and information technology, have been prioritised globally (Rasmussen et al., 2006). In the USA, publicly funded universities use some of their resources to generate private profits, while at the same time reducing expenditures on front-line teaching (Slaughter & Leslie, 1997; Slaughter & Rhoades, 2010). These policies have gender implications, because the areas which are being targeted (and where both the privately- and state-funded professorial chairs are most likely to be located) are predominantly

male. Cuts to front-line teaching can disproportionately affect areas where female academics are most likely to be located (the humanities and parts of the social sciences, for example). This might affect female academics' perceptions of such reforms.

Studies on academic identity found that being an academic has different meanings, depending on national and institutional context (Martin et al., 2018). To be a proper academic, one needs to do more research and minimise teaching, or leave it to others (Leisyte & Dee, 2012). Being a 'proper' academic is much more difficult to achieve for women compared to men (given the aforementioned factors). Consequently, after this goal has been accomplished, it leads to a situation where female academics see their positions as more than a job, while for males it is just employment (Rosewell & Ashwin, 2018; Tsaousi, 2019). One conclusion, therefore, is that at the individual organisation level, and especially within sub-units such as departments or institutes, gender (im)balances which result from marketisation reforms are perceived more negatively by female academics compared to their male counterparts. Accordingly, it would be expected that organisational factors are of greater importance to female academics than male academics, because the female academics tend to be more locally embedded. Given this stance, our first two hypotheses are as follows:

- Hypothesis 1: Female academics perceive the gender balance at the unit level more negatively than male academics.
- Hypothesis 2: Female academics are more motivated by organisational factors than male academics.

Studies on gender and shifts in managerial regimes in Portugal and Turkey found several important aspects of male and female conceptions of the marketisation of higher education in academia (Carvalho & Machado, 2010; Carvalho et al., 2012). The first and most important aspect is that universities are normally considered neutral organisational arenas, where merit and equity principles are of utmost significance. Research which was conducted at universities and colleges in the UK showed that promotional practices were not perceived as gendered but as neutral, and that, interestingly, female academics hold more neutral attitudes towards these

practices compared to male academics (Mctavish & Miller, 2009). Nevertheless, many scholars advocate against such a ‘neutral’ view of academic practices. Brink and Benschop (2011), for example, suggested that...

[t]he ideology of the meritocracy conceals practices of inequality that have nothing to do with merit... [it] implies that merit is individualized, that people bear the sole responsibility for the development of their merits, and that success is the product of their own doing. With regard to academic excellence, the claim of neutral, objective and precise measurement does not hold. (p. 518)

Following the same line of thought, Carvalho and Machado (2010) warned that market principles which stress such values as competition, performance, and meritocracy might reinforce gender-free notions in higher education—values which are not present in practice. Consequently, new public management can be perceived as a threat to women’s progress in the field. Based on this evidence, we argue that when it comes to academics in the Nordic countries, the situation is quite similar, and that both male and female academics are likely to perceive academia as a neutral ground, where everyone has equal opportunities for advancement. Our third hypothesis, therefore, reads as follows:

- Hypothesis 3: There are no gender differences in academics’ views on acknowledgement from peers.

Carvalho and Machado’s (2010) findings also suggest that actors perceive men and women as having different managerial styles. Women, who are considered to be more pragmatic, organised, and persevering, are often connected to ‘soft’ management. Trowler (2001) argued that new public management, which is based mainly on ‘hard’ management notions, favours men for leadership and management positions. There is also a third view on this issue which claims that the idea of an ‘ideal manager’ is based on masculinity, and that women who have aspirations to reach top positions must embrace the very same (male-established) culture. In other words, female academics must adapt and, by doing so, redefine themselves. If they decide to emphasise the differences between managerial styles, however, female academics are in danger of being accused of ‘doing gender’ themselves, thereby strengthening well-established stereotypes (Carvalho & Machado, 2010).



The aforementioned aspects might affect both women's career choices and the decisions made by other managers in selecting and promoting women who show the requisite levels of masculinity (Korabik & Ayman, 1989, as cited in Priola, 2007). As White et al. (2011) showed, "While women as senior managers had an increased capacity to impact on decision-making in managerialist universities, this mainly related to 'soft' management skills which were not valued in the new dominant managerial culture that is strongly focused on research output. It therefore takes a courageous and resilient woman to decide to apply for a senior management position" (p. 187). Sang (2018) claimed that managerialism and marketisation reforms might have allowed more women to reach senior positions. Even when senior managers (predominantly male) invite female academics to be part of their managerial team, however, it can be regarded as a strategic move to win more votes from other female academics. Another instrumental use of gender could be found in a university's strategies, where leaders try to promote a modern and progressive institutional image (Carvalho & Machado, 2010), by playing the gender equality card. We assume, therefore, that female academics in the Nordic countries have more negative views when it comes to organisational aspects like decision-making and strategy. Hypothesis 4 reads as follows:

- Hypothesis 4: Female academics have more negative perceptions of their participation in strategy development than their male counterparts.

Studies have shown that managerial reforms and emphasis on performativity are not favourably viewed in academia (Pinheiro et al., 2019). Carvalho and Machado (2010) found that men and women are equally resistant to changes at universities, and have negative views of managerial reforms in general. But even if we can conclude with some certainty that both female and male academics have predominantly negative feelings towards these new trends, it is not difficult to see why female academics have more reasons than men to oppose new managerial structures and market logics. At first, managerial reforms which emphasise accountability and performance were seen as something beneficial for female academics, as gender issues were set aside. Wilson et al. (2010), however,

argued that “despite apparent reforms over the past decade, the situation for women has improved little in practical terms” (p. 534). One of the reasons for this could be found in the notion that new public management is predominantly a masculine tradition. The different types of performance measurements which are introduced at universities are favourable towards men. Grummell et al. (2009) claimed that the new entrepreneurial spirit in universities is capitalist in nature, favouring men more than women. The increased demand for performativity can only be met by a worker with no interest outside of work, or as Blackmore (2014) argued, by those who are “mobile, flexible, adaptable, not place-bound and unhindered by domestic connections, that is, ‘transnational masculinities’” (p. 95). The data which support these claims are ambiguous, however. Angervall’s (2018) study revealed that most top performers in academia are men who predominantly work in research, while teaching is left to female academics. Men are likely to attain career advancements faster than women, often do more research and much less teaching, and tend to work in international networks. Women, by contrast, were found to spend more time than men in tasks like teaching and administration (Angervall, 2018). Similarly, Morley (2016) found that women are less likely to be journal editors or cited in top-rated academic journals, act as principal investigators, and to sit on research boards and peer review structures which allocate funding. Finally, Wilson et al. (2010), citing several other studies, showed that, contrary to the popular view, workloads for female academics are not higher compared to men, at least when it comes to teaching. More data, therefore, are needed to generalise popular claims on gender influence on workloads. That said, the majority of studies support the notion that performance indicators and measurements benefit male academics more than female academics, which is much more in line with ‘masculine’ new public management culture. Two additional hypotheses, therefore, read as follows:

- Hypothesis 5: Male academics have more positive views towards performance measurements than female academics.
- Hypothesis 6: Male academics consider performance measurements more important than female academics.

## 4 DATA AND METHOD

The empirical dataset which was used to test our hypotheses is based on national surveys of senior academic staff (professors, associate professors, and academic leaders) which were conducted in Finland, Norway, and Sweden in 2015 and 2016. The surveys investigated the perceptions of recent government-led reforms, with a focus on performance management and managerial practices (For more details on the study and its methods, consult Pinheiro et al. [2019]). The data ( $N = 2293$ ) provide an exceptional opportunity to study the role of gender in the perception of the marketisation of higher education, because the academic career stage of the respondents is standardised. The data are normally

**Table 1** Number of respondents by country, position, and gender

		<i>Finland</i>		<i>Sweden</i>		<i>Norway</i>		<i>Total</i>
		<i>N</i>	%	<i>N</i>	%	<i>N</i>	%	
Gender	Female	354	38.9	217	43.6	307	35.9	<b>2263</b>
	Male	556	61.1	281	56.4	548	64.1	
	<b>Total</b>	<b>910</b>		<b>498</b>		<b>855</b>		
Title	Professor (career stage IV)	460	49.8	234	46.4	441	50.9	<b>2293</b>
	Associate professor (career stage III)	463	50.2	270	53.6	425	49.1	
	<b>Total</b>	<b>923</b>		<b>504</b>		<b>866</b>		
Science field	Natural sciences	242	26.2	84	16.7	194	22.4	<b>2293</b>
	Engineering and technology	121	13.1	57	11.3	122	14.1	
	Medical and health sciences	117	12.7	106	21.0	145	16.7	
	Agricultural sciences	17	1.8	13	2.6	11	1.3	
	Social sciences	224	24.3	151	30.0	229	26.4	
	Humanities	169	18.3	73	14.5	131	15.1	
	Other	33	3.6	20	4.0	34	3.9	
	<b>Total</b>	<b>923</b>		<b>504</b>		<b>866</b>		

distributed and include professors and associate professors in the 25–78 age group (mean: 49; SD: 11.3). Gender-wise, the data are representative of the national levels of the Finland, Norway, and Sweden. The sample is described in Table 1. We analysed the data by using a  $\chi^2$ -test for frequencies; in the case of means, we used the Mann-Whitney U-test.

## 5 FINDINGS

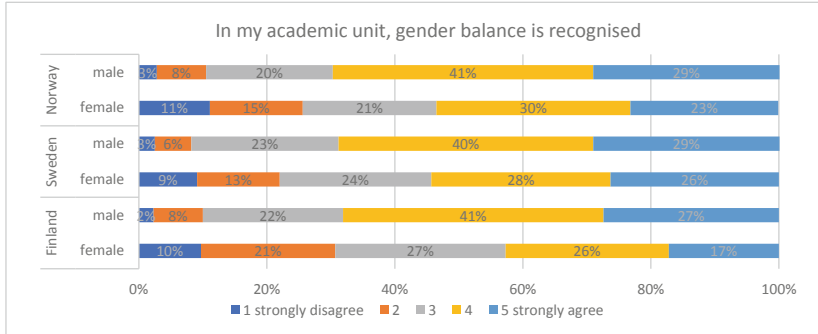
The findings of the analysis are presented according to each of the six hypotheses in turn.

H1: Female academics perceive the gender balance at the unit level more negatively than male academics.

We measured attitude towards the recognition of gender balance with a single item indicator. The gender differences are statistically significant in all countries (Finland and Sweden,  $p < .001$ ; Norway,  $p < .01$ ). There are also statistically significant differences between countries ( $p < \chi^2$ ). In all three countries, the share of female respondents who disagree with the statement “in my academic unit, gender balance is recognised” is more than double when compared to males. Female academics in Finland were the most critical overall: 31% of female academics, most of whom have a permanent position, disagree with the recognition of gender balance, compared to 10% of males. Across the sample, the percentage of males agreeing with the statement varies only slightly, between 68 and 70%, with Norwegians being the most positive overall (Fig. 1).

H2: Female academics are more motivated by organisational factors than male academics.

In the survey, we measured the motivation of academics along seven items, by inquiring about the motivational impact with regard to acknowledgement in different instances, the motivational impact of financial incentives, and media attention. Three of these statements were categorised as pertaining to organisational factors, namely acknowledgement from a second-tier manager, acknowledgement from a manager, and acknowledgement from students. These types of feedback are often



**Fig. 1** Recognition of gender balance by gender and country (frequencies)

formalised and are part and parcel of official, organisational management systems.

The assumption that female academics are more motivated by organisational factors seems to hold true in each of the three countries. In Finland, differences between gender groups are statistically significant regarding acknowledgement from a unit manager ( $p < .01$ ) and from students ( $p < .001$ ). In both Sweden and Norway, this is so for all statements (students and unit managers  $p < .001$ , second-tier manager  $p < .01$ ). The data show that acknowledgement from students has a much higher impact (motivational effect) than that from managers. Most probably this is an indication that feedback from students is not associated with organisational aspects per se, but more with the academic community. Differences among gender groups with respect to the motivational impact of managerial acknowledgement are highest in Sweden. Overall, female academics report higher motivational effects compared to male academics, across the sample (Fig. 2).

**H3:** There are no gender differences in academics' views on acknowledgement from peers.

We measured acknowledgement from peers with two questions: one question regarding the motivational impact of external colleagues, and another question regarding the acknowledgement of colleagues from

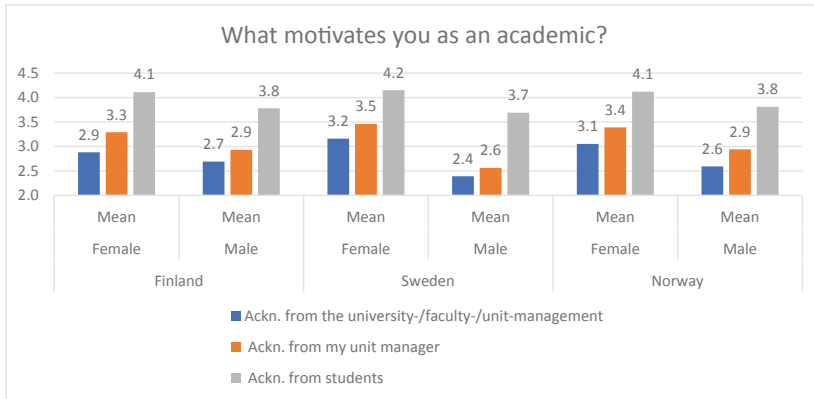


Fig. 2 Motivational factors by gender and country (mean)

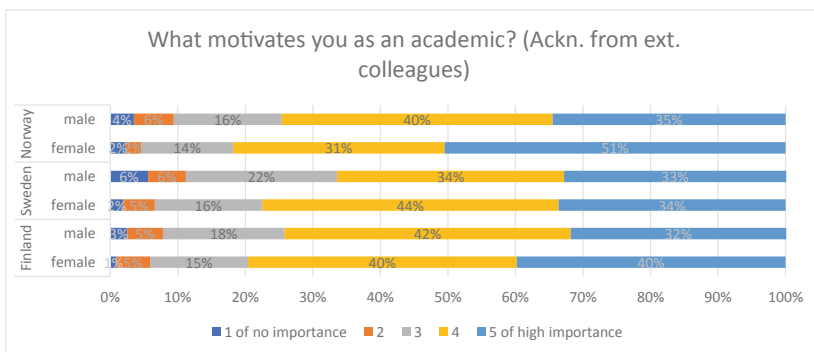


Fig. 3 Acknowledgement from peers by gender and country (frequencies)

one’s own unit. We decided to only analyse the effects which are associated with external colleagues, because it is clearly associated with the academic discipline, and because it can be considered unconnected from organisational hierarchies or politics. The only country in which there are statistically significant differences is Norway ( $p < .01$ ). Norwegian female academics are more motivated by acknowledgement from external peers compared to their male counterparts (82% vs. 75%, respectively) (Fig. 3).

H4: Female academics have more negative perceptions towards their participation in strategy development than their male counterparts.

Earlier studies revealed that academics have the most influence on the strategy formulation of their own sub-units, and that influence decreases quite sharply when referring to faculty- and institutional-level strategies. For this reason, we studied only participation at the unit level. The data show that participation in the strategy process in Norway is well institutionalised, with no significant gender differences. The differences between gender groups are statistically significant in Sweden ( $p < .05$ ) and Finland ( $p < .05$ ). In both Sweden and Finland, the share of participating males is also higher than their female counterparts. That said, whereas 70% of male academics in Sweden report having participated in strategic processes at the unit level (vs. 54% for female academics), the male figures are much lower (55% and 48%, respectively) in Finland (Fig. 4).

H5: Male academics have more positive views towards performance measurements than female academics.

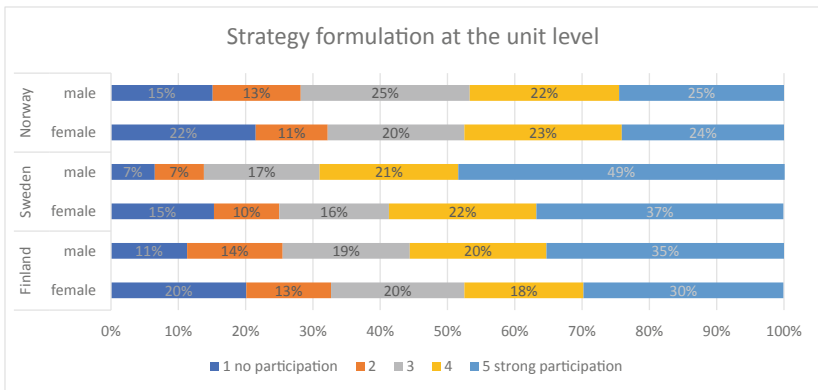


Fig. 4 Participation in strategy formulation by gender and country (frequencies)

In all countries, male academics consider performance measurement more important with respect to equity-related dimensions (transparency and fairness). That said, the gender differences are not that large, and relate mainly to those academics who have a positive view, but who do not strongly agree with the statement which was posed (score = 4, in yellow, in Fig. 5). Note that gender differences are not statistically significant. Differences between countries among male academics ( $p < .001$ ) and female academics ( $< .01$ ), however, are statistically significant. In Finland, the overall attitude across gender groups towards performance measurement is more positive than in both Norway and Sweden. Norwegian academics are the most negative overall—68% scored their views at 1 or 2 (Fig. 5).

H6: Male academics consider performance measurements more important than female academics.

We estimated the importance of performance measurement with four items. First, we asked about the motivational impact of financial incentives. Second, we assessed the degree of performance measurement institutionalisation with an item which focused on the alignment between performance measurement and academic behaviour. Finally, we examined the subjective estimation on the impacts of performance measurement

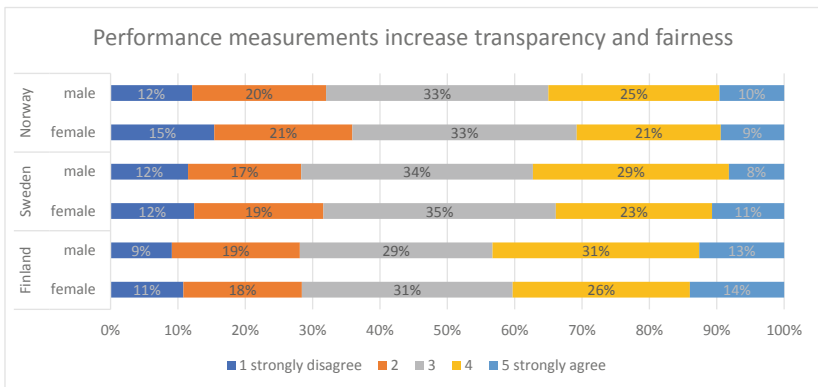


Fig. 5 Views on performance measurement by gender and country (frequencies)



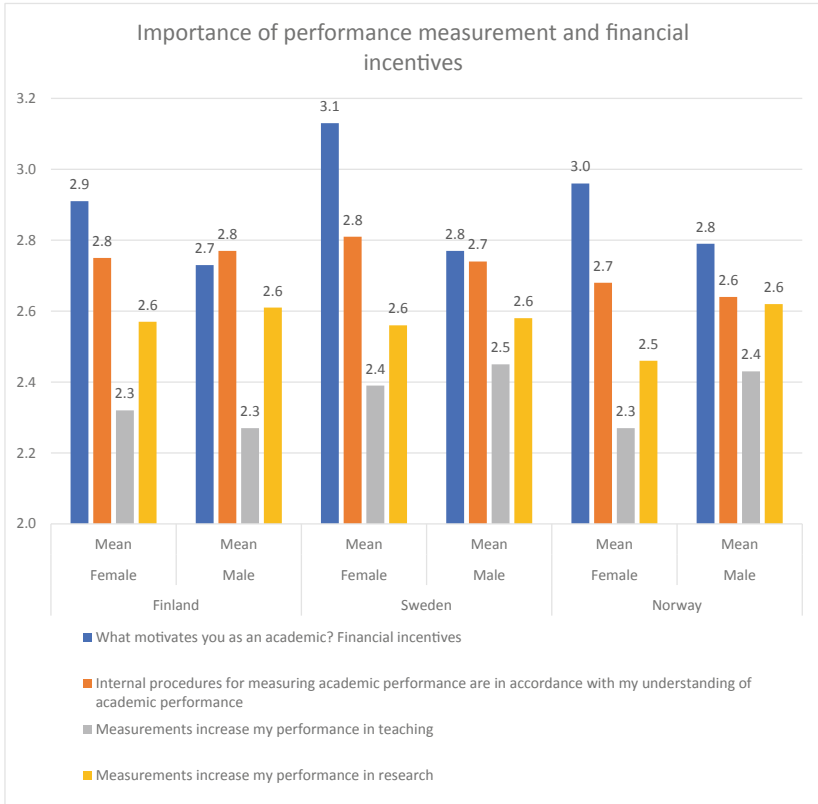
for teaching (third) and for research (fourth). The data show little or no gender differences in all of these items. In Finland, none of the differences is statistically significant. In Sweden, the only statistically significant difference ( $p < .05$ ) relates to financial incentives. In Norway, the impacts of performance measurement on research ( $p < .05$ ) and teaching ( $p < .05$ ) are statistically significant. Where gender differences are found, they suggest that female academics consider performance measurement more important than male academics. The only difference worth mentioning relates to the importance of financial incentives as a source of motivation in Sweden (Fig. 6).

Table 2 below provides a brief summary of the main findings for each of the six hypotheses which were posed in this chapter.

## 6 DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

This study supports previous research on gender differences in academic settings. We found that male academics across the three Nordic countries hold more positive views than female academics on progress regarding gender balance. This is not surprising, because males are not the primary targets of measures which attempt to tackle gender inequalities in what has traditionally been a male-dominated field and profession (Blackmore, 2014; Morley, 2013). The study also confirms previous studies regarding motivation (Curtis & Thornton, 2014; Johnson, Warr, Hegarty, & Guillemin, 2015). The motivational impact of organisational factors was considered much higher by female academics than male academics. Save Norway, we detected no significant differences regarding the importance of acknowledgement from external colleagues. This could arguably be the result of ‘gender neutrality’ of the disciplinary community (Shaw & Stanton, 2012). Overall, our findings support the consensus in the literature (Rosewell & Ashwin, 2018; Santoro & Snead, 2013) that female academics are more motivated than male academics by both organisational factors and direct feedback from (internal and external) peers. A novel contribution from this study, however, is the importance (motivational terms) which was attributed to acknowledgement from students, an aspect which is largely neglected in the extant literature.

This study also lends partial support to previous findings on male dominance in leadership and strategy-related issues within universities (O’Connor et al., 2015). In contrast to Sweden and Finland, there were no gender differences regarding participation in strategy processes



**Fig. 6** Importance of performance measurement and incentives by gender and country (mean)

in Norway. This aligns with earlier studies which show the prominent role which Norwegian female academics have in the highest leadership positions within universities, in comparison to their Nordic counterparts (Pinheiro et al., 2015).

The findings of prior studies showed that managerial reforms have not improved female working conditions (Wilson et al., 2010). Performance measurements also encourage a mobile and flexible work force (Blackmore, 2014), and emphasise research activities and external funding success, both of which are favourable to men (Angervall, 2018; Morley,

**Table 2** Summary of main findings

		<i>Reject/Support</i>	<i>Comparative notes</i>
H1	Female academics perceive the gender balance at the unit level more negatively compared to male academics	Support: All countries	The differences between genders are largest in Finland
H2	Female academics are more motivated by organisational factors compared to male academics	Support: All countries	The differences between genders are largest in Sweden In Finland, there are no gender differences regarding the motivational importance of acknowledgement from second-tier managers
H3	There are no gender differences in academics' views on acknowledgement from peers	Support: Finland and Sweden Reject: Norway	There are differences by gender in Norway
H4	Female academics have more negative perceptions towards their participation in strategy development compared to their male counterparts	Support: Finland and Sweden Reject: Norway	The gender differences are not statistically significant in Norway
H5	Male academics have more positive views towards performance measurements compared to female academics	Reject: All countries	Both genders have more positive views on performance measurement in Finland
H6	Males consider performance measurements more important than female academics	Reject: All countries	No major differences

2016). Some of the critical literature supports the view that new public management is considered a masculine tradition, and consequently is viewed more positively by males (Grummell et al., 2009). Contrary to these studies, our findings support Carvalho and Machado (2010), who found that men and women share similar attitudes towards managerial practices. Likewise, we did not find significant gender differences in attitudes towards performance measurement in general, or in the level of

importance attributed to them. We noted some country differences with respect to general attitudes, however, with respondents from Finland being the most positive overall (See Hansen et al. [2019].).

Our study provides new empirical insights into academic attitudes towards performance management and measurement in higher education, in light of recent reform processes (Pinheiro et al., 2019). Contrary to earlier studies from other parts of the world (Slaughter & Rhoades, 2010; Saunderson, 2002), our empirical findings do not support the claim that female academics have more negative views, or that they are less likely to adjust their academic behaviour in accordance with the quasi-market steering system. Earlier studies (Blackmore, 2014; Carvalho & Machado, 2010) have demonstrated that female academics often work in softer fields, teach more than males, are generally not so well recognised by performance measurements systems (horizontal segregations), and are also less likely to be heads of research groups and full professors (vertical segregations)... in short, that they have fewer possibilities to influence their performance. Additionally, it is said that female academics carry a negative coefficient regarding self-esteem, political skills, and so on (O'Connor et al., 2015), which leads to lower performance, publications, and competitive funds than male academics. Our findings, therefore, could indicate that pressures which are related to the adoption of new public management-inspired dimensions, such as performance measurements, might be higher among female academics (when compared to male academics) in their attempt to prove their worth to line managers and academic peers (both male and female). Future studies, both within and beyond the Nordic countries, ought to provide more clarity on gender and the marketisation of higher education.

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# The Determinants of International Student Mobility in United Kingdom Higher Education

*Lucy Zheng*

## 1 INTRODUCTION

The marketisation of higher education has become a global phenomenon in recent years. Globalisation has manifested itself not only through international trade and foreign direct investment, but strongly through the increasing trend of international student mobility in higher education (HE) (Choudaha, 2017). According to the OECD, the number of foreign students enrolled in higher education institutions (HEIs) worldwide has increased to 5.3 million (including 3.7 million in the OECD

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area) in 2017, rising from 3.3 million in 2009, and 2 million in 1998 (OECD, 2019). As the number of internationally migrating students has increased, the competition has become fierce between the host (receiving) countries in Europe and North America, all vying to attract international students.

As a traditional higher education destination for international students, the United Kingdom has been attracting students from around the world for decades (Beech, 2018; Lomer, 2018). Higher education has become one of the United Kingdom's major exporting industries. During the last decade, the United Kingdom has maintained its position as the second largest host country for international students only behind the US (OECD, 2019). In 2017/18, the United Kingdom attracted over 458,000 international students rising from 415,000 in 2008/2009, accounting for 19.6% of the total British HEIs population (HESA, 2019). The international students who were studying in the United Kingdom are mainly from home (sending) countries in Asia, Europe, and North America (see Table 1).

As a host country, the United Kingdom can benefit from exporting its HE services to international students through financial effects, employment and spillover effects, and economic growth effects (Bashir, 2007; Beech, 2018; Chellaraj et al., 2008). First, it is believed that exporting HE services to international students can improve the host country's trade position and the current account of its balance of payments, which is one of the most important policy issues for every government (Bashir, 2007; Choudaha, 2017). Additionally, the income which is generated from international students can ease financial pressures on the host country government and HEIs arising from the government's HE budget cuts and other public funding shortages. International students can also create employment opportunities for the host country in the HE industry directly, and in other sectors such as the property, retail, and tourism industries, indirectly through spillover effects (Madge & Raghuram, 2015). Finally, from the long-term perspective, the immigration of international graduate students can promote host country human capital stock which has a positive impact on the country's innovation, productivity, and economic growth (Beech, 2018; Chellaraj et al., 2008; Lomer, 2018).

**Table 1** Top 20 home countries 1994/1995–2007/2008

Rank	1994/95			2001/02			2007/08			1994/95–2007/08		
	Country	No. of students	% of total	Country	No. of students	% of total	Country	No. of students	% of total	Country	No. of students	% of total
1	Malaysia	14,627	8.94	Greece	28,585	11.78	China	45,355	13.27	China	335,064	9.29
2	Ireland	12,858	7.85	China	20,710	8.53	India	25,905	7.58	Greece	309,424	8.58
3	Greece	12,247	7.48	Ireland	13,235	5.45	Ireland	15,260	4.47	Ireland	209,679	5.81
4	Germany	11,054	6.75	Germany	10,960	4.52	USA	13,905	4.07	Malaysia	182,061	5.05
5	HK	10,683	6.53	Malaysia	10,680	4.40	Germany	13,625	3.99	Germany	176,039	4.88
6	France	9916	6.06	USA	9985	4.11	France	12,685	3.71	France	163,961	4.55
7	USA	8084	4.94	France	9940	4.10	Greece	12,625	3.69	USA	162,116	4.50
8	Singapore	6326	3.86	HK	8870	3.65	Nigeria	11,785	3.45	India	141,536	3.92
9	Spain	5705	3.49	India	7570	3.12	Malaysia	11,730	3.43	HK	131,829	3.66
10	Italy	3897	2.38	Japan	6355	2.62	Cyprus	9795	2.87	Spain	90,638	2.51
11	Japan	3226	1.97	Spain	5705	2.35	HK	9700	2.84	Japan	77,364	2.15
12	Netherlands	2887	1.76	Italy	5170	2.13	Pakistan	9305	2.72	Italy	74,425	2.06
13	Canada	2374	1.45	Taiwan	4870	2.01	Poland	8570	2.51	Nigeria	67,855	1.88
14	China	2368	1.45	Singapore	4175	1.72	Spain	5740	1.68	Singapore	66,054	1.83
15	Cyprus	2295	1.40	Cyprus	4000	1.65	Taiwan	5615	1.64	Cyprus	66,054	1.82
16	Norway	2257	1.38	Norway	3670	1.51	Italy	5605	1.64	Taiwan	63,402	1.76
17	Taiwan	2119	1.29	Sweden	3610	1.49	Canada	5005	1.46	Pakistan	63,402	1.57
18	Belgium	2093	1.28	Nigeria	3340	1.38	Japan	4465	1.31	Canada	49,768	1.38
19	Israel	1724	1.05	Canada	3285	1.35	Thailand	4180	1.22	Norway	47,231	1.31
20	India	1707	1.04	Thailand	3125	1.29	Korea	4030	1.18	Sweden	44,080	1.22
Subtotal		118,447	72.35		167,840	69.14		234,885	68.72		2,521,982	69.94
Total		163,713	100		242,755	100		341,790	100		3,606,022	100

Source: HESA Students in Higher Education Institutions, calculated by author

From the university perspective, a British HEI can benefit from recruiting international students who can enrich the cultural and intellectual diversity of the academic community (Balmer, Mahmoud, & Chen, 2020; SCONUL, 2007). International students can also contribute to bulk income, by paying much higher tuition fees compared to those paid by home and EU students. The revenue which is generated is even more essential and important for British universities given the tightened government HE funding budgets. Success in attracting large numbers of international students particularly at postgraduate level, can also demonstrate university world-class prestige (SCONUL, 2007), which will in turn attract even more international students in the future.

However, the British government and HEIs are now facing serious challenges in their attempt to maintain or increase international student numbers (Choudaha, 2017). British HEIs have come increasingly to rely on international students from a financial point of view, due to the reduction in funding for domestic students, combined with the effects of the current pandemic recession. The situation is made worse by the intensification of competition from other host countries in attracting international students. The competition and challenge is fiercest and toughest among those host countries such as the United States, Canada, and Australia, which share the advantage of an English speaking environment. In order to remain competitive in the global HE market, it is important and essential for the British government and HEIs to understand the determinants of international student mobility, and to be able to formulate effective policies and strategies to attract more international students.

This study employs a large panel data set, pooling time series, and cross-sectional data, at aggregate country levels, covering 42 home countries over 14 years from 1994/1995 to 2007/2008, considering both push and pull factors from the home and host countries' perspectives, and combining economic, social, and political variables. As such, the study is able to achieve and provide robust empirical analysis and generalised results.

The research objectives of the study are twofold: first, to identify the determinants of international student mobility in United Kingdom HE; second, to investigate whether the determinants of British international students are heterogeneous between the developed and developing home country groups, due to the difference in economic development level. The study sheds light on the literature, leading to a better understanding of the determinants of British international student recruitment

originating from around the world in general, and from developed and developing countries in particular. Further, the study contributes to the literature with a comparative analysis of the determinants of heterogeneity between the two home country groups, identifying the factors which are most significant in each case. The findings which were generated from the study ought to help the British government (educational policy-makers) and HE institutions (practitioners) to formulate effective and efficient recruiting policies and strategies for attracting a growing number of international students. The findings also ought to help British government policy-makers and HEIs to tailor specific policies and strategies for attracting more international students from specific target countries, which is even important in the era of post-Brexit (McLeay, Lichy, & Asaad, 2020). This, in turn, might provide a background for the enhancement of the competitive position of United Kingdom higher education within the international market, with benefits including an increase in export volumes, and in the contribution of the higher education sector to the British GDP, helping to drive the economy out of current pandemic recession.

The remainder of the chapter is organised as follows. Section 2 discusses the literature and the models which have been employed in prior research. Section 3 develops a set of hypotheses. Section 4 discusses the research methodology. Section 5 presents the results and discussions. The final section summarises the key conclusions, and explores the policy implications.

## 2 LITERATURE AND MODELS

Within the existing literature, three main models have been employed to analyse the determinants of international student mobility: these are the gravity model (Bessey, 2007; Karemera et al., 2000; Sa & Lourenco, 2019; Sa et al., 2004), the push-pull model (Cantwell et al., 2009; Donkor, Mazumder, Hosseinzadeh, & Roy, 2020; Li & Bray, 2007; Mazzarol & Soutar, 2002; McMahon, 1992); and the three-category model (Naidoo, 2007). Building on the former (a gravity model), the latter two models have been developed to explain the determinants of international student mobility, with the push-pull model considering push and pull factors from home and host country perspectives, and three-category model focusing on social, economic, and political dimensions of the determinant mix.

## 2.1 A Gravity Model

Tinbergen (1962) first introduced a gravity model to predict and describe international flows of goods and services, capital, and people between two countries  $i$  and  $j$  as:

$$F_{ij} = G \frac{M_i M_j}{D_{ij}}$$

where  $F$  is the trade flow,  $M$  is the economic size of each country,  $D$  is the distance between the two countries, and  $G$  is a constant. The model was later used to explain international migration and international student mobility. Karemera et al. (2000) argued that “a gravity model is a reduced form equation derived from a system of demand and supply relationships” (p. 1746), and developed a model of migration between two countries based on potential supply and demand factors. The supply factors include home country income, population, and other push considerations, while demand factors include host country income, population, and the pull factors arising from them. They modified Tinbergen’s gravity equation as follows:

$$F_{ij} = a_o \frac{S_i^{a1} D_j^{a2}}{R_{ij} a^3}$$

In this equation,  $S$  represents supply factors,  $D$  demand factors, and  $R$  natural and artificial factors enhancing or restraining migration between the two countries, such as distance, travel costs, host country visa regulations, and home country restrictions on travel and residence abroad. All of these factors reflect the specific political, economic, and demographic characteristics of the home and host countries (Karemera et al., 2000). Using the modified gravity model, Karemera et al. (2000) investigated the determinants of international migration to North America between 1976 and 1986. They found that population and income factors were important in explaining migration flows, and that the population of the home country was the most significant determinant of migration flows. The domestic political variable was also found to have a significant influence on the size and composition of migration flows. Sa et al. (2004) have employed a similar approach to examine the determinants of the regional demand for HE in the Netherlands. The main finding which was generated from their study was that distance and accommodation costs deterred

the geographic mobility of students. The distance effect was found to be heterogeneous, even between the regions of a relatively small country—it was found to be significantly more elastic in the south-west of the Netherlands, and in the more remote northern areas, as compared with the central and eastern areas of the country. More recently, Sa and Lourenco (2019) investigate the impact of spatial and socio-economic factors on student mobility in Portuguese HE. They concluded that a young population is positively associated, while local HE supply is negatively associated, with student outgoing flow.

## 2.2 *A Push-Pull Model*

Lee (1966) developed the push-pull model classifying factors into push and pull categories to explain the determinants of human migration. More recently, the push-pull model has been employed to explain international student mobility (for example, Cantwell et al., 2009; Li & Bray, 2007; Mazzarol & Soutar, 2002). The push factors refer to the home country characteristics of international students which push them to go abroad for their HE. These factors include home country economic wealth, population, and HE capacity (especially in developing countries). As mentioned above, the pattern and trend of international student mobility have changed dramatically over the last two decades, as the number and proportion of international students originating in the developing world (China and India, for example) have increased significantly. These countries have been developing rapidly in recent decades, their national economies have been growing, and their citizens have become wealthier, with increases in disposable income which enable them to study abroad for their HE. As these countries generally possess large and young populations, the potential demand for HE is high. Rapid and accelerating economic development places a greater demand on a country's human capital, which generates further demand for HE. However, since most of the developing countries do not have adequate capacity within their HE infrastructure to meet this rising demand, this combination of processes pushes the students towards the option of studying abroad (Lee & Tan, 1984; Li & Bray, 2007; McMahon, 1992). In any case, it is believed by many individuals in the developing world that a foreign degree from a developed Western country such as the United Kingdom will be more valuable for their academic study and future career preparation. The



expectation is also much higher for them to secure a job in their home countries (Altbach, 1991).

Pull factors refer to the specific host country characteristics which attract foreign student to the country. These characteristics include geographical and cultural proximity, common language, exchange rate factors (a major consideration in determining the affordability of study in a given country), and the policies of the host country's government with regard to international education, including, crucially, migration and visa regulations, and the availability of scholarships and education aid. The major pull factors for the United Kingdom as a host country include its common (English) language, geographic and cultural proximity to its European neighbours, historic (colonial) links with the developing world, and the government's proactive engagement in the international student market in recent years, notably through the activities of the British Council.

Using the push-pull model, McMahon (1992) examined the push and pull factors which determine the recruitment of international students from 18 developing countries to study in US HEIs during the 60s and early 70s. The study found that push factors such as home country economic strength (GDP per capita), involvement in global trade, and educational emphasis significantly influenced the decision of students to study abroad, while the increasing strength of the home country's economy was found to have a negative influence; the level of the home country's involvement in the global economy, and the degree of emphasis on education in the country's national culture, were both found to have positive effects. With respect to the pull factors, the study found that the relative economic size and extent of trade links between the host and home countries were positive, while the existence of foreign aid programmes from the host to home countries was negatively associated with the recruitment of international students. Using a similar approach but a different data set, Mazarol and Soutar (2002) investigated the factors which influence the choice of international students' study destinations by conducting student surveys in Indonesia, Taiwan, China, and India. They found that four main push factors motivate students to study abroad: the students' perception that an overseas course is better than a local course, the students' ability to gain entry to local programmes, a desire to gain a better understanding of Western culture, and an intention to migrate after graduation. The research also identified the pull factors which attracted the students into a particular host country, such as better

knowledge or awareness about the host country, social links, geographic proximity, the costs of studying and living, and aspects of the environment in the host country. More recently, Donkor et al. (2020) revealed that the scholarship opportunity, quality of HE, and course availability are the key factors which motivate international students who study in European countries.

### 2.3 *The Three-Category Model*

Based on the modified gravity model and the push-pull model, Naidoo (2007) summarised the determinants of demand for international education, differentiating three categories (social, economic, and political). Social factors include the level of affinity between the host and home countries, the pedagogical and academic reputation of educational institutions in the host country; geographic/cultural proximity between the host and home countries, and potential migration opportunities in the host country. Economic factors include exchange rates between the host and home countries, tuition fees, and the perceived cost of living in the host country. Political factors include the promotion of international education through the host country's foreign policy, and the role of education in development aid programmes. Using this approach, Naidoo (2007) explored the determinants of international student recruitment in British HEIs over the 1985–2003 time period, and found that the most significant considerations were access to domestic education opportunities in the home country, the level of integration of the home country within the global economy, and tuition fees in the host country.

## 3 HYPOTHESES

According to the previous studies, international student mobility is influenced by a set of factors including home country economic wealth, relative exchange rate, economic/bilateral trade links, home country population, geographic distance between the host and home countries, historic/linguistic links, and host country government policy towards international students.

### 3.1 *Home Country Economic Wealth*

Previous studies have found that home country economic wealth is one of the key drivers for students to study abroad. Students from wealthier economies are more likely to be able to go abroad for their HE, because they have more disposable income than those students from poorer countries with less dynamic economies. They do not necessarily rely on scholarships and are more mobile for their HE (Bessey, 2007). It might, therefore, be expected:

Hypothesis 1 (H1): A high level of home country economic wealth will be positively associated with the number of British international students.

### 3.2 *Relative Exchange Rate*

A high relative exchange rate of the British pound sterling over the home country currency means that the British pound sterling is weaker relative to the home country currency, and vice versa, a low relative exchange rate of the British pound sterling over the home currency indicates the British pound sterling is stronger over the home currency. A relatively weak currency in the host country might attract international student inflows, because costs of studying in that country will be lower. The same amount of home currency could buy more goods and services in the host country. Stated simply, the same tuition fees and living costs will require less home currency. On the contrary, a strong currency in the host country might deter international student inflows, because the strong currency will make studying in the host country more expensive. It could be expected:

Hypothesis 2 (H2): A high relative exchange rate of United Kingdom over home countries will be positively associated with the number of international students coming to the United Kingdom from those countries.

### 3.3 *Economic Link*

A strong economic link, measured by bilateral trade between the host and home countries, might indicate a high level of economic integration between the countries (Zheng, 2009). A higher bilateral trade level implies a stronger economic tie, a dependence on each other, and more knowledge and awareness of the trade partner country (McMahon, 1992). It could be expected that a stronger economic link and more

bilateral trade between the two countries ought to lead to more international student flows from the home country into the United Kingdom HE market.

Hypothesis 3 (H3): A strong economic link between the United Kingdom and home countries will be positively associated with the number of students coming to the United Kingdom from those countries.

### *3.4 Home Country Population*

A home country with a large population, especially one with a relatively large young generation, will generally have more demand for HE than a country with small or aging population. A higher proportion of young people in a country's population might lead to more needs and demands for studying abroad. It could be expected:

Hypothesis 4 (H4): A high level of young home country population will be positively associated with the number of British international students.

### *3.5 Geographical Distance*

Countries which are located in close proximity to one another are likely to have similarities in culture, and a greater mutual knowledge and understanding of each others' history, culture, and language. For example, European countries have similar political and economic regimes, similar cultures and customs. Asian countries, by contrast, have similar cultures and values, but which differ significantly from those of Europe. This factor might have both social and economic effects on international student mobility. International students studying in a foreign country face greater difficulties and higher costs than studying at home due to the necessary adaptation to a different language, culture, system, and environment (Bessey, 2007). Greater distance means that international students need to pay more for their travel and the culture in the host country might be far different from their culture, thereby making it more difficult for them to adapt to the new environment. The students might, therefore, have a strong incentive to choose a country which is nearby for less cost and more reliability.

Hypothesis 5 (H5): the geographic distance between home country and the United Kingdom will be negatively associated with the number of students coming from that country to the United Kingdom.

### 3.6 *Historical (Colonial)/Linguistic Link*

Historical (colonial) links and linguistic ties between the host and home countries might make study in the host country easier and less expensive due to the similar education system and a common language. It would be easier for students from most commonwealth countries to study in the United Kingdom because they generally have a high level of proficiency in the English language, and are already familiar with the United Kingdom HE system and regulations which are similar to those which apply in their home countries. It would also be less expensive for them because there would be no additional payments for their English learning and training. The United Kingdom common English language and its historic tie with the Commonwealth Countries will attract more students from its colonial and other English speaking countries. Therefore, it could be expected:

Hypothesis 6 (H6): Historical (colonial) and linguistic links between the United Kingdom and the home countries will be positively-associated with the number of students coming to the United Kingdom from those countries.

### 3.7 *Host Government Preferential Policy*

The attitude and policy of a host country's government towards international students is expected to be an influential factor. The Prime Minister's Initiative (PMI), a five-year programme to promote United Kingdom higher education overseas, was launched by the British government in June 1999, and aimed to increase the number of international (primarily non-EU) students by 75,000 in the years to 2005. Following the success of this first phase, the second phase of the PMI was launched in April 2006, a further five-year project, aiming to attract an additional 100,000 international students by 2011, and to encourage collaborative partnerships between the United Kingdom and foreign institutions. The PMI has provided a series of promotional policies, including investment in a British education marketing campaign which is managed by the British Council,

the streamlining of visa arrangements, an increase in the number of scholarships, and the International Graduate Scheme (IGS), which has allowed non-EU students to work in the United Kingdom for up to one year after completing their studies. These promotional policies could be expected to attract more international students coming to the United Kingdom for their HE. Therefore:

Hypothesis 7 (H7): The British government preferential policies will be positively associated with the number of international students coming to the United Kingdom.

#### 4 METHODOLOGY

The study was conducted at the aggregate country level by employing a large panel data set which covers 42 home countries (see Table 2), and which accounts for 84% of the total number of international students coming to the United Kingdom over 14 years from 1994/1995 to 2007/2008. All major home countries including the top 20 home countries which account for 70% of the total number of British international students are covered for estimation except Taiwan, due to data availability problems. The 42 home countries are from five continents around the world, including both developed OECD and developing non-OECD economies. Due to their differences in economic development level, geographic location, and cultural orientation, the determinants of United Kingdom inward student mobility might be heterogeneous between the developed and developing home countries. The whole sample, therefore, will be categorised into the two home country groups for further investigation of the heterogeneity.

Baltagi (2005) and Hsiao (2003) note that panel data have several advantages over time series or cross-sectional data because of more degrees of freedom, less multi-collinearity, and more variation in the data, which results in greater efficiency of the estimators. Panel data can also control heterogeneity and study dynamics, and can test more complicated behavioural hypotheses compared to a single time series or cross-section. Panel data generate better predictions and provide micro-foundations for aggregate data analysis, and might also reduce bias arising from sample selection problems and attrition.

**Table 2** Home countries

	<i>Country</i>	<i>Country category</i>	<i>Historic/language dummy</i>
1	Australia	OECD	1
2	Austria	OECD	0
3	Belgium	OECD	0
4	Brazil	Non-OECD	0
5	Canada	OECD	1
6	China	Non-OECD	0
7	Cyprus	Non-OECD	0
8	Denmark	OECD	0
9	Finland	OECD	0
10	France	OECD	0
11	Germany	OECD	0
12	Greece	OECD	0
13	HK	Non-OECD	1
14	Hungary	OECD	0
15	India	Non-OECD	1
16	Indonesia	Non-OECD	0
17	Iran	Non-OECD	0
18	Ireland	OECD	1
19	Israel	Non-OECD	0
20	Italy	OECD	0
21	Japan	OECD	0
22	Kenya	Non-OECD	1
23	Korea	OECD	0
24	Malaysia	Non-OECD	1
25	Mauritius	Non-OECD	1
26	Mexico	OECD	0
27	Netherlands	OECD	0
28	Nigeria	Non-OECD	1
29	Norway	OECD	0
30	Pakistan	Non-OECD	1
31	Portugal	OECD	0
32	Saudi Arabia	Non-OECD	0
33	Singapore	Non-OECD	1
34	South Africa	Non-OECD	1
35	Spain	OECD	0
36	Sri Lanka	Non-OECD	0
37	Sweden	OECD	0
38	Switzerland	OECD	0
39	Thailand	Non-OECD	0

(continued)

**Table 2** (continued)

	<i>Country</i>	<i>Country category</i>	<i>Historic/language dummy</i>
40	Turkey	OECD	0
41	USA	OECD	1
42	Zimbabwe	Non-OECD	1

Based on the three models which were described and on the hypotheses posed above, this study employs an expanded model considering both push and pull factors from home and host countries perspectives, combining economic, social, and political aspect variables. The estimate model (1a) and its log-linear version (1b) are structured as follows:

International students enrolment in British HEIs  
 $= f$  (home country economic wealth, economic link,  
 relative exchange rate, home country population, geographic distance,  
 historic/linguistic link, host country policy) (1a)

$$\begin{aligned} \text{LISE} = & \alpha + \beta_1 \text{LGDP} + \beta_2 \text{LGGDP} \\ & + \beta_3 \text{LGDPP} + \beta_4 \text{LEX} + \beta_5 \text{LIM} + \beta_6 \text{LREXR} \\ & + \beta_7 \text{POP} + \beta_8 \text{LGD} + \beta_9 \text{LD} + \beta_{10} \text{TD} + \varepsilon_{it} \end{aligned} \quad (1b)$$

The dependant variable is international student enrolment (ISE) in British HEIs from the 42 home countries in each academic year from 1994/1995 to 2007/2008. The data source is the Higher Education Statistics Agency (HESA) database: Students in Higher Education Institutions. The independent variables include economic factors: home country economic wealth (GDP, GGDP, and GDPP), relative exchange rate (REXR), and economic link (EX and IM); social factors: home country population (POP), historic/linguistic links (LD), and geographic distance (GD); and one political factor: host country government preferential policies towards international students (TD). Among these factors, the home country economic wealth and population can be categorised as push forces; while relative exchange rate, economic link, historic/linguistic link, geographic distance, and the host country policy can be categorised as pull forces. Table 3 presents the specifications of the dependant and independent variables and their data sources.



**Table 3** Variables for determinants of UK international student mobility

<i>Variable</i>	<i>Proxy</i>	<i>Expected sign</i>	<i>Theoretical justification</i>	<i>Data source</i>
ISE (Dependant variable)	LISE: international students enrolment in UK higher education			HESA <i>Students in Higher Education Institutions</i>
Economic wealth—GDP	LGDP: home country GDP (in PPP)	+	Push—Economic factor	<i>World Development Indicators</i>
Economic wealth—GGDP	GGDP: home country GDP growth	+	Push—Economic factor	<i>World Development Indicators</i>
Economic wealth—GDPP	GDPP: home country GDP per capita	+	Push—Economic factor	<i>World Development Indicators</i>
Exchange rate	LREXR: official exchange rate between UK and home country	+	Pull—Economic factor	<i>World Development Indicators</i>
Economic link—Exports	LEX: UK exports to home country	+	Pull—Economic factor	<i>IMF Direction of Trade Statistics</i>
Economic link—Imports	LIM: UK imports from home country	+	Pull—Economic factor	<i>IMF Direction of Trade Statistics</i>
Population	LPOP: home country population ages 15–64 (% of total)	+	Push—Social factor	<i>World Development Indicators</i>
Geographic distance	LGD: Geographic distance between London and home country capital city	–	Pull—Social factor	calculated by <a href="http://www.geobytes.com/CityDistanceTool.htm">http://www.geobytes.com/CityDistanceTool.htm</a>
Historic (colonial)/linguistic link (language dummy)	LD = 1 home country sharing a common language (English) or colonial history	+	Pull—Social factor	(See Appendix 2 for LD value)

(continued)

**Table 3** (continued)

<i>Variable</i>	<i>Proxy</i>	<i>Expected sign</i>	<i>Theoretical justification</i>	<i>Data source</i>
Preferential policy (time dummy)	TD: year 2000 onwards = 1, reflect UK PMI project influence	+	Pull—Political factor	

It is important to note that the British government's strict immigration control policy, which was implemented in 2010, might have a negative effect on international student inflows. However, this potentially negative policy influence cannot be examined in this study because it falls outside the time period under consideration (1994–2008). Therefore, only the effect of the preferential policy which was pursued within the time period will be investigated.

## 5 RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The correlation matrix (see Table 4) shows a high correlation between export (LEX) and import (LIM) (coefficient 0.8749). The results of the variance inflation factor (VIF) test (see Table 5), however, do not suggest any serious problems of multi-collinearity (see O'Brien, 2007). The Eq. (1a, 1b) will be estimated by the feasible generalised least squares (GLS) statistical model which can handle both heteroscedasticity and correlations for obtaining unbiased, consistent, asymptotically normal, and efficient estimators, compared to the ordinary least squares (OLS) model. The empirical results for the determinants of British international student mobility are reported in Table 2.

Column 1 of Table 4 presents the results which were generated from the GLS model for the whole sample (the 42 countries which were currently studied). All explanatory variables are statistically significant at the 1% level, except for the variables of LGDP (PPP), import (LIM), and geographic distance (LGD) which are not significant. Among the three variables of the economic wealth factor, GDP growth (LGGDP) and GDP per capita (LGDPP) are significant at the same 1% level but

**Table 4** Results for determinants of UK international student mobility

	<i>Whole sample (1)</i>	<i>OECD (2)</i>	<i>Non-OECD (3)</i>
LGDP	-0.02 (0.05)	0.21 (0.08)**	-0.05 (0.07)
LGGDP	0.16 (0.04)***	0.18 (0.06)***	0.14 (0.06)**
LGDPD	-0.38 (0.06)***	0.47 (0.17)***	-0.41 (0.09)***
LREXR	0.07 (0.02)***	0.00 (0.03)	0.05 (0.02)**
LEX	0.54 (0.09)***	1.06 (0.14)***	0.29 (0.11)***
LIM	-0.08 (0.05)	-0.72 (0.11)***	0.24 (0.08)***
LPOP	3.58 (0.74)***	2.79 (1.44)*	4.95 (0.96)***
LGD	0.04 (0.06)	-0.03 (0.09)	-1.19 (0.21)***
LD	0.37 (0.10)***	-0.26 (0.16)	0.78 (0.13)***
TD	0.36 (0.07)***	0.12 (0.08)	0.42 (0.10)***
NT	554	309	245

Notes 1. Standard errors are in parentheses

2. \*\*\*, \*\* and \* indicate that the coefficient is significant at the 1%, 5%, and 10% levels, respectively

with opposite signs. GDP growth has a positive effect on international student inflows to the United Kingdom, supporting H1 that higher home country GDP growth will push more international students to the United Kingdom. GDP per capita, however, is negatively associated with international student flows. Indeed, the lower the home country GDP per capita, the higher the international student flows from home countries to the United Kingdom. A potential reason behind the result might be a high involvement in international student mobility from developing countries. The number of international students from developing countries in Asia, Africa, and South America has been rapidly increasing in the last two decades, although the level of GDP per capita in these countries is still very low. Among the top 20 home countries of British international students between 1994/1905 and 2007/2008, four developing countries' GDP per capita (In PPP, the figures are even smaller

**Table 5** Descriptive statistics and correlations

<i>Variable</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>Std. Dev.</i>	<i>Min</i>	<i>Max</i>	<i>lise</i>	<i>lgdp</i>	<i>lggdp</i>	<i>lgdpp</i>	<i>lrexr</i>	<i>lex</i>	<i>lim</i>	<i>lpop</i>	<i>lgd</i>	<i>ld</i>
<i>lise</i>	8.0346610.952418	5.91350310.8719												
<i>lgdp</i>	26.544869	1.504741	22.44926	30.19597	0.3467									
<i>lggdp</i>	1.1989420.785204	-3.27334	2.572612	0.1319	-0.074									
<i>lgdpp</i>	9.4726631.115387	6.059637	10.80687	0.1728	0.1831	-0.2158								
<i>lrexr</i>	-2.3062	2.528396	-9.87005	4.384024	0.2327	-0.0128	-0.1927	0.4549						
<i>lex</i>	21.61021	1.460141	17.25541	24.68114	0.4775	0.6307	-0.1755	0.6472	0.4644					
<i>lim</i>	21.79164	1.535299	17.54083	25.02622	0.4377	0.5728	-0.1406	0.6043	0.4085	0.8749				
<i>lpop</i>	4.1737420.076195	3.920236	4.309042	0.1881	0.1987	0.0685	0.6643	0.1082	0.3407	0.4875				
<i>lgd</i>	7.6417111.108941	5.288267	9.265302	-0.1261	0.0051	0.2653	-0.5013	-0.4174	-0.5686	-0.4619	-0.1733			
<i>ld</i>	0.3333330.471806	0	1	1	0.1827	-0.1545	0.1831	-0.2934	0.0066	-0.1199	-0.1176	-0.32050.4345		
<i>td</i>	0.5714290.495293	0	1	1	0.1818	0.1201	-0.0204	0.1026	-0.1192	0.0361	0.102	0.17630.0159	-0.0133	

in nominal terms.) are still below US\$7000 in 2009—China US\$6675, India US\$3248, Pakistan US\$2625, and Nigeria US\$2150 (World Bank, 2010)—these being at least five times lower than that of the developed OECD countries.

The relative exchange rate variable (LREXR) is positively significant with the correct sign, indicating that a weaker United Kingdom sterling pound will attract more international student inflows, and therefore supporting H2. This finding supports the conventional theory. Interestingly, the results for the two bilateral trade link variables, export (LEX) and import (LIM), are different from one another. The export variable (LEX) is positively significant at 1% level which supports H3, while the import variable (LIM) is insignificant with negative sign. These results might imply that exports from the United Kingdom to the home countries are important as pull factors attracting international students from the home countries, but that the imports from the home countries to the United Kingdom have no influence on British international student mobility.

The home country young population variable (LPOP) is positively significant with the largest coefficient at 3.58, supporting H4: a 1% increase in young population leads to a 3.58% increase in the number of British international students. The home country's larger young population, and the attendant increases in demand for HE, act as push factors, pushing more international student flows into the United Kingdom for their HE. This result might reflect significantly larger young population in developing countries in the recent decades.

The geographic distance variable (LGD) is not statistically significant, which does not support H5. The finding might suggest that distance between the host and home countries is generally not an important determinant of international student flows into the United Kingdom. Globalisation and economic integration between countries might reduce the influence of geographic distance on international student flows.

Historic (colonial) and language tie variable (LD) are positively significant as expected, which supports H6. It indicates that the United Kingdom attracts more international students particularly from the Commonwealth countries with which it has colonial ties, and from other English speaking countries. Again, the host government's preferential policies variable (TD) is positively significant, which supports H7. The finding implies that the PMI project has had a significant pull effect on international students studying in the United Kingdom.

In summary, the empirical results suggest that home country GDP growth, GDP per capita, relative exchange rate between the host and home countries, the United Kingdom exports to the home countries, home country demographics, historic/linguistic links, and British government's preferential policies are important determinants for international students from worldwide flows into the United Kingdom.

Due to the home countries' differences in economic development levels, geographic locations and cultural orientations, the determinants of international student mobility might be heterogeneous between developing and developed countries. Exploring the differences in orientations of international students in Mexico, Cantwell et al. (2009) found that the students from North America and Europe seemed more interested in short-term study and the overall experience of studying than in earning a degree in Mexico. Students from Latin America tended to be more interested in gaining their degree in Mexico. The literature has demonstrated the determinants of international student outflows from developing countries into developed countries (see Agarwal & Winkler, 1985; Lee & Tan, 1984; Mazzarol & Soutar, 2002; McMahon, 1992), but little literature has addressed the flow from developed to developed countries at a macro country level. However, among the top 20 home countries of British international students, 11 countries are developed OECD countries located in Europe and North America (except Japan), while nine countries are developing non-OECD countries mainly in Asia. A similar proportion among the whole sample—the 42 countries which were studied—23 countries are developed OECD countries. It is essential to investigate the determinants of international student mobility for these two country groups separately to be able to establish whether the determinants are heterogeneous between the two groups. The study, therefore, classified the whole country sample into a developing non-OECD group and a developed OECD group, based on their OECD membership status. The results are presented in column 2 for the developed OECD group and column 3 for the developing non-OECD group, respectively.

All three economic wealth variables are positively significant for the developed country group. A high level of GDP (PPP), GDP growth, and GDP per capita in the OECD developed countries are associated with a high number of British international students from these countries. However, the results for the developing group are different and more complicated. GDP growth variable is positively significant, GDP (PPP)

is not significant, and GDP per capita is significant but with an unexpected negative sign. As noted above, developing countries generally have much lower levels of GDP and GDP per capita. However, those countries, particularly the emerging countries in Asia and South America, have achieved remarkably high GDP growth rates in the last three decades. Some of these countries, such as China and India, the two fastest growing economies in the world, have growth rates which are much higher than those of developed countries. It could be argued that the GDP per capita might not be a suitable measure of economic wealth for the developing countries.

The two groups have different results on the relative exchange rate variable, positively significant for the developing group and insignificant for the developed group, which might indicate that the relative exchange rate is an important factor for students from developing countries, but not for those from the developed world.

While the results for the export variable are positively significant for both groups, the results for the import variable tell a different story, though both are significant but with different signs—negative for the developed group and positive for the developing group. The results might imply that the bilateral trade (both exports and imports) between the United Kingdom and developing countries pull international students from these countries to the United Kingdom. However, only exports from the United Kingdom to developed countries have an encouragement pull effect, while imports from developed countries to the United Kingdom deter or discourage the student outflows from the home countries to the United Kingdom.

The population variable is positively significant for both groups. Comparing the coefficients, the one for the developing group (4.95) is larger than that of the developed group (2.79). A 1% increase in the developing countries' populations leads to a 4.95% increase in British international students from these countries. The finding, to some extent, confirms the argument that a surplus in demand for over-supply of HE in developing countries is the most important determinant for the flow of international students from developing into developed countries. The economies of many developing countries have grown very rapidly in the last three decades, none more so than the two largest emerging giants, China and India, with the largest populations in the world, and which rank first and eighth, respectively, in the flow of international students into British HEIs. Developing countries also have much larger and younger

populations compared to those of developed countries. However, as noted earlier, unlike the developed world, these developing countries have not developed enough capacity to accommodate their domestic students, and are unable to meet the significantly increased demands for HE at home. China's HEIs, for example, can only accommodate less than half of the students who take national university entry exams (Kaufman & Goodman, 2000). The rapidly increasing population and demand for HE in developing countries has the effect of pushing many students to study overseas.

The three variables of geographic distance (LGD), historic/linguistic link (LD), and preferential policy (TD) seem not to be significant at all for the developed country group, suggesting that these factors are not very important for international students from OECD developed countries. For the developing group, these three variables are all significant at 1% level with the expected signs. British international students from developed countries are mostly from Europe and North America, in which the culture is similar to that of Britain. The United Kingdom is a near-by and less expensive option (in terms of travel) to students, especially from European countries. It is also easier for European and North American students to adapt themselves in the United Kingdom, due to cultural similarities. British international students from developing countries are from Asia, Africa, and South America, which are geographically far away from the United Kingdom. Their cultures are also diverse and different from the culture of the United Kingdom. The geographic and cultural distances are concerns for the students from those developing countries. However, the United Kingdom attracts more international students from those developing countries which have historic colonial ties with the United Kingdom. The result indicates that the British government's preferential policy is an important determinant of British international student mobility from the developing countries. As noted earlier, the PMI aims at increasing the number of (especially non-EU) international students and provides a series of promotional policies including the streamlining of visa arrangements for the non-EU students, increasing the number of scholarships and International Graduate Scheme (IGS). It can be concluded that the British government's preferential policy plays a very important role in attracting international students from developing non-EU countries.

In summary, the determinants of British international student mobility are heterogeneous between the two home country groups due to the differences in economic development level, geographic location, and



cultural orientation. Economic, social, and political factors are important to international students from developing non-OECD countries, while the home country economic wealth, the bilateral trade link, and the home country population are more important than other factors for the developed OECD countries.

## 6 CONCLUSION

This study explored the determinants of international student mobility in United Kingdom higher education. Using a large panel data set, the empirical results generated from the GLS model suggest that home country economic wealth, relative exchange rate, the United Kingdom exports to the home countries, home country young population, historic/linguistic link, and the British government's preferential policies are important determinants for British international students from around the world. The study also suggests that the determinants of British international student mobility are heterogeneous between the two home country groups due to their economic development level and geographic/cultural differences. All economic, social, and political factors are important to British international students from developing non-OECD countries, while the home country economic wealth, bilateral trade link, and home country population are more important than other factors for the students from developed OECD countries.

In attempting to attract more international students, and maintain its competitiveness in the world HE market, the British government and HEIs ought to target developed countries with high GDP (in both PPP and per capita) and GDP growth, and developing countries with high GDP growth rate in particular. The British government and HEIs also ought to target both developed and developing countries with large young populations. Particular attention ought to be paid to developing countries with strong currencies and colonial ties, and which are geographically proximate to the United Kingdom. Further efforts ought to be made to promote the bilateral trade with developing countries, increasing not only exports to, but also imports from, the targeted countries. As noted earlier, the government's strict immigration control might deter international students from coming to study in the United Kingdom. Effective and efficient visa and immigration policies, therefore, ought to be further developed and implemented, and more education

aid ought to be provided, in order to attract the best and the brightest overseas students from the non-EU developing world.

It is important for British HEIs to identify specific needs and wants of international students from different countries, especially the targeted countries and regions. International students from different countries and regions are more likely to choose different subjects to study, due to the differences in economic development levels and the human capital types which are demanded in their home countries. For example, students from China are more likely to study for business, law, finance, and accounting degrees, while students from Japan are more likely to study media, art, and psychology-related degrees. British HEIs, therefore, need to design specific programmes to meet the different needs of international students, especially those from the target markets.

It ought to be noted that the analysis of aggregate data cannot detect how the personal or university factors (university academic reputation, course structure, and tuition fees, for example) influence individual British international student decisions. Future study, therefore, ought to be conducted at an individual level through questionnaires and interviews, to identify the determinants of international students choosing specific universities in the United Kingdom, which cannot be considered by an aggregate country level investigation.

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# English Medium Instruction as a Vehicle for Language Teaching or a Product for Marketing? The Case of Turkey

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## 1 INTRODUCTION

The distinction between economic, social, and cultural goods, and the boundary conditions between them has been the subject of much debate. English medium instruction (EMI) is framed variably as a means of cultural learning, or as a relic of the British colonial project, a social good which is offered to public language learning or a marketing tool for selling education to an international audience (Léglise & Migge, 2007; Pennycook, 1998; Pihama, 2019). In this chapter, we consider EMI from a lens which is less discussed in education literature: as

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a product to market schools, commercialisation, and marketisation of education. Polanyi (1944/2001) warned us over 75 years ago that the liberal demands for blurring of boundaries between social, economic, and cultural goods, subordinate social and cultural systems to economic systems and rationales. When a social good is commercialised and marketed with economic motives, the way it is produced, engagement, and the relationship of the actors which produce and consume the social good transforms are dominated by economic rationales (Polanyi, 2001; Riep, 2019). EMI as a social and cultural good is governed by rationales of education, learning, skilling of public, improving internationalisation, communication between people, and capturing globalisation (Ball & Junemann, 2012; Hogan et al., 2015). Yet when EMI is considered as an economic good, other motives such as profitability, education as a commodity, affordability, and education as an economic privilege could come to the fore, underlining the social and economic motives for EMI (Apple, 2001; Lynch, 2016). In this chapter, we question universal treatment of EMI without regard for its different uses across different settings, by exploring and illustrating the complexities of how EMI is used variably by educational institutions for marketing their higher education (HE) programmes.

There has been a growing trend towards teaching academic subjects (business, psychology, mathematics, and science, for example) in English at the university level in many countries where English is not the native language (Dearden, 2014; Fenton-Smith et al., 2018; Jiang, Zhang, & May, 2019; Macaro, Tian, & Chu, 2018). Research on EMI (Macaro, Akincioglu, & Han, 2020; Wachter & Maiworm, 2014) shows that the number of EMI programmes in higher education has risen dramatically across non-English-speaking countries. Wachter and Maiworm (2014) find that the number of EMI programmes at bachelor and master levels in Europe has increased from 800 to 8000 since the early 2000s. The Middle East, Latin America, and Asia have seen similar trends. The study by Tsou and Kao (2017) reported a 50% increase in EMI programmes offered in Taiwan over the period from 2009 to 2014, leading to 24,077 EMI programmes.

As the EMI has become widespread across many countries, except for some remarkable efforts to protect education in national languages, the motives for having EMI have become more varied. The main reasons which are often cited for using EMI in HE include the need for universities to become more international institutions in parallel with the

emergent role of English as the lingua franca (Rose & Galloway, 2019; Van Parijs, 2011), despite some cautionary notes that English as a lingua franca remains a fragmented, layered, and complicated issue (Mufwene, 2010). At a more critical level, Kamasak et al. (2020) identify that EMI serves to advance the colonisation of mind by transposing English language constructs and cultural artefacts to otherwise culturally and socially remote geographies.

There are other more economy- and policy-related reasons for EMI, such as cultivating students with a high calibre of academic and communication skills in English, particularly to improve prospects of job mobility and employability (Bozdoğan & Karlıdağ, 2013; Earls, 2016). As such, educational institutions in countries with national languages which are less appealing for international students use EMI as a tool for marketing. EMI might help them increase the global visibility of the country's and the specific institution's educational system, cutting national costs in HE investment, promoting state universities to compete with private universities, and encouraging academics to produce research publications in the English language (Knight, 2013; Macaro et al., 2018). The social and policy motives for EMI are often complicated and conflicted by national drives for cultural and social protectionism, aided by drives for international competition and globalisation. Pressures for international completion often temper nationalist and protectionist tendencies which exist in non-English educational settings (Bağlama, 2019).

In addition to these reasons, some scholars (Cho, 2012; Ellili-Cherif & Alkhateeb, 2015; Hamid, Jahan, & Islam, 2013) suggest that EMI is offered by institutions in order to market their programmes, and attract high-quality scholars and national and foreign students and their families who perceive HE in English language as more prestigious. Indeed, most of the international educational accreditation quality-ranking standards are in English language. These programmes and standards which they espouse render EMI a crucial element of international recognition and student recruitment from wider pools of talent.

Despite the dramatic increase of EMI programmes globally, previous studies (Jiang et al., 2019; Probyn, 2001; Sampson, 2012; Sultana, 2014, for example) conducted in different EMI contexts have shown various problems in relation to a number of factors such as student challenges, teacher and student beliefs of EMI effectiveness, and poor learning environments which have implications for EMI success. There is also some resistance in countries where English is not an official or local language to

have EMI. Although EMI aims to contribute to content knowledge and linguistic knowledge of students, at the end there is a danger that neither can be achieved if EMI does not deliver appropriately embedded content which could be used in the local setting (Doiz & Lasagabaster, 2020). In particular, there is the danger of the ‘colonisation of the mind’, to borrow a phrase from Fanon (1967, 1986) in non-English language settings. Countries like Brazil, Spain, and Turkey which join in the expanding circle of Kachru’s (1985) model of World Englishes experience a rapid and uncontrolled increase of EMI in their HE sectors (Aslan, 2017; Di Paolo & Tansel, 2015). Against the questionable benefits of EMI, a lot of universities across the world ambitiously adopt EMI programmes to market their degree programmes. Thus, this chapter addresses the problems of the universal treatment of EMI, by exploring and illustrating the complexities of how EMI is used variably by educational institutions in different countries (with a particular focus on Turkey) for marketing their HE programmes.

## 2 ENGLISH MEDIUM INSTRUCTION IN HIGHER EDUCATION

English Medium Instruction is defined as “the use of the English language to teach academic subjects (other than English itself) in countries or jurisdictions where the first language of the majority of the population is not English” (Macaro et al., 2018, p. 37). Although a “widely purported benefit of EMI is that it kills two birds with one stone, in other words, students simultaneously acquire both English and content knowledge” (Rose et al., 2019, p. 2), the primary aim of EMI is to teach academic content rather than to teach language itself (Dearden, 2014; Smit & Dafouz-Milne, 2012). There is still an ongoing debate in the EMI literature (Dearden, 2014; Evans, 2002; Hu et al., 2013; Lyster & Ballinger, 2011; Royce, 1994, for example) in determining whether the aim and focus of EMI ought to be to promote language proficiency, content learning, or both. According to Jiménez-Muñoz (2014), “the controversy over the usefulness of EMI to promote excellence in both content and language learning” (p. 30) creates a major problem for researchers to offer a common definition on EMI.

In a recent systematic review, Macaro et al. (2018) find that “the labels given to the phenomenon of EMI and their definition are inconsistent and problematic” (p. 46). The distinctions in understanding and defining



EMI emerge from the blurring roles attributed to EMI and the variety of provision of EMI programmes in different higher educational contexts (Dearden, 2014; Fenton-Smith et al., 2018). These differences led to a complexity of the definition of EMI. Consequently, linguistic scholars have paid considerable attention to provide an EMI definition which can satisfy the expectations of EMI stakeholders (Jiménez-Muñoz, 2014; Macaro, 2018). Yet the demands for consistency in definitions might underplay the complexity of EMI in terms of its use, delivery, content, and utility across different institutional and national HE systems.

Two research streams focus on the effectiveness of EMI (Dearden, 2014; Dearden & Macaro, 2016; Macaro et al., 2018). While one research stream (Ali, 2013; Beacco & Byram, 2003; Coleman, 2006; Smit & Dafouz-Milne, 2012, for example) considers EMI as a useful tool for enhancing both students' English proficiency and content comprehension, the other stream (Chapple, 2015; Hynninen, 2012; Hu et al., 2013, for example) suggests that the achievement of this dual aim through EMI is dubious. Some researchers (Ibrahim, 2001; Kim, 2011, for example) attribute the dual achievement potential of EMI to Krashen's (1982) 'Input Hypothesis' such that "EMI students are more exposed to English (comprehensible input), and thus, have a greater chance to use and [improve] it (comprehensible output)" (Williams, 2015, p. 9). Yet this might not always be the case. It is difficult to make generalisations about the overall utility of EMI, because there are many factors which cause variations in reception and utility of EMI in any specific setting, such as the cultural, historical, political, geographical, and social proximity and distance of the English-speaking countries to the specific setting where EMI is practised.

Empirical research which investigated the relationship between EMI and language proficiency and academic success yielded mixed results. In an early study by Johnson and Swain (1997), native English students learning French in academic content classes where French was used as the medium of instruction achieved both advanced language skills and satisfactory academic performance. According to Brinton et al. (2003), EMI provides learners with an ideal learning situation where the negotiation of content knowledge in English occurs and enables students to improve their linguistic skills while learning academic content. Similarly, Rose et al. (2019) found in the Japanese HE context that students saw a number of perceived benefits of EMI, such as maintaining the quality of content learning and improving English language knowledge simultaneously,

thereby indicating the successful dual learning outcome. Considering the ties which exist between the English and French language and cultural worlds, it is not surprising to find such multiple advantages of EMI.

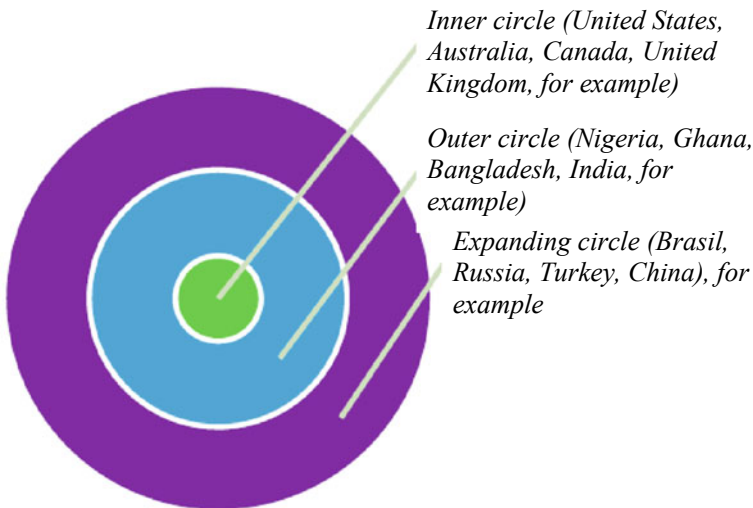
Despite the positive findings in relation to the dual learning achievements of EMI, the study by Lei and Hu (2014) which was conducted in a Chinese university revealed that EMI students were dissatisfied with both the quality and richness of the academic content which was taught and the linguistic benefits which they gained through EMI. These results corroborate the findings of several studies (Hynninen, 2012; Kamasak et al., 2020; Kung, 2013; Lorenzo, 2007; Pecorari, 2020; Yang, 2015, for example) which present inefficiencies and failures of the way of achieving the dual-focused educational aims of EMI. For example, Yang's (2015) study which was conducted on a sample of 29 students who study in an international tourism degree programme at a vocational school in Taiwan found that while students achieved some improvements in their receptive and productive language skills through their EMI, they did not show the same performance in their content comprehension and knowledge. Other similar studies (Chapple, 2015; Hellekjær, 2010, for example) also emphasised the negative student perceptions about "the shallowness of the academic content" (Aizawa, 2017, p. 12) taught in EMI and the absence of some vital elements of language teaching (explicit grammar teaching and interactive conversations, for example) in EMI implementations which were previously found to contribute to second language learning (Ellis, 2006; Ur, 2011). Considering the limited nature of cultural, social, and historical ties between China and the English-speaking world, in contrast to English–French relations, it is possible to understand why EMI was not unproblematic in delivery of content and language learning in China.

Thus, two different streams of linguistics research offer mixed findings about the impact of EMI on learning of language and content simultaneously. We need to attend to the reasons for these results more closely. Given the varying expectations of EMI stakeholders in different educational contexts, the position of "EMI in HE and its practice appear to be fluid" (Macaro et al., 2018, p. 46). Research (Çankaya, 2017; Doiz et al., 2011; Napoli & Sourisseau, 2013, for example) exploring the impact of EMI on linguistic and content knowledge presumes that students ought to have at least a certain level of language proficiency before entering EMI classes. How much English equates to a sufficient level of proficiency in English is also unclear (Hamid et al., 2013; Jenkins, 2014; Kamasak,

Ozbilgin, & Esmen, 2020; Kim & Shin, 2014). However, this requirement provides some clues about the focal concern of EMI. If a sufficient level of English is considered as a pre-condition for a student to study in EMI, then the primary aim of EMI ought not to be teaching English with an excessive cost to academic content learning (Jiménez-Castellanos et al., 2014; Kirkpatrick, 2011). Given the cost-benefit concerns of HE institutions and governments (Macaro et al., 2018), learners also ought to gain linguistic benefits while they study academic content in English.

### 3 EMI IN TURKISH HIGHER EDUCATION

Turkey is an interesting setting to study EMI, because its geographic proximity to Eastern Europe, the Middle East, Russia, and Caucasian countries has often complicated its cultural and historical relationships with the English-speaking world. The countries where English language was learned and taught were examined by the ‘Three Concentric Circles Model’ of Kachru (1986) based on the sociolinguistic profile of English in these countries (See Fig. 1). According to Kachru (1986), the countries where English language is used fall into three categories: (1) the



**Fig. 1** The three concentric circles of English (Source Kachru [1986])

inner circle countries where English is the mother tongue (United States, United Kingdom, and Canada, for example), (2) the outer circle countries where English is not the mother tongue but used as an additional institutionalised and official language (Ghana, India, Malaysia, and Pakistan, for example), and (3) the expanding circle countries where English is used as a foreign language (Brazil, Russia, Turkey, and China, for example).

The inner circle countries represent “the traditional cultural and linguistic bases of English” (Xiaoqiong & Xianxing, 2011, p. 221). The sociolinguistic dynamics which shape the role and impact of English in the outer circle countries which have a colonial history are well known (De Los Reyes, 2019; Mpofu & Salawu, 2019). The sociolinguistic realities which determine the selection of English language for education in the expanding circle countries are relatively underexplored.

In accordance with Turkey’s position in Kachru’s (1986) model as an expanding circle country “where English is taught as a foreign language for reasons of international diplomacy, law and commerce, which do not necessarily have a history of colonisation” (Aslan, 2017, p. 605), English is considered as a second language if not as an official language (Doğancay-Aktuna, 2005; İnceçay, 2012) in Turkey. Yet the overall English language proficiency remains low, except for centres of tourism and commerce in the country.

Indeed, Turkey has a long history of English medium instruction (EMI) in the higher education system which can be traced back to the founding of Robert College (now Boğaziçi University) in 1863 (British Council & TEPAV, 2015). Following Boğaziçi University, EMI was used by Middle East Technical University (METU) in 1956 and Turkey’s first private university, Bilkent University in 1984. While the Ottoman Era prioritised French language instruction over English language instruction, the situation has drastically changed in the Republic of Turkey in favour of English as the preferred language for foreign language instruction. In more recent years, EMI has expanded in the country, with instruction in other languages also gaining currency and appeal.

Starting from the mid-1990s, in line with the growing importance of English as the world’s lingua franca which refers to “any use of English among speakers of different first languages for whom English is the communicative medium of choice [in science, technology, and business], and often the only option” (Seidlhofer, 2011, p. 7), the number of universities offering EMI programmes has started to increase in Turkey (Çankaya, 2017; Kırkgöz, 2014). While 53 out of the 56 universities were

offering courses in Turkish in 1995, there were 77 universities offering EMI courses in 2006 (Kırkgöz, 2009a) in Turkey.

The country has seen a rapid growth in the number of universities which offer EMI programmes, particularly in the last 10 years. The number of undergraduate degrees which are taught fully in English by 206 public and private universities rose almost 600% between 2010 and 2019, from 574 to 3463 (ÖSYM, 2019). In addition to the global role of English, this huge increase might be attributed to other economic and political factors, such as Turkey's nomination to become a full member of the EU after 1996 (Aslan, 2017), better career opportunities for new graduates with EMI degrees in Turkey (Çokgezen, 2014; Toköz, 2014), adaptation to the Bologna Process, and benefits from the Erasmus and other exchange mobility programmes (Füruzan, 2012; Yağcı, 2010) across Europe and the world. The culmination of these factors, in addition to the drive of Turkish universities to attract talent from wider pools of students and staff, has engendered an explosion of EMI.

Moreover, Turkey's important advantages in terms of its geographical, cultural, and linguistic proximities to Central Asian, European, and Middle Eastern countries, moderate living costs, inexpensive university tuition fees, and scholarship opportunities, make the country a popular destination for international students, particularly from Turkic republics, Africa, the Middle East, and other regions' middle or low level income countries (Çetin, et al., 2017; Özoğlu, Gür, & Coşkun, 2012). Additionally, the relatively easier procedures for issuing visas for students from low-income countries make the country an attractive setting for studying in EMI. Aslan (2017) asserts that "rising global uncertainty about the USA's willingness to admit students from several Muslim-majority countries could pose an opportunity for international enrolment growth in Turkey" (p. 612). As a consequence, Turkey welcomes a high number of international students from different parts of the world. According to Anatolian News Agency (2017) which is the official news agency of Turkey, the number of international students in Turkish universities reached 796,000 in 2017. All these factors coupled with the importance of English as a lingua franca, have influenced the foreign language policy in HE in Turkey, resulting in a rapid increase in the number EMI programmes offered by Turkish universities (Aslan, 2017; Kırkgöz, 2014).

It is not all rosy for local and international students to enter EMI programmes in Turkey. The entrance to an undergraduate programme

(no matter whether or not the programme is conducted through EMI) is not unconditional in Turkey. In fact, there is a competitive examination system. All students must take a two-phased exam which is conducted by the Student Selection and Replacement Centre of Turkey (ÖSYM) in their final year of high school. Each student must achieve a test score in accordance with the requirement of his/her preferred undergraduate programme. However, the entrance to university does not guarantee that the student can begin his/her study in the faculty. If the student's undergraduate programme is conducted through EMI, then the student must either pass an English proficiency exam which is conducted by the university itself, or submit a satisfactory score of an international English proficiency test such as TOEFL, CPE, or IELTS. Otherwise, the student must attend the institution's one-year long intensive English preparatory (prep) programme to raise his/her proficiency level. The student must also be successful in the English preparation programme to be able to proceed to the faculty. Thus, the English proficiency itself is a significant hurdle for access to EMI programmes in Turkey.

The quality and effectiveness of the English prep programmes in Turkish universities has been a research topic for linguists (Bayram & Canaran, 2019; Çelik-Yazıcı & Kahyalar, 2018; Gerede, 2005; Karataş & Fer, 2009; O'Regan, 2017; Öner & Mede, 2015; Örs, 2006, for example). The findings of studies offer controversial results. Although some studies (Gerede, 2005; Öner & Mede, 2015; Örs, 2006, for example) provide evidence that the academic needs of EMI students were met by the prep programmes, others (Akyel & Özek, 2010; İnal & Aksoy, 2014; Karataş & Fer, 2009; Kırkgöz, 2009b, for example) report contrary findings. For example, Akyel and Özek (2010) concluded that "teaching materials were designed to teach through testing" (p. 975). While Coşkun (2013) claimed that speaking skills were not taken into account in the curriculum, and Örs (2006) noted technical vocabulary as the weakest link in the prep programmes. Nevertheless, nearly all studies suggest that the design of the prep programmes and their curricula must be improved to better support students' academic needs and success in their EMI courses. These suggestions are clear indicators of the necessity of further studies to investigate the factors which influence students' academic performance in EMI classes. EMI presents a drastic learning opportunity for many Turkish students, exposing them to ideas, concepts, and ways of thinking which are highly dissimilar to their Turkish language instruction.

Consequently, against Turkey's high potential to attract international students and ambitious efforts to promote EMI in its HE system, academic content learning through EMI does not seem to be achieved successfully (British Council & TEPAV, 2015; Macaro et al., 2016).

Turkey's commercial turn in terms of attracting international students through the use of EMI offers it a unique position to capture talented students from low-income countries in particular and access to accreditation and educational links with HE systems or advanced economies. As Polanyi (1944) warns, commercialisation might corrode the social character of EMI, and undermine the utility of local education in generating embedded knowledge and competencies for learners. Scullion, Collings, and Caligiuri (2010) show which marketisation and commercialisation of education has taken root, although there are courses of action which could be taken to curb its negative consequences. As Groutsis et al. (2019) highlight, talent drain could occur as one country becomes peripheral in terms of its democratic institutions and human rights record. Thus, the risk remains that EMI educates swaths of Turkish and international students who are fit for social and cultural settings outside Turkey. As Polanyi Levitt (2013) notes, financialisation of a social system could deteriorate the social utility of that very system. There is a real danger in Turkey for such financialisation. The gold rush to EMI appears to be happening in an unplanned fashion without regard for local needs for talent. Thus it is likely to graduate cohorts of students whose education will not equip them for local markets. As a result, financialisation of the EMI might generate unintended consequences, such as talent drain out of Turkey as the EMI prepares students for employment in the English-speaking world.

#### 4 CONCLUSION

We intended to provoke a debate around the use of EMI as a social good or as a marketing tool. Our reflection on the extant literature reveals that the multiplicity of motives for EMI instruction ought not to be taken at face value. Moving from social good motives such as learning another language or understanding educational content for EMI, to economic motives such as recruiting more students and generating income, could have unintended consequences such as providing ill-considered content or content which is unfit for the local setting. This economic and financial turn might undermine the original social utility of EMI.

Research (Bozdoğan & Karlıdağ, 2013; Macaro et al., 2018) found that Turkish students identified the benefits of EMI through pragmatic or extrinsic reasons, such as increasing communication skills, keeping up with global developments, obtaining better employment prospects, and gaining social prestige. Higher education institutions, therefore, might align their strategy with the expectations of students from EMI programmes, and use EMI as a product at all its costs, just to market higher education. Furthermore, EMI programme content ought to capture the local needs for talent and competencies to prevent brain drain and to offer a healthy supply of talented people to meet the demands of the local cultural, social, and economic life. Specifically, students in the Turkish EMI context must be much better prepared for EMI courses. Given preparatory schools' critical role in implementing EMI effectively, the content of language curricula used in these schools ought to be revised in accordance with students' needs. Which English ought to be taught in prep schools to prepare students for EMI classes is a question to be answered, and it ought to address vocabulary and specialised lexis needs of students. One-size-fits-all types of prep programmes might not address content-specific requirements of EMI degrees, and the cross disciplinary results of this study indicate that students in the social sciences might benefit from additional language support to lessen the significantly greater challenges which they face.

The ambitious desire for universities to increase revenue from national and foreign students ought not to give occasion to lowering their EMI standards. The fact is that students who passed university-specific language proficiency exams with loose 'good level' scores experience greater challenges. The quality and standards of language proficiency assessment tests, therefore, also ought to be reviewed. Strict adherence to internationally accepted frameworks such as The Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFR) might be helpful in this regard. Moreover, lecturers ought to help students to use productive skills more in EMI classes.

Finally, educators and policy-makers often focus solely on the academic side of EMI. Yet, the perceived goal of EMI is much wider in scope. EMI might play other social roles such as enhancing international student mobility, cross cultural exchange, and human capital development. These benefits, therefore, also ought to be considered by stakeholders in HE when assessing the overall effectiveness of EMI, and using EMI to attract students for their programmes.



Such a turn to social good is not likely to happen on its own. As Jonsen et al. (2013) identify, it is important for regulators and stakeholders in HE to come into play, in order to secure optimum utility of education as a social good, unhinged by over-financialisation or domination of market logics.

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# Service Quality in Higher Education: Where are We and Where to Go?

*Ho Yin Wong and Parves Sultan*

## 1 INTRODUCTION

A marketing approach examining students' perceptions of service quality in the context of higher education will contribute to the improvement of service functions, and attract and retain students. The metaphor about consumers in marketing is that 'the customer is king'. However, its counterpart, that 'the student is king', might not be true with regards to higher education services. It is often argued that students are partners in the learning process, and, consequently that the supplier–customer relationship is not as clear cut as that of some other service relationships (Yorke, 1999). This is a critical issue, especially when students' responses are considered in course–lecture performance. For example, the Higher

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Education Funding Council in England introduced a National Student Survey on behalf of the UK Government. This study surveys final year students' views on the teaching, assessment, and support provided by their universities and courses. Similarly, the Student Experience Survey (SES) funded by the Australian Government Department of Education and Training provides a national architecture for collecting data on key facets of the higher education student experience. The SES measures five aspects of the student experience: Skills Development, Learner Engagement, Teaching Quality, Student Support, and Learning Resources. Thus, students are, *inter alia*, customers of the higher education institution at which they are enrolled (Douglas et al., 2008).

Higher education is a pure service, and is characterised by a greater amount of interpersonal contact, complexity, divergence, and customisation than most other service businesses (Chanaka & Kumara, 2016; Franz, 1998; Winsted & Patterson, 1998). Because students are expected to fund their educational expenses, they make an effort to search for evidence of quality, value, and cost comparisons. Studies state that students look for evidence of quality of services when making the uncertain and high-risk decision of choosing a university (Angell et al., 2008; Donaldson & McNicholas, 2004). This emphasises the importance of service quality in the higher education domain. Ignorance of the competitive nature of attracting students, along with the importance of measuring service quality, will ultimately be unfavourable to institutions (Angell et al., 2008; Sultan & Wong, 2014). It would seem desirable that universities make a shift from being product-led, by relying on the product to sell to a more customer-led approach (Angell et al., 2008) using customised educational plans (Franz, 1998). The customer-centric approach of service quality in the educational literature has gained momentum as the increasing cost of education has created a new generation of students with greater customer awareness than ever before (Stodnick & Rogers, 2008).

The concept of quality in higher education is rooted in business practices (Abdullah, 2006a; Sultan & Wong, 2014). Education and service are the two main functions of quality management in higher education (Sultan & Wong, 2010a). Services in higher education include general activities and facilities such as orientation, amenities, cafeterias, and recreation facilities. The education function is concerned with teaching, research, and community services (Kashif, Ramayah, & Sarifuddin, 2016; Srikanthan, 2002, 2003, 2005; Sultan & Wong, 2012). Irrespective of the

education or the service function, quality in higher education is a service-based industry. Higher education institutions must adapt marketing approaches to measure and improve quality of services. The quality of services which re provided to students is essential for the survival and growth of higher education institutions in their market. As argued by Jelena (2010), “the use of the most appropriate measurement tool would help managers to assess service quality provided by institutions, thus having the ability to use the results to better design service delivery” (p. 632). Service quality measurement becomes a gauge to show where an institution is and where it ought to go. Several studies empirically examine the service quality models in the context of higher education, taking students as sample units (Abdullah, 2005, 2006a, 2006b; Angell et al., 2008; Sultan & Wong, 2010a, 2012, 2014, 2019). The service quality literature provides a profound understanding about the justification that the customer-centric approach or the marketing approach in the higher education domain might provide important outcomes, and that service quality research in higher education can provide important insights (Sultan & Wong, 2013a).

This chapter examines service quality issues in the context of the higher education sector. More specifically, it reviews the progression of the literature on service quality in the higher education sector with the consequence of the development of a holistic model on this topic. The review focuses on only empirical findings. Secondly, based on the findings and the holistic model, it provides directions for future research which can potentially fill research gaps in the literature.

## 2 RESEARCH METHOD

Secondary research is adopted in this study. A rigorous comparison of peer-reviewed literature on service quality in the higher education section was performed. Following Anees-ur-Rehman, Wong, and Hossain (2016), Shiha and Monroe’s (2006), and Wong and Hung’s (2012) research methodology, the authors went through three stages in this research. The first stage was to collect as much literature on service quality in the higher education sector as possible. Several citation identification methods were used. Basic keyword searches were conducted in EBSCO-Business Source Complete and Emerald databases for occurrence of the phrases ‘service quality in higher education’ and/or ‘service quality in university’ in the abstract and/or title. With an aim to choose quality

articles and reduce the overall number of articles, only scholarly pieces were selected for analysis, as these publications had gone through a blind review process prior to publication. In the second stage, for the purpose of retaining only publications with empirical findings, the authors manually reviewed articles and included publications with empirical findings, but excluded conceptual papers, systematic literature reviews, and meta-analysis studies. Finally, the authors employed a modified approach of content analysis as suggested by Baregheh et al. (2009) to categorise the collected literature.

### 3 LITERATURE REVIEW

#### 3.1 *Characteristics of Education as Services*

Services have some distinctive characteristics which are different to goods. These include: (1) intangibility, (2) inseparability, (3) heterogeneity, (4) perishability, and (5) ownership (Blankson & Kalafatis, 1999; Parasuraman et al., 1985; Wong & Merrilees, 2009). Intangibility is the fundamental difference between services and goods. This is because services are based on performance, rather than physical substances, and that services cannot be seen, felt, tasted, or touched in the same way as with goods (Zeithaml et al., 1985). Consequently, marketing activities such as sampling and product warranty are difficult to carry out. Inseparability of production and consumption in services indicates that both service providers and customers are involved in the production process simultaneously, whereas characteristics of goods indicate that the production, purchase, and consumption occur in different stages. The inseparability of services makes service providers and customers very engaged and highly interactive. Frontline staff become the figureheads of service providers. Heterogeneity, sometimes called ‘variability’, indicates a potential for high variability in the performance of services. The variability ranges from producer to producer, from customer to customer, and from day to day (Zeithaml et al., 1985). As a result, it is difficult to communicate the level of consistency to the customers, and difficult to assure quality (Blankson & Kalafatis, 1999). Perishability means that services cannot be stored for later consumption. Service providers find it difficult to match supply and demand effectively (Blankson & Kalafatis, 1999; Zeithaml et al., 1985). Ownership characterises that customers have access to facilities and can

use services, but not ownership of them. These five distinctive characteristics of services pose difficult problems for services marketers which are not faced by goods marketers, making it difficult to assess the service quality which is provided to customers. In view of this, services marketers try tangibilising the service (Blankson & Kalafatis, 1999; Yost & Tucker, 1995), with an aim to make their services competitively and measurably. One especially important aspect which can measure service performance is service quality.

### 3.2 *Service Quality Measures*

Service quality is considered as an important tool to enhance competitiveness (Ali, Zhou, Hussain, Nair, & Ragavan, 2016; Khan & Rehman, 2012). Service quality is defined as “a form of attitude related but not equivalent to satisfaction and results from comparison of expectations with perceptions of performance” (Parasuraman, Berry, & Zeithaml, 1988, p. 18). The concept of service quality was pioneered in the late 1970s by Gronroos (1978), who suggested which service quality is perception and consists of technical, functional, and image dimensions. Similarly, Zeithaml (1988) considered service quality as perception, which was concerned with superiority or excellence in service delivery. Parasuraman et al. (1985) argued that identifying and meeting customer expectations would be the critical issues to ensure quality. Sasser et al. (1978) shifted the focus from the outcomes to delivery processes, and argue that there are three dimensions of service quality; namely, levels of materials, facilities, and personnel. Over the last five decades, many studies in the services marketing field have tried to develop measurement scales to capture the service quality domain. While the definitions and focuses of service quality in related literature vary, and sometimes even conflict, the two most popular measures of service quality have emerged. One is the SERVQUAL scale and another is the SERVPERF scale.

### 3.3 *Servqual*

SERVQUAL is an analytical tool which discovers a company’s weaknesses and strengths in the various areas of service quality in a holistic manner (Parasuraman et al., 1988). It is “a form of attitude, related but not equivalent to satisfaction, and results from comparison of expectations with perceptions of performance” (Parasuraman et al., 1988, p. 15).

The SERVQUAL instrument was developed based on the conceptualisation and exploratory research done by Parasuraman et al. (1985). They conducted twelve focus group interviews with existing customers of four different types of services—namely, retail banking, credit cards, securities brokerage, and product repair and maintenance. The findings revealed that, irrespective of the type of service, customers judged the service quality based on the same general criteria. Based on these findings, the work from Parasuraman et al. (1988) went one step further, attempting to quantify the number of dimensions, and to validate the items of customer perceptions of service quality in service companies. Various quantitative analyses purifying the items resulted in 22 final items in five unique dimensions, which are (1) tangibles, (2) reliability, (3) responsiveness, (4) assurance, and (5) empathy. An examination of the content of the final items making up each of SERVQUAL's five dimensions suggested the following labels and concise definitions (Parasuraman et al., 1988):

Tangibles:	Physical facilities, equipment, and appearance of personnel (4 items)
Reliability:	Ability to perform the promised service dependably and accurately (5 items)
Responsiveness:	Willingness to help customers and provide prompt service (4 items)
Assurance:	Knowledge and courtesy of employees and their ability to inspire trust and confidence (4 items)
Empathy:	Caring, individualised attention the firm provides its customers (5 items)

The SERVQUAL instrument is based on an idea of the so-called 'quality gap'. That is the difference between what customers expect of a service and what they perceive about the service received (Campos et al., 2017). To do this, the SERVQUAL instrument is separated into two sections. The first section consists of the 22 items which record customer expectations of excellent companies in a specific service industry. The second section comprises 22 items (conceptually related to the 22 items in the first section) which measures customer perceptions of the service performance of a particular company in that service industry (that is, the company being evaluated).

Results from these two sections are then compared to reach the ‘gap score’ for each of the five dimensions mentioned above. The ‘gap score’ can be considered as the ‘quality gap’ of the specific company being studied. The larger the ‘gap score’, the lower the service quality evaluation because customer perceptions about the service received are further away from their expectations. Altogether, there are 44 items in total measuring customer expectations and perceptions regarding the five service quality dimensions.

The SERVQUAL instrument has attracted some criticism since its introduction. One of the major criticisms of the instrument is the length of the questionnaire (Boffman & Bateson, 2002; Cronin & Taylor, 1992). The 44 items in two sections are repetitive, resulting in the needless increase of the length of the questionnaire. In fact, the expectations section of the instrument does not provide real value, and only the perceptions section ought to be kept to assess service quality (Parasuraman et al., 1988). Other criticisms of the SERVQUAL instrument include a lack of validity (Cronin & Taylor, 1992), and not contextualising the attributes and dimensions in different industries and cultures (Campos et al., 2017; Cronin & Taylor, 1992). As a result, the SERVPERF instrument, also known as performance-only instrument, was developed (Cronin & Taylor, 1992, 1994).

### 3.4 *SERVPERF*

The SERVPERF instrument, which comprises the 22 customer perception items from the SERVQUAL instrument, is a shorter version of SERVQUAL, and is easier to handle. The SERVPERF also shows its relative superiority over the SERVQUAL in terms of statistical analysis (Lee, Lee, & Yoo, 2000). Furthermore, when evaluating the perceived SERVPERF, customers have already factored in a certain degree of expectations (Gronroos, 1993; Sultan & Wong, 2010b). Empirical studies on the SERVPERF found a better alternative than the SERVQUAL (Babakus & Boller, 1992; Brady et al., 2002; Brown et al., 1993; Jain & Gupta, 2004; Lee et al., 2000; Zhou, 2004).

The SERVPERF instrument, like its counterpart SERVQUAL, has received a fair share of criticism. Parasuraman, Zeithaml, and Berry (1994) criticised the SERVPERF instrument for its inferiority in providing valid and reliable information compared to the SERVQUAL scale. They further argued that the inclusion of customer expectations in



the instrument can help marketing managers identify service shortcomings and prioritise attributes. Consequently, the information shed light on how to allocate resources to improve service quality. In addition, researchers relatively preferred SERVQUAL over SERVPERF due to its ability to replicate more effectively in other cultural contexts (Carrillat et al., 2007).

While both SERVQUAL and SERVPERF have their strengths and weaknesses, Carrillat et al. (2007) suggest that both instruments are adequate and equally valid predictors of overall service quality. Similarly, an empirical study in Portugal has found that both SERVPERF and HEdPERF (a scale which was developed to measure perceived service quality in higher education institutions) present strong measurement capabilities, and it is impossible to identify which is the best (Brochado, 2009).

### *3.5 Service Quality Measurement in Higher Education*

Higher education is a fast-growing sector all over the world, and the competition among higher education institutions is fierce (Ansary et al., 2014). To get competitive advantage or even just survive, universities need a marketing tool to measure service quality from their students' perspective. Over the last five decades, a growing number of studies in the services marketing domain have focused their efforts on examining service quality and understanding its dimensions across many cultures and service industries, including universities. Considering the importance of service quality in the higher education sector, many researchers have examined the service quality measure in detail. Service quality in higher education is defined as the difference between what a student expects to receive and their perceptions of actual delivery (O'Neill & Palmer, 2004). This definition implies the use of the SERVQUAL instrument due to the inclusion of expectations in the measure. In fact, empirical studies have used the SERVQUAL instrument or its adapted versions to understand the service quality aspects in the higher education sector (Ansary et al., 2014; Castro, Dos Santos, & Campos, 2017; Galeeva, 2106; Kashif et al., 2016; Zafropoulos & Vrana, 2008). On the other hand, empirical studies using the SERVPERF instrument or its adapted versions are also popular in the literature of service quality of the higher education sector (Ali et al., 2016; Gallifa & Batalle, 2010; Nadiri et al., 2009; Sultan & Wong, 2012, 2014; Teeroovengadam et al., 2016; Teeroovengadam,

Nunkoo, Gronroos, Kamalanabhan, & Seebaluck, 2019; Ushantha & Kumara, 2016). This evidence supports the arguments of Carrillat et al. (2007) and Brochado (2009) who suggested that both SERVQUAL and SERVPERF are adequate and valid instruments.

According to Abdullah (2006a), the generic measure of service quality is not considered an adequate instrument to measure the perceived quality in the higher education sector, even if the SERVQUAL or SERVPERF instrument adapted to the higher education sector might have been tested with some degree of success. One of the reasons the SERVQUAL or SERVPERF instruments are found to be inadequate lies in the definition of 'customer' (Abdullah, 2006a; Quinn et al., 2009). Moreover, service quality in the higher education sector has been traditionally measured based on the performance indicators, which are linked to funding decisions, which are set up by the government (Soutar & McNeil, 1996). This centralised method has been criticised for failing to measure the quality of education in any holistic manner (Soutar & McNeil, 1996). As a result, another instrument to measure service quality in the higher education sector has emerged in the past decade. This industry-specific service quality instrument, called HEdPERF, was developed by Abdullah (2006a, 2006b), with an aim to provide a more valid, reliable, comprehensive, and relevant service quality measure exclusively for the higher education sector. Abdullah (2006b) collected data from students of six tertiary institutions in Malaysia and revealed five dimensions of service quality with 38 items in total. Below are the six dimensions of HEdPERF and their descriptions:

**Non-academic aspects:** This dimension represents essential services to enable students fulfil their study obligations, and relates to duties carried out by non-academic staff.

**Academic aspects:** This dimension describes services which are solely the responsibilities of academics.

**Reputation:** This dimension represents the importance of higher learning institutions in projecting a professional image.

**Access:** This dimension covers issues such as approachability, ease of contact, availability, and convenience.

**Programmes issues:** This dimension emphasises the importance of offering wide ranging and reputable academic programmes/specialisations with flexible structure and syllabus. It is claimed that the HEdPERF instrument shows a better validity over SERVPERF and the combined HEdPERF-SERVPERF instrument (Abdullah, 2006b).

In summary, the major instruments which are used to measure service quality in the higher education sector include the adaptations of the SERVQUAL instrument (Parasuraman et al., 1988) and the SERVPERF instrument (Cronin & Taylor, 1992), and the newly-developed HEdPERF instrument (Abdullah, 2006b). These instruments can shed light on the service quality performance of universities from the students' point of view. While these three major instruments have their strengths and weaknesses, understanding the characteristics and development of these instruments allows marketers to choose the most appropriate instrument(s) to use.

#### 4 A HOLISTIC MODEL OF SERVICE QUALITY IN HIGHER EDUCATION

While most of the literature on service quality in higher education has attempted to develop a comprehensive set of reliable, valid, and relevant items to measure service quality particularly for higher education as discussed in the previous section, a service quality instrument (irrespective of SERVQUAL, SERVPERF, or HEdPERF) alone furnishes limited knowledge of what a service quality instrument can do. In other words, even though a service quality instrument can gauge how well or badly a university has done in terms of service quality performance, its usefulness is relatively limited.

Consequently, in the hope of understanding the role of service quality holistically, researchers have started to investigate two main areas which are related to service quality. The first area is the antecedents of service quality, which can provide information about which things can affect service quality. Managing these antecedents effectively can potentially enhance the service quality which is made available to students. Another area which researchers have started examining is the consequences of service quality. The impacts of service quality performance are unknown by merely looking within the service quality instrument. Thus, it is important to understand what the service quality performance can lead to.

The antecedents (service quality) consequence model can be considered as a holistic model which provides insights of how service quality can be improved, what service quality is, and what the impacts of service quality are. Service quality research in the higher education sector is new

in comparison to the business sector (Sultan & Wong, 2013a). Empirical studies which examine the antecedents and consequences of service quality in the higher sector are just starting to emerge. Compared to the studies of the dimensions of service quality in the higher education sector, the studies of the antecedents and consequences of service quality are relatively scarce. Below is a summary of the empirical findings of studies on service quality in the higher education sector. It is hoped that readers can gain a clearer picture of the existing literature of service quality performance in higher education.

#### 4.1 *Antecedents of Service Quality in Higher Education*

Zafropoulos and Vrana (2008), who adopted the SERVQUAL instrument, found that business faculty, newly established departments, and freshmen had positive impacts on service quality performance. Additionally, the impact of female students was found to be statistically significant in only the assurance dimension, but not the other four dimensions. This study is one of the very few to examine the factors which can affect perceived service quality in the higher education sector.

Yeo (2008) explored what constituted service quality in the higher education sector. Even though the study drew on the underpinnings of SERVQUAL, a qualitative research method by means of structured in-depth interviews was employed. Content analysis showed that overall service quality is the outcome of three key aspects of service standards, including, customer orientation, course design/delivery, and support services. As a result, “service quality, therefore, needs to be evaluated based on an integrated experience which occurs in a network of learning spaces created to promote dialogue, inquiry and reflection” (Yeo, 2008, p. 266).

In attempting to understand if different campuses of a university (which are assumed to have different characteristics) can have different impacts on perceived service quality performance, Gallifa and Batalle (2010) established that the two campuses were quite different in all the five service quality dimensions. Another interesting finding from their study was that the service quality dimensions of tangibles and empathy changed quite significantly, while the other three dimensions (reliability, responsiveness, and assurance) stayed almost the same during a five-year period. An adapted version of the SERVPERF instrument was used for this qualitative longitudinal study.

Similar to the study conducted by Zafiroopoulos and Vrana (2008), Ansary et al. (2014), using the SERVQUAL instrument, examined if gender had any impact on the service quality instrument. In addition, the study also examined if nationalities (Malaysian and non-Malaysian) could have an impact on the service quality instrument. The results showed that there was no statistically significant evidence regarding the effect of gender on any dimensions of service quality. However, Malaysian nationality had a slight effect on the responsiveness dimension of service quality.

In search of a comprehensive service quality performance model, Sultan and Wong (2012) developed a three-dimensional service quality instrument based on SERVPERF, and tested two antecedents of service quality performance; namely, past experience, and information. Past experience was referred to as students' previous educational experience before they enrolled at the university, while information was defined as "explicit and implicit messages that students receive directly and indirectly from the university before enrolment" (Sultan & Wong, 2012, p. 764). A structural equation modelling analysis found that experience did not show a statistically significant impact on service quality performance. Information, on the contrary, did have significant impact on service quality performance.

Sultan and Wong (2014) conducted another study using the SERVPERF instrument testing the impacts of the same two antecedents, experience and information, on service quality performance. Both antecedents were found to have statistically significant effects on service quality performance in this study. The statistically significant result of the antecedent experience was different to the study conducted by Sultan and Wong (2012). The main reason was probably due to the different consequent variables in their models, which will be discussed in the next section.

#### *4.2 Consequences of Service Quality in the Higher Education Sector*

The consequences of service quality in the higher education sector have received more attention than their counterparts (the antecedents) from researchers so far. Perhaps it is logical to ask what service quality performance can do for universities, when researchers have dedicated so much effort in understanding and developing the service quality instrument.

Focusing on the alumni of a university in Indonesia, Rafik and Priyono (2018) examined the impacts of service quality performance, which was based on the SERVPERF ideology, on perceived value, career capability,

satisfaction, and loyalty. Two service quality dimensions, course design and teaching staff, were found not to be statistically significant. The other two service quality dimensions, campus environment, and Islamic value-embodiment, were found to significantly impact the perceived value, which was sub-categorised as skills, knowledge, and attitudes. The perceived value, in turn, affected career capability. Finally, career capability could influence the levels of satisfaction and loyalty to the university. The findings can be depicted in a structural model as follows:

Service quality performance → perceived value → career capability → satisfaction → loyalty.

Using the HEdPERF instrument to investigate the impact of service quality on international student satisfaction, institutional image, and loyalty of Malaysian public universities, Ali et al. (2016) found that all five dimensions of higher education service quality affected student satisfaction, which, in turn, impacted institutional image. Also, student satisfaction and institutional image together influenced student loyalty. This study shares similarities with Rafik and Priyono's (2018) study, in that both studies revealed that (1) service quality performance affected student satisfaction, even though these two studies used two different service quality instruments, and (2) student satisfaction affected student loyalty. The structural model of Ali et al.'s study is shown below:

Service quality performance → student satisfaction → image → student loyalty.

Teeroovengadam et al. (2019) tested the impact of service quality performance on image, perceived value, and satisfaction in a structural model, and the effects of image, perceived value, and satisfaction on student loyalty at different higher education institutions in Mauritius. The results revealed transformational service quality, which is concerned with the technical aspect of service quality in relation to the enhancement and empowerment of students, could affect image, perceived value, and satisfaction, while functional service quality, which is related to the delivery process, impacted image and perceived value, but not satisfaction. These findings share similarities to some other empirical findings. First, service quality performance can have an impact on student satisfaction—the same finding as Ali et al. (2016) and Rafik and Priyono (2018). Second, student satisfaction can affect student loyalty. This relationship is also found in Ali et al.'s (2016) study.

Hwang and Choi (2019) applied the SERVQUAL measure to examine the structural relationships among a higher education institution's service

quality, student satisfaction, institutional image, and behavioural intention at a private university located in South Korea. The findings suggested that service quality performance directly affected both student satisfaction and perceived institutional image. Furthermore, the results indicated that students' perceived institutional image and satisfaction directly influenced behavioural intention. This study's findings in service quality performance affecting satisfaction parallel other studies such as Ali et al. (2016) and Teeroovengadam et al. (2019). Below is the structural model of service quality of this study.

Service quality → image and student satisfaction → behaviour intention.

Kashif et al. (2016) studied the impacts of service quality on student satisfaction, and student satisfaction on loyalty using a modified SERVQUAL instrument. Data were gathered in three major universities in Pakistan. The results indicated that with five dimensions of the service quality instrument, only three of them (sincerity, reliability, and personalisation) were statistically significant in affecting student satisfaction. Additionally, student satisfaction was a significant factor influencing student loyalty. Even though the service quality instrument used in this study was different from some other studies, the findings are in line with other empirical studies (Ali et al., 2016; Hwang & Choi, 2019; Teeroovengadam et al., 2019), in that service quality performance can affect student satisfaction, and satisfaction can impact student loyalty (Ali et al., 2016; Teeroovengadam et al., 2019). Below is the structural model of service quality of this study.

Service quality → student satisfaction → loyalty.

Sultan and Wong (2012) empirically tested an integrated model which incorporated the antecedents and consequences of service quality in an Australian higher education context. The SERVPERF instrument was adopted for their study. The results indicated that service quality performance could impact student satisfaction and trust, both of which, in turn, affected university image. The findings in their study in relation to the impact of service quality on student satisfaction are consistent with the works of Ali et al. (2016), Teeroovengadam et al. (2019), Kashif et al. (2016), and Hwang and Choi (2019). Below is the partial model of their work.

Service quality → satisfaction and trust → image.

Another empirical study conducted by Sultan and Wong (2014) looked at the consequences of service quality performance in terms of satisfaction, trust, and university brand performance. It is probably the first study

which attempted to investigate how service quality performance affects a brand from the university perspective. The UniBrand performance refers to “the performance of the University as a brand (UniBrand) in terms of students’ perception with regard to their association, understanding and evaluation of the UniBrand in the market” (Sultan & Wong, 2014, p. 499). The results suggested that both student satisfaction and trust have direct impacts on UniBrand performance. The implication is that enhancing service quality performance to students impacts not only the students (in terms of satisfaction and trust), but also the university itself.

Service quality performance → satisfaction and trust → University brand performance.

Following their 2014 study, Sultan and Wong (2019) extended their model by introducing university brand image, and tested its relationships with service quality performance, student satisfaction, trust, and university brand performance. Data were collected in Australia using the SERVPERF instrument. The findings revealed that service quality performance had an impact on student satisfaction and trust. Both student satisfaction and trust affected university brand performance, and all three variables influenced university brand image. Their findings further confirmed the impact of service quality performance on two university performance indicators.

Service quality performance → satisfaction and trust → university brand performance → university brand image.

In summary, the empirical studies reviewed above used various service quality instruments, the most popular of which are the adapted version of SERVQUAL and SERVPERF, perhaps due to their longer history in the literature, in addition to their validity and reliability. It is worth noting that not all dimensions in the service quality instruments are statistically significant factors influencing other variables such as satisfaction. However, most of the dimensions, irrespective of which service quality instrument is applied, were found to be impactful. In general, most empirical studies examined the antecedents and consequences of service quality performance in structural models. More studies examined the consequences than the antecedents of service quality performance. The above-mentioned review on service quality model with empirical results sum up what has been done in the literature of service quality in the higher education sector. Figure 1 is a summary of the empirical findings from the existing literature.



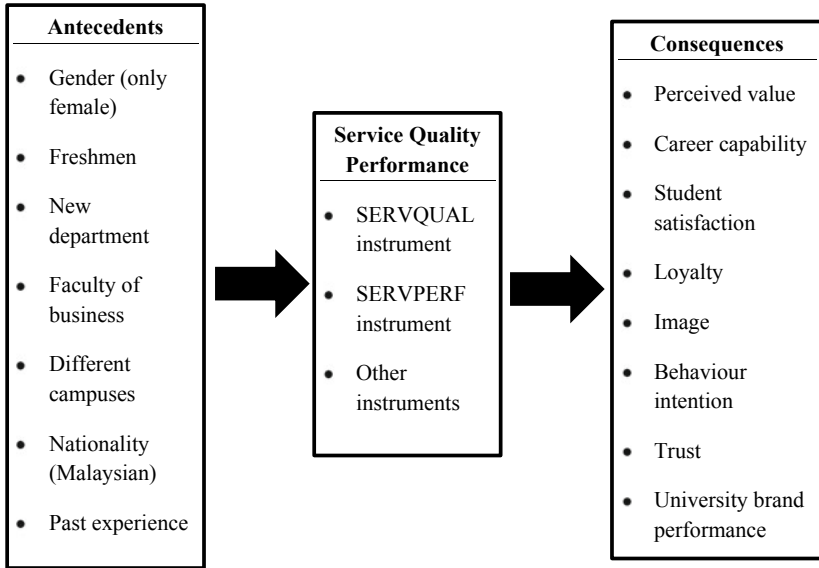


Fig. 1 A summary of the empirical findings from the existing literature

## 5 DIRECTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

As seen in Fig. 1, empirical studies have been emerging not only to develop items for, and to examine the dimensions of, service quality, but also to study the antecedents and consequences of the service quality instruments in the higher education sector. They demonstrate that research on service quality in higher education has gone well into the growth stage. However, some research gaps still exist in the literature.

### *5.1 Research Gaps in the Service Quality Instruments*

The service quality instruments have drawn the most attention from researchers all over the world. Nevertheless, some issues still need to be examined. First, while the three major service quality instruments have their strengths and weaknesses, further research needs to be conducted to compare their validity in various settings. For example, different modes of delivery of university education (for example, online mode vs on-campus mode) might need to have a different service quality instrument to measure service quality performance. Considering the technological advancement which makes university courses available online and easier for students to access, and online courses such as MOOCs (massive open online course) gaining popularity, it is necessary to re-examine how to measure service quality when the modes of delivery of university education become a factor. It is necessary to ask how delivery modes can affect the service quality measure.

Second, different cultures were found to perceive service quality in different ways (Sultan & Wong, 2013b). Studies which acknowledge culturally sensitive service quality scales are limited (Kashif et al., 2016). There is a need to apply country-specific scales to address higher education service quality issues (de Jager & Gbadamosi, 2010). Thus, some broad research questions for future research include whether different cultures perceive service quality in the higher education sector differently, and if so, how.

### *5.2 Research Gaps in the Antecedents of Service Quality Performance*

As mentioned in the previous section, the area of the antecedents of service quality performance probably has received the least amount of attention. In consideration of the importance of the antecedents, which are the issues or actions which can affect service quality performance directly or indirectly, researchers must study what the antecedents are, and how they impact service quality performance. Issues which need to be examined can be categorised at three levels: the individual level, the organisational level, and the national level. The individual level is concerned with how special characteristics of individuals can influence service quality performance. In particular, two groups of individuals are potential antecedents: academic and front-line staff. These two groups of

individuals interact with students on a daily basis and can impact perceived service quality performance. The organisational level involves managers (for example, managers at the different faculties or schools) and executives (for example, a pro-vice chancellor of learning and teaching), whose policies and their implementation can affect student perceived service quality. In addition, the types of higher education such as public/private universities, and different academic disciplines/colleges might have different impact on service quality due to their fundamental natures and characteristics. Moreover, how are brand orientation or market orientation (or both) of universities affecting perceived service quality, considering that both of these two organisational orientations can affect company performance in general business settings (Anees-ur-Rehman et al., 2016; Jaworski & Kohli, 1993; Narver & Slater, 1990; Voola, Carlson, Wong, & Li, 2010)? At the national level, it can be asked whether and how the requirements set by governments, legislations, and accreditation impacts perceived service quality. Thus, the overarching research question is this: How do characteristics at the individual, organisational, and national levels impact perceived service quality?

### 5.3 *Research Gaps in the Consequences of Service Quality Performance*

Antecedent issues have been examined mainly from the students' perspective. The impact of service quality on universities is rarely examined. More empirical findings can provide universities with a more comprehensive picture as to why service quality performance is important for not only the students, but also for the universities themselves. The consequences which are particularly interesting include university rankings worldwide, the quality of students or alumni, student academic and career achievement, the contributions of the universities from the point of view of the general public, the quality of student recruits, the student number, and strategic and financial performance. Hence, the principal research question is: What is the impact of service quality performance on universities?

### 5.4 *Other Research Gaps in Service Quality Performance*

A moderation effect is "the effect in which a third independent variable (that is the moderator variable) causes the relationship between a dependent and independent variable pair to change, depending on the

value of the moderator variable” (Hair, Anderson, Tatham, & Black, 1998, p. 145). It is used to address the issue of ‘it depends’. In the research on service quality in the higher education sector, few studies have examined the moderation effect, one notable exception being Sultan and Wong’s (2019) work, which found the statistically insignificant moderating effects of gender and study mode. Researchers need to establish the moderation effect to understand how service quality performance works. Some moderation effects might come from demographics such as gender, age, income, race, employment, and level of education. Additionally, external marketing factors such as the higher education competitive environment, technological environment, and social environment might have moderation effects. These moderators have been found to be statistically significant in business and marketing research (Anning-Dorson, Nyamekye, & Odoom, 2017; Schilke, 2014). The course delivery mode which was mentioned in the previous section, in addition to being an antecedent, can be a potential variable for the moderation effect. Therefore, the central research questions are: what are the moderators in service quality performance in the higher education sector, and what are the relationships of variables these moderators are affecting?

Another research gap is related to a specific research design: a longitudinal study design, which involves repeated observations of the same variables (of students, for example) over a period of time. The main purpose of this research design is to track changes of certain variables over a specified period of time. The longitudinal study design can discern the extent of the impact of changes in the antecedents on service quality performance, or on the consequences of service quality performance, or both. It is an effective way to find out if one variable (service quality performance, for example) changes over a period of time after an introduction of another variable.

(a new sport complex on campus, for example).

## 6 CONCLUSION

This chapter aimed to examine the service quality issues in the higher education sector. It reviewed how service quality is measured in general, followed by how it is measured in the higher education sector. Then, a holistic model which involves the antecedents and consequences of service quality in the higher education sector was established by using studies with empirical findings in the existing literature. The holistic

model showed which issues in relation to service quality have been examined empirically. Specifically, the middle part of the model titled 'service quality performance' indicated how service quality is measured in the higher education sector in the existing literature. The box on the left, antecedents, covered factors which have been found empirically affecting the service quality performance. The box on the right which is designated as 'consequences' showed the effects which service quality performance caused. Understanding the holistic model provides insights to researchers as to the latest development related to service quality performance. The multi-tiered models are found useful in explaining and predicting various business phenomena—for example, service quality in the healthcare service sector (Hsieh & Kenagy 2020), service quality in the hotel sector (Prentice, Dominique, Lopes, & Wang, 2020), service quality in the Business-to-Business sector (Roy, Sreejesh, & Bhatia, 2019), and strategic impacts on firm performance in general (Anees-ur-Rehman, Wong, Sultan, & Merrilees, 2018; Wong & Merrilees, 2007a, 2007b). The multi-tiered models allow researchers and business practitioners to understand the inter-relationships of various factors in a step-by-step process.

Managerial implications, in terms of higher education service quality, are that if a university would like to achieve the factors which are mentioned in the 'consequences' box, it is important to use the appropriate service quality measurement instruments to understand the performance, and to focus on the antecedents which can influence service quality. For example, if adequate information is given to students, they are more likely to be more satisfied with the service quality of a university. Consequently, the university brand image is likely to improve. Similarly, literature on service quality in sectors other than higher education also tries to examine what service quality is, which factors affect it, and which service quality can affluence (Hsieh & Kenagy, 2020; Prentice et al., 2020; Roy et al., 2019).

As a result of the literature review on how to measure service quality in the higher education sector, and the holistic model of service quality in the higher education sector, the final section covered four main future research areas which need to be further examined to fill research gaps in the literature. The first area is concerned with the service quality measurements in the higher education sector; in particular, future research needs to examine the impact of online delivery of university courses on the instrument of service quality measurements. Moreover, implications regarding different cultures' perceptions of higher education service

quality need further study. The starting point ought to be whether or not different cultures perceive service quality in the higher education sector differently. If so, how and why is service quality perceived differently?

The second area lies in the antecedents of service quality performance. It is recommended that research ought to be conducted on the effects of the characteristics at the individual, organisational, and national levels. With empirical evidence, a fuller picture of what affects service quality performance in the higher education sector can be obtained.

The third area is related to the impact of the consequences of service quality performance on universities. The particular consequences which can be included are university rankings worldwide, quality of students or alumni, student academic and career achievement, the contributions of universities from the point of view of the general public, the quality of student recruits, the student number, and strategic and financial performance.

Last but not least, research ought to identify moderating variables and their effects. Some demographic moderators might be gender, age, income, race, employment, and level of education. Additionally, external marketing factors such as higher education competitive environment, technological environment, and social environment might be potential moderators which can affect the service quality performance in higher education.

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# Understanding How the Marketisation of Higher Education Contributes to Increased Income Inequality and Decreased Social Mobility

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## 1 INTRODUCTION

For a long time, higher education was exalted as the primary and most important tool in promoting social mobility and reduced income inequality. This is because traditionally, education has been identified as the main discriminant between the rich and the poor (OECD, 2011). In his essay on education-based meritocracy, Goldthorpe (2002) argues that a merit-based higher education system can offset the role of social class in determining economic outcomes. In a merit-based system, he points out, education filters parents' economic position from simply passing straight through to their children. The above arguments have been the key drivers

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for the expansion of higher education, first in the United States, followed by the remainder of the world.

In recent years, both developed and developing countries have experienced increasing levels of income inequality. The *Economist* (2012) has identified this as one of the biggest social, economic, and political challenges of our time. While the real disposable household income in OECD countries increased by an average of 1.7% a year over the two decades before the onset of the global economic crisis of 2008, the household income of the wealthiest 10% grew faster than those of the poorest 10% (OECD, 2011). Corak (2013) highlights the correlation between high-income inequality and low social mobility.

In the last thirty years, increasing inequality worldwide has been accompanied by the greatest expansion of higher education. This has raised questions about higher education's relationship to inequality and social mobility (Greenstone et al., 2013; Haverman & Smeeding, 2006). There is a growing recognition that higher education, rather than being a tool of social mobility, could now be reinforcing income and wealth inequality (Blanden, 2020; Collins, 2019; Marginson, 2016a; Parker, 2016). There is little understanding, however, of how and why higher education might be contributing to inequality. This chapter, therefore, seeks to address how marketisation of higher education contributes to increased inequality and reduced social mobility.

In this chapter, I argue that two major recent trends in higher education (marketisation of higher education and the corresponding expansion of higher education) have contributed to rising inequality and decreased social mobility. The marketisation and expansion of higher education have simultaneously been accompanied by a reduction in state funding per-capita. The value of education as a discriminant of talent and capability has been reduced, and coursework, in contrast to examinations, favours students with wealthier and more educated parents.

The chapter continues by reviewing the marketisation of higher education and its features. It then overviews the relationship of education to the emergence of a meritocratic society and its implications for increased equality and social mobility. The chapter continues by highlighting the recent economic trends of increasing inequality in society and decreased social mobility. It then explores recent evidence highlighting the relationship between class structure and educational achievement. Finally, the chapter shows how the marketisation and expansion of higher education have reduced education's value as a ticket out of poverty while simultaneously entrenching the class structure stasis.

## 2 THE MARKETISATION OF HIGHER EDUCATION

The 2009 UNESCO report *Trends in Higher Education* identifies marketisation and expansion of higher education as a significant development in higher education in the last twenty years (Altbach, Reisberg, & Rumbley, 2009). Williams (1995) points out that globally there is a trend towards marketisation, and higher education will not be spared. Briefly, marketisation can be described as the introduction of market elements and processes in the provision of specific goods and services. The market is a means of economic coordination whereby the supply and demand for goods or services are balanced through the price mechanism rather than controlled by the state. Before the 1980s, the price and quantity of education controlled by the state also controlled the providers in many countries except for a few countries like the United States of America. Education was frequently free, and public funding for higher education was justified on the grounds that it serves the public good (Lynch, 2006).

The 1980s were characterised by two significant pressures on the state concerning higher education—the first was a growing demand for higher education from both industry and society. Second, a challenging economic environment characterised by inflation and budgetary pressures (Foskett, 2011). These pressures contributed to a massive expansion in higher education (Tight, 2019), but this was not accompanied by a proportionate increase in state funding. The OECD reported a 4.3% average annual growth in tertiary enrolment worldwide—a very rapid growth when compared to the 1.6% average annual growth in the world population over the same period (OECD, 2012). For example, in the UK in the mid-1980s there were fewer than 60 universities, and participation rates were approximately 6%; twenty years later the landscape of higher education was transformed, with some 140 universities and university colleges providing undergraduate programmes for 42% (and rising) of all 18-year-olds (Foskett, 2011). The growth in enrolment in tertiary education over the past four decades has been more obvious in emerging countries, notably Sub-Saharan Africa (8.4% average annual growth), the Arab states (7.4%), East Asia and the Pacific (7%), and South and West Asia (6%) (OECD, 2012).

Similarly, the cost of higher education has also been increasing at a pace higher than inflation. In the United States, the College Board (2016) *Annual Survey of Colleges* reported that between 2005–2006 and 2015–2016, the published in-state tuition and fees at public four-year

institutions increased at an average rate of 3.4% per year beyond inflation, compared to average annual rates of increase of 4.2% between 1985–1986 and 1995–1996 and 4.3% between 1995–1996 and 2005–2006. The same study reported that median family income in the United States rose at an average rate of 0.7% per year from 1985 to 1995 and 0.8% per year between 1995 and 2005. Between 2005 and 2014, median family income declined at an average rate of 0.2% per year after adjusting for inflation.

To cover the difference between the shortfall in state funding and the increased cost of education, the state promoted the marketisation of higher education (Lynch, 2006). In many countries, major reforms contributed to the emergence of ‘quasi-markets’ (Le Grand, 1990), in which the hand of the government provides significant guidance and influence on how the market operates. Teixeira, Jongbloed, Dill, and Amaral (2004) characterise the introduction of quasi-markets in higher education as a combination of three main vectors:

The first is the promotion of competition between higher education providers. The second is the privatisation of higher education— either by the emergence of a private higher education sector or through privatisation of certain aspects of public institutions. And the third is the promotion of higher education institutions’ economic autonomy, enhancing their responsiveness and articulation to the supply and demand of factors and products. (pp. 4–5)

The marketisation of higher education in the United Kingdom entailed tuition fees for undergraduate and postgraduate certificate students at universities across the entire United Kingdom in September 1998, with students being required to pay up to £1,000 a year for tuition (Alley & Smith, 2004). This was increased to £3,000 for the academic year 2006–2007 by the Higher Education Act 2004, and further increased to a maximum of £9,000 following the Independent Review of Higher Education Funding and Student Finance in 2010 (Alley & Smith, 2004).

In many developing countries, higher education has been through the emergence of private for-profit educational institutions, where students bear the full cost of education with little or no support from the government (World Bank, 2010). For example, at independence in 1945, Indonesia had only 1,000 tertiary-level students. It now has 57 public universities and more than 1,200 private universities, with more than 60%



of the student body enrolled in private institutions (World Bank, 2010). In South Africa, roughly half of the country's students are enrolled in private institutions (World Bank, 2010).

Accordingly, universities are being asked to produce commercially oriented professionals rather than public-interest professionals (Hanlon, 2000). The World Bank (2010) report also observes that “[i]n this environment, education becomes more narrowly focused on providing a skilled labor pool for the immediate needs of the economy. Market forces predominate and the public benefits of—and responsibilities for—higher education recede from view” (p. 38).

The conclusion is that while the state has adopted the conventional wisdom of the benefits of higher education, and promoted the expansion of higher education, the state in most countries has refused to fund the expansion and has passed the costs on to the students, using the argument that the primary beneficiaries (students) ought to pay a greater proportion or the full cost of education. To overcome the main criticism that increased fees deter poor students from pursuing higher education, the state in most countries provides upfront loans to cover tuition fees and living costs of students. This is not only common in developed countries like the United States, the United Kingdom, and Australia, but also in developing countries like Malaysia, which has the PTPTN loan scheme.

The student loan schemes, while allowing students from low-income families to pursue higher education, have saddled students with huge debts to be repaid. Debt.org, America's Debt Help Organization reported that...

[s]tudent loan debt has soared from \$260 billion in 2004 to \$1.2 trillion in 2014; average debt jumped from \$18,650 to \$33,000; and the number of people over 60 with student loan debt tripled to 2.1 million. That group's share of the debt has skyrocketed from \$8 billion to \$43 billion and five percent of them are having loan payments deducted from their Social Security checks.

Bolton (2016) reports that “[m]ore than £10 billion is loaned to students each year in the United Kingdom. This is likely to grow rapidly over the new few years, and the Government expects the value of outstanding loans to reach over £100 billion (2014–2015 prices) in 2018” (p. 3). In some developing countries, the high demand for student loans and funding constraints caused by unpaid loans from previous

borrowers have required the government to reduce the amount of money a student can borrow (StudyMalaysia.com, 2014).

Advocates of marketisation argue that marketisation will turn higher education into a more flexible and efficient institution, which will provide better value for money, and ensure that the university sector will become more efficient and more responsive to the needs of society, the economy, students, and parents. However, it is important to understand that marketisation is as much a political/ideological process as an economic phenomenon (Amsler & Motta, 2019). Through marketisation, governments often promote clearly defined political agendas. This chapter examines the impact of marketisation on one area—inequality and social mobility in society.

### 3 EQUALITY, SOCIAL MOBILITY, MERITOCRACY, AND EDUCATION

Equality is one of the critical hallmarks of modern society. In his essay *On Meritocracy and Equality*, Bell (1972) observed that...

[e]quality meant the chance to get ahead, regardless of one's origins, that no formal barriers or prescribed positions stood in one's way. This combination of attributes—the lack of deference and the emphasis on personal achievement—which gave the 19<sup>th</sup>-century America its revolutionary appeal, so much so that when the German '48ers came here, they abandoned socialism and became republicans. (p. 40)

As a principle, equality denies the primacy of birth, nepotism, patronage, or any other measure which is allocated according to position, rather than to fair competition, which is open equally to talent and ambition (Bell, 1972). In the words of Talcot Parsons (1937), equality is critical to a society based on universalism over particularism and achievement over ascription. Equality was also the critical difference between the Estate Society of the eighteenth century and earlier and modern society. Bell (1972) observes that while the Estate Society gave precedence to land, the army, and the Church, and only the birthright of inheritance could provide access to these institutions, modernity represented the replacement of this stratified order by the principle, change, and social mobility.

Both socialism and capitalism claim equality, the difference being ‘equality of result’ versus ‘equality of opportunity’. Meritocracy became the hallmark of ‘equality of opportunity’ and modern capitalism. The meritocratic ideal has its origins in Confucian values, which were instituted in Chinese civilisations such as the Han Dynasty (circa 200 B.C.) (Kazin, Edwards, & Rothman, 2011; Sienkewicz, 2003). These social reforms were taken in order to displace a ruling class based upon family inheritance, with civil bureaucracy based upon merit, as demonstrated through educational attainment, competitive examinations, and performance of one’s duties when appointed. Meritocratic ideals were eventually adopted by European Enlightenment thinkers (Voltaire, for example) in efforts to reconstitute the social order beyond the confines of the ancient regime. In Europe and the United States, it was used in the civil services as a protective measure against corruption and political favouritism.

Meritocracy also provided for significant differences in power and resources within modern capitalism, given the presumption that everyone has an equal or sufficiently reasonable possibility of succeeding by virtue of individual merit. The resultant inequalities are assumed as a social Darwinist natural order of things, and an indication of the inherent self-regulating tendencies of a free market in the distribution of resources (Adams, 1931; Carnegie, 1886; Hayek, 1945/1948).

Meritocracy, it is argued, provides for equality of opportunity through free and fair competition, and generates a high degree of social mobility, because talent, unconstrained by social origin, rises to the top (Alon & Tienda, 2007).

If meritocracy became the operative principle of ‘equality of opportunity’, educational achievement became the measure of merit and the mode for reducing inequality. It is assumed that education improves one’s probability of gainful employment, and is, therefore, the most transparent means for social mobility and inequality reduction. The OECD (2011) goes on to identify education as the most critical tool in reducing inequality:

Thus, the growth in average educational attainment appears to have been the single most important factor contributing to reduced wage dispersion among workers and higher employment rates. Based on these results, the evolution of earnings inequality across OECD countries over the past few decades could be viewed mainly as the difference between the demand for and supply of skills or, as neatly summarised by Tinbergen (1975), the outcome of a ‘race between education and technology. (p. 31)

In the absence of society's commitment to an equal distribution of resources in capitalism, academic institutions are held to be central sites for the redistribution of resources, status, and power. Goldthorpe (2002) pointed out that in a merit-based system, education filters parents' economic position from simply passing straight through to their children, thus simultaneously promoting economic efficiency, social justice, and social mobility. This theory gained wide acceptance and influence among academics, policy specialists, and politicians, acquiring the status of conventional wisdom. Goldthorpe (2002), however, observed that this is only possible if...

[f]irst, the link between individuals' social origins and their schooling must increasingly reflect *only* their ability. Second, the link between their schooling and their eventual employment must be strengthened by qualification acquired through education. And third, the link between schooling and employment must become *constant* for individuals of differing social origin. (Haverman & Smeeding, 2006, p. 127)

The later sections will look at how recent trends in education have violated this condition. For the moment however, the conventional wisdom provides the basis for the greatest expansion of higher education worldwide. In 1970, the UNESCO Institute for Statistics (UIS) estimated that there were roughly 32.5 million students in higher education worldwide. In the year 2000, this estimation increased to nearly 100 million, and in 2010 to 178 million. This translates into a 4.3% average annual growth in tertiary enrolment, a very rapid growth when compared to the 1.6% average annual growth in the world population over the same period (OECD, 2012). The UNESCO Institute for Statistics (UIS) report also revealed an accelerating expansion starting in the mid-1990s, with a 5.9% average annual growth of higher education enrolments in the first decade of the twenty-first century.

Higher education participation has expanded in stages across countries and world regions. Altbach et al. (2009) noted that the United States and Canada were the first countries to achieve mass higher education in the 1960s, followed by Western Europe and Japan in the 1980s. This trend then spread to developing and underdeveloped countries. The growth in tertiary enrolment over the past four decades was more obvious in emerging countries, notably Sub-Saharan Africa (8.4% average annual growth), the Arab states (7.4%), East Asia and the Pacific (7%), and South

and West Asia (6%) (OECD, 2012). The growth in higher education participation has also been accompanied by increasing female participation, more diverse profiles of institutions, programmes and students, integration of new technologies, and internationalisation (OECD, 2012).

#### 4 INCREASING INEQUALITY AND REDUCED SOCIAL MOBILITY

Recent developments in inequality and social mobility, however, do not support the conventional wisdom which was outlined in the previous section. Both developed and developing countries have experienced increasing income inequality levels over the last thirty years during the rise of global capitalism. While the real disposable household income increased by an average of 1.7% a year in OECD countries over the two decades before the onset of the global economic crisis of 2008, the household income of the richest 10% grew faster than those of the poorest 10% (OECD, 2011). In OECD countries today, the average income of the wealthiest 10% of the population is about nine times the poorest 10%—a ratio of 9 to 1 (OECD, 2011).

Between the mid-1980s and the 2000s, the Gini coefficient, a standard measure of income inequality which ranges from 0 (when everybody has identical incomes) to 1 (when all income goes to only one person), rose in 17 of the 22 OECD countries for which long-term data series are available. This trend is observed in the emerging economies of South Africa, the Russian Federation, China, and India. Income inequality in most Asian countries has been increasing since the mid 1980s (Asian Development Bank, 2007). Only Indonesia and Brazil recorded a decrease in the Gini coefficient, whereas Turkey, Greece, France, Hungary, and Belgium recorded no increase or small declines in their Gini coefficients (OECD, 2011).

The largest rise in the income share held by the top 1% of the population has occurred in the past 25 years. This has been dramatic in the United States, increasing from 10% in 1981 to 23.5% in 2007 (Volscho & Kelly, 2012). Researchers have shown that the shift of income towards dominant sectors has been sustained, increasing steadily from the 1980s with few trickle-down benefits (Hacker & Pierson, 2010).

The widening of income gaps was a reversal of the pattern during much of the twentieth century when inequality narrowed in many countries. In most countries, the top 1% share fell persistently from the 1920s

until the late 1970s. In 1955, Simon Kuznets, a Belarusian-born Harvard economist, famously described the relationship between inequality and prosperity as an upside-down U—inequality rises in the early stages of industrialisation as people leave the land, become more productive and earn more in factories (*Economist*, 2012). When industrialisation is complete, better-educated citizens demand redistribution from their government, and equality declines again (*Economist*, 2012).

There is considerable evidence that social mobility is closely related to income inequality—countries with high-income inequality have low-social mobility (Corak, 2013). The available evidence indicates a universal decline in social mobility (Solon, 2002). The literature on social mobility highlights that family background is a strong determinant of a child’s future success as an adult in the labour market (Gregg & Machin, 1999; McKnight, 2000).

More recently, studies have focused on understanding why those people who are born to affluent families appear to be, to some extent, protected from downward mobility, even when their skill level would predict that they had come from a lower socio-economic position. This phenomenon provides evidence of ‘opportunity hoarding’ (Tilly, 1998) or a ‘glass floor’ (Reeves & Howard, 2013). Reeves and Howard (2013) found that a sizeable proportion (43%) of those who remain in a higher income household are of modest skill, and would be expected, based on skill, to fall to a lower income level.

## 5 EDUCATION AND INCREASING INEQUALITY AND REDUCED SOCIAL MOBILITY—THE EVIDENCE

There is a general consensus that education has a major role in increasing inequality and reduced social mobility in the current environment. The Hamilton Project (Greenstone et al., 2013) mainly attributes the decreasing intergenerational mobility to education. The study makes the following observations based on current literature.

A college degree can be the ticket out of poverty. Haskins (2008) found that a low-income individual without a college degree will very likely remain in the lower part of the earning distribution, whereas a low-income individual with a college degree could just as easily land a job in any income quintile—including the highest. The OECD (2011) observed that average educational attainment is the single most important factor contributing to reduced wage dispersion among workers, and to higher

employment rates. Various studies also show that few investments yield as high a return as a college degree (Card, 2001). Kane and Rouse (1995) found that the returns to one credit at a two or four-year college are roughly 4–6% for every thirty completed credits. The above returns are not only specific to the United States, but supported by twenty-seven studies across nine countries (Ashenfelter et al., 1999).

The children of high- and low-income families are born with similar abilities but different opportunities. Fryer and Levitt (2013) found that there is almost no cognitive ability difference between high- and low-income individuals at the earliest ages. By the age of four, however, children in the highest income quintile score, on average, in the 69th percentile on literacy and mathematics tests, while children in the lowest income quintile score in the 34th and 32nd percentile, respectively (Waldfogel & Washbrook, 2011). Research suggests that these differences are largely due to factors related to a child's home environment, and a family's socio-economic status (Fryer & Levitt, 2004). This finding is supported by the observation that high-income parents are willing to invest more money and time in their children's education.

There is a widening gap between the investments which high- and low-income families make in their children. Duncan and Murnane (2011) found that over the past four decades, families at the top of the income ladder increased spending on education from just over \$3,500 to nearly \$9,000 per child per year (in constant 2008 dollars), while parents at the bottom of the income distribution increased their spending (since the early 1970s) from less than \$850 to about \$1,300. There is also an indication that parental investment in higher education is increased when the parents themselves received parental financial support. This suggests continuity over generations (Steelman & Powell, 1991). Parents of higher socio-economic status invested not only more money in their children, but also more time (Guryan et al., 2008). Williams (2010) reported studies showing that children from poorer backgrounds were not predisposed to working less hard, but parents' attitudes were most important, making more of a difference than schools themselves. Schools also put in more effort with pupils from higher income homes, possibly because of the pressure exerted by their pushy parents.

The achievement gap between high- and low-income students has increased. Test results of children from families at the 90th income percentile, to those of children from families at the 10th percentile, has grown by about 40% over the past thirty years (Reardon, 2011). Dahl

and Lochner (2012) found that a 1,000 USD increase in parental income raised combined math and reading test scores of children by 6% of a standard deviation in the short-run. The relationship of ACT and SAT scores to parental income has become a subject of public debate in the United States (Rampell, 2009; Zumbrun, 2014).

College graduation rates have increased sharply for wealthy students, but stagnated for low-income students. A study of graduation rates for individuals born between 1961 and 1964 and those born between 1979 and 1982 found an 18% increase for the highest income quartile, and only a 4 percentage-point increase for the lowest income quartile (Bailey & Dynarski, 2011). Ellwood and Kane (2000) found that not only had the graduation rates widened, but enrolment rates in four-year college programmes had also widened between 1982 and 1992. Rafferty and Hout (1993) attribute the small increase in university admission and graduation of children from low-income families in comparison to high-income families to the hypothesis of ‘maximally maintained inequality’ (MMI). The hypothesis claims that education expansion causes the decline in quantitative inequalities in enrolment rates, when the enrolment rate for the most advantaged socio-economic group approaches the saturation point. MMI predicts the decrease of family background effect on educational attainment after the saturation point for the high socio-economic groups has been reached. The hypothesis seeks to explain the persistence of educational inequalities despite the expansion of higher education.

High-income families dominate at America’s selective colleges. At institutions ranked as ‘most competitive’—those with more selective admissions and which require high grades and SAT scores—the wealthiest students out-populate the poorest students by a margin of fourteen to one. At institutions which are ranked as ‘less-competitive’ and ‘non-competitive,’ the lowest socio-economic status students are over-represented (Carnevale & Rose, 2004; Carnevale & Strohl, 2010). These findings raise the question of whether or not colleges and universities have been making enough effort to admit and enrol qualified students. Two studies (Carnevale & Rose, 2004; Winston & Hill, 2005) which have attempted to answer this difficult question, conclude that the available pool of qualified students is far greater than the group of students who are admitted and enrolled at these prestigious institutions (Carnevale & Strohl, 2010). Furthermore, 1988 data showed that in the 146 top-tier



colleges and universities, 74% of the entering class is from the highest socio-economic quartile.

Students are borrowing more to attend college and defaulting more frequently on their loans. In the United States, the outstanding student loan debt owed as a share of household income has increased from 15% in 2007 to 23% in 2010 (Fry, 2012; Lee, 2013).

Many other studies support these observations by the Hamilton Project. While the Hamilton Project focuses on the United States, the same is also true for most other countries. As highlighted above, the conventional wisdom that education is the best ticket out of poverty still holds true because college and university graduates earn more than non-college graduates. It is not working out that way for many young adults from low-income families, as highlighted by evidence in the previous section. The increase in income for university graduates is, however, not evenly distributed. Hacker and Pierson (2010) observed that while those at the top are often highly educated, so are those just below them who have been left behind: “[o]nly a tiny slice of the new educational elite has entered the new economic elite” (p. 159). Arshed et al. (2019) found that an increase in tertiary education will decrease income inequality, but that its large-scale implication “will increase income inequality because individuals who attain a higher level of tertiary education will demand higher wages compared with primary and secondary school graduates, which further increases income inequality” (p. 1064).

In popular literature, the blame for this outcome is that parents from low-income families do not invest the time and money to ensure their children’s success. The fact is that the current system favours the wealthy, because the system is unfair and the playing field is not level. There is a growing recognition, however, that higher education, rather than being a tool of social mobility, could now be reinforcing income and wealth inequality (Marginson, 2016a; Parker, 2016), and that current systems favour children from wealthy parents. Marginson (2016a) attributes this to social stratification in higher education—that the degree value is unequal in labour markets, and that there is a weakening of conditions for equal opportunity. The important question is why is this happening?

## 6 HOW MARKETISATION OF HIGHER EDUCATION AFFECTS INEQUALITY AND SOCIAL MOBILITY

Prior studies have pointed out that marketisation of higher education is as much a political/ideological process as an economic phenomenon (Molesworth et al., 2011), and have hinted that it has an impact on social stratification (Furedi, 2011). This section will highlight two ways in which the marketisation of higher education increases inequality and decreases social mobility: (1) high student debt and stratification of educational institutions, and (2) changes in assessment methods.

### 6.1 *High Student Debt and Stratification of Higher Education Institutions*

In Sect. 2, it was identified that to overcome the main criticism of increasing fees that deter poor students from pursuing higher education, most countries provide upfront loans to cover tuition fees and living costs of students both in public and private higher education institutions. The critical question is that, while students are saddled with huge debts in obtaining a degree, are they receiving a valuable education? And is the resulting job commensurate with their qualifications?

First, funding cuts have transferred education to students leading to high debt and inequality (Mitchell, Leachman, & Saenz, 2019). Second, a recent report by the Chartered Institute of Personnel and Development in the United Kingdom reported that overall, 58.8% of graduates are in jobs deemed to be non-graduate roles (BBC, 2015). The report also pointed out that the number of graduates had now significantly outstripped the creation of high-skilled jobs. “The assumption that we will transition to a more productive, higher-value, higher-skilled economy just by increasing the conveyor belt of graduates is proven to be flawed”, said Peter Cheese, chief executive of the CIPD (BBC, 2015). Research also indicates an evolution of the lecturers’ roles and responsibilities (Wong & Chiu, 2019).

Higher education quality is a highly contested concept, and has multiple meanings for people who perceive higher education and quality differently. It becomes more of a challenge in a rapidly expanding environment, and more so when it includes private for-profit institutions which are focused on producing a return for their shareholders. There have been very few studies on private for-profit higher education systems

because they are not a common phenomenon in many developed countries, except the United States. In 2010 the Committee on Health, Education, Labour, and Pensions of the United States Senate initiated an oversight into the proprietary sector of higher education. Its 2012 report was damning. The report concluded that the financial focus of these institutions was not on using their revenue to improve the quality of instruction which is offered, but instead on spending an increasingly large share of their budget on marketing.

The colleges studied had a total of 32,496 recruiters, compared with 3,512 career service staff members. Among the 30 companies, an average of 22.4 percent of revenue went to marketing and recruiting, 19.4 percent to profits, and 17.7 percent to instruction. (Lewin, 2012)

The expansion of education and the introduction of private for-profit education institutions have contributed to greater stratification among higher education institutions (Alon & Tienda, 2007; Frank, 1999; Marginson, 2006). This would not be a problem for equal opportunity, provided that the remainder of the sector was also elevated. In much of the world, however, the world-class university movement has become combined with a crisis in the quality of mass higher education. Many students from low-income backgrounds, which are the majority of enrolments, are located in private institutions of dubious value (Marginson, 2016a).

## 6.2 *Changes in Assessment Methods*

Choice is a major feature of the marketisation paradigm, and at the heart of a system which is assumed to ensure quality, diversity, and individual freedom (Nixon, 2011). It is also common that the market winner will be the popular choice of the customer. Yet detailed accounts of the nature of choice experiences that students face are missing from this literature and we might recognise that the learning-related choices that lead to complex individual transformations are not the same as the often fickle and short-term consumer-related choices that seem to dominate in the market (Nixon, 2011).

One of the major changes in higher education which has been driven by marketisation is the choice of coursework over examinations as the

preferred method of assessment. In his review of coursework versus examinations in end-of-module assessment, Richardson (2015) highlights that it was a rarity in the United Kingdom as late as the 1980s, and assessment texts made only a brief mention of it. “Today however it is not unknown for degrees to be awarded to students on the basis of their performance in coursework alone” (Richardson, 2015, p. 439).

Ideally, the form of assessment on a particular module ought to be determined by the module’s design, and in particular, by the module’s intended learning outcome. The evidence however, indicates that coursework, in contrast to examinations, has a significant impact on student performance. Studies in the United Kingdom indicate that, concurrent with the introduction of coursework, there has been a marked improvement in degree results. Macfarlane (1992) observed that in 1979, 32% of all graduates had been awarded good degrees (first-class or upper second-class honours), but in 1990 that proportion had increased to 49%.

Studies also indicate changes in module grades over time with the introduction of coursework. Starr (1968) found a correlation coefficient of +0.52 between teacher-training students in their coursework and their grades on examinations. In their discipline of geography, Gibbs et al. (1996) found a significant positive relationship between the proportion of coursework assessment on a module, and the average grades on that module. They obtained similar findings in nursing and midwifery.

Research also shows a strong relationship between ability, learning styles, personality traits, and a preference for assessment methods. Furnham and Chamorro-Premuzik (2005) found that participants who estimated their intelligence more highly tended to have more positive attitudes towards exams. Participants who estimated their intelligence less highly tended to have less favourable attitudes towards exams. The participant rating of their intelligence was also supported by IQ tests, showing a significant positive correlation between psychometric IQ and preference for multiple-choice exams. Thus, participants with higher IQ scores were more likely to prefer multiple-choice exams than were participants with lower IQ scores. They summarise their findings as follows:

Brighter students favored multiple-choice tests, neurotics did not like (stressful) essay-type examinations, extraverts liked oral exams (viva voce), and conscientious students favored continuous assessment assignments over those who were less conscientious. (p. 1985)

Studies on the relationship between learning styles and assessment methods found that surface learners favoured multiple choice and group work, but did not like timed essay exams or dissertations; deep learners, on the other hand, favoured timed essays, oral exams, and dissertations—which require recall over simple recognition, and thus force greater understanding of information (Furnham et al., 2008). Coursework also helps wealthy students because they can afford private tutoring which helps raise their grades to get into good universities. Marshall and Fukao (2019) found that in Cambodia, secondary schools' extra classes are associated with higher test scores on standardised tests in mathematics and physics. In an interview to *Times Higher Education* Furnham (2005) summed up the findings of the above research as follows:

The bright students always want traditional exams because they know they are capable of performing well. The less able prefer continuous assessment or group work because they can pool resources, freeload and get their friends or parents to help, or can plagiarise. It is not a rigorous form of assessment. (Furnham et al., 2008, p. 18)

It is the last part of Furnham's observation to which I would like to turn. Academic integrity or plagiarism has become a major issue in universities since the introduction of coursework. Every university has developed lengthy policies on combatting plagiarism, but evidence indicates that either they are insufficient, or academic integrity of coursework cannot be ensured. Paldy (1996), provides evidence that plagiarism is a problem which is growing bigger and 'will not go away'. The evidence is multi-dimensional, coming from many countries, including the United States (White, 1993), the United Kingdom (Ashworth, Bannister, & Thorne, 1997), and Finland (Seppanen, 2002), and includes both undergraduate and postgraduate students in public and private higher institutions of education.

The problem in detection comes when the work which is presented is entirely original. It would not show any similarity with other work which is submitted for the assessment, and it would not be found online. The problem is that the student who submits the work is not the author of the work. This form of plagiarism can vary from the entire work being done by a ghostwriter, to major assistance from parents, or professional help in producing the work. This is clearly an affront to academic integrity. But how is it to be detected? Jenkins and Helmore (2006) carried out

an experiment in which they obtained a programming assignment, then passed it off as a student's assignment, the aim of which was to test if it would be detected. They found that it was not only simple and easy to obtain an assignment online, but that it was also very inexpensive, generally within the financial reach of most students: "Programs that would gain a first class mark in each assignment were available for under £20, and often much less" (p. 124). The purchased assignment scored a first-class grade with some ease. The cheating was also not detected. This form of cheating practically allows a student to buy a degree when it is awarded to students on the basis of their performance in coursework alone (Richardson, 2015).

## 7 CONCLUSION

Education, and particularly higher education, has been the foundation of a meritocratic society, and has been promoted as the most effective ticket out of poverty. A merit-based higher education system, it is argued, can offset the role of social class in determining economic outcomes. In a merit-based system, education filters parents' economic position from simply passing straight through to their children. These arguments have been the key drivers for the expansion of higher education, first in the United States, followed by the remainder of the world.

In the last thirty years, however, the greatest expansion of higher education worldwide has been accompanied by increasing inequality and reduced social mobility, thereby raising questions about the relationship of higher education to inequality and social mobility. There is a growing recognition that higher education, rather than being a tool of social mobility, might now be reinforcing income and wealth inequality (Marginson, 2016a; Parker, 2016).

Prior studies have frequently attributed increased income inequality and reduced social mobility to a child's home environment and family's socio-economic status (Fryer & Levitt, 2004), because higher income parents are willing to invest more money and time in their children's education (Guryan et al., 2008). This study to a large extent challenges the above and it is argued that, it is changes to the education system introduced by marketisation that is contributing to increased inequality and reduced social mobility.

This chapter illustrated how two major recent trends in higher education which are driven by marketisation (increasing student debt and

stratification of higher education, and the increasing use of coursework rather than exams) have contributed to rising inequality and decreased social mobility. A degree is supposed to be discriminant of talent and capability. But in a world where everyone has a degree, its role as a discriminant is reduced. In an environment where the value of a degree as a discriminant variable is reduced, other variables such as social capital and networks play an important role in securing well-paying jobs. Marginson (2016a) summarises this as a declining commitment to student learning by both students and institutions:

It is difficult to pin this phenomenon down conclusively, but there is some evidence that suggests a retreat from solid learning content and an increased focus on the selection function of education, navigating the educational hierarchy, student consumer satisfaction, and credentialing— aspects that are highlighted in a positional market. These practices break the link between hard work, content, and educational outcomes. This denies aspiring students from poor backgrounds a learning technology that they can invest in, while placing greater emphasis on the institutional smarts— the social and cultural capital— that they do not possess. This is as fatal for equality of opportunity as are financial barriers.

The reduction in state funding per-capita and the corresponding growth of private education have also contributed to the stratification of higher education with educational quality dependent on payer ability. Consequently, poor families and students are saddled with high debts and qualifications of little value. As pointed out by the CIPD report, many graduates end up in non-graduate positions, with salaries which leave them struggling to pay off student debts, thereby further increasing inequality in society.

Coursework has contributed to grade inflation, and further strained the link between diligence, content, and educational outcomes. In contrast to exams, coursework is more susceptible to plagiarism, which favours students with wealthier and educated parents who can either assist their children with their coursework or pay for ghost writers.

In combination, the expansion of higher education and the expansion of coursework assessment have enabled wealthy parents to secure degrees for their children, regardless of their intelligence and capability, resulting in the reduced value of a degree as a discriminator of excellence. The two trends have facilitated opportunity hoarding, and protected those born to affluent families from downward mobility.

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# The Footballisation of European Higher Education: Different Fields, Similar Games?

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## 1 INTRODUCTION

It is widely acknowledged that at least since the 1980s, higher education around the world has been influenced by global economic and cultural

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forces. Consequently, higher education institutions themselves (and their constituent units) are increasingly global actors which extend their influence around the world (Marginson & Rhoades, 2002). Marginson and Rhoades (2002) contend that globalisation processes in higher education are both under-studied and under-theorised, despite their pivotal role in setting national policy agendas (Cloete et al., 2006), shaping institutional strategies (Beerkens, 2008), and influencing the academic profession (Goastellec & Pekari, 2013).

Most studies of higher education systems are anchored in cross-national comparative studies, and explore the effects of global pressures on higher education systems (for example, de Boer et al., 2011; Fumasoli et al., 2014; Pinheiro & Antonowicz, 2015) rather than aiming to understand the logics of global processes per se. Furthermore, studies on global changes in higher education also seem slightly hermetic, and seldom make reference to developments in other organisational fields (Berg & Pinheiro, 2016; Carvalho & Santiago, 2016).

In this chapter, we draw upon the institutional field perspective (Wooten & Hoffman, 2008) which aims to understand organisations and policies within a field as being embedded in complex networks of power relations, and also in hierarchical positions competing for legitimacy and resources (Naidoo, 2004). According to DiMaggio and Powell (1991), an organisational field relates to the “sets of organisations that, in the aggregate, constitute a recognised area of institutional life; key suppliers, resource and product consumers, regulatory agencies, and other organisations that produce similar services or products” (pp. 64–65).

Globalisation, pertaining to “a multi-dimensional set of social processes that create, multiply, stretch, and intensify worldwide social interdependencies and exchanges, while at the same time fostering in people a growing awareness of deepening connections between the local and the distant” (Steger, 2003, as cited in Maringe & Foskett, 2012, p. 24), entails the influence of similar hegemonic concepts and ideas on geographically distant and distinct organisational fields (Drori et al., 2006). This is clearly the case with football (soccer in the United States) and higher education in the European context. In the past two decades or so, both fields have been shaped by prevalent economic

forces of global competition, with football clubs and universities operating in fiercer competitive (market-based and market-like) environments. As organisations, football clubs and universities are deeply embedded in the nation-state, although their linkages are transnational in nature. Stated differently, the organisational fields of European football and higher education emerged within deeply embedded local/national contexts, with weak links to the transnational environment (Clark, 1983). With globalising processes gradually coming to the fore (Robertson, 1992), however, both fields have become subject to growing isomorphic or convergence pressures. In turn, these pressures have helped rewrite the rules of the game. In this chapter, we explore a rather simple question: What can be learned by comparing the current dynamics of the fields of European football and European higher education? In so doing, our aims are to contribute to ongoing debates on the future nature of European higher education systems, and to provide new critical insights by resorting to a comparative cross-sectoral analysis of key developments in these fields.

The chapter begins by presenting the key features of a phenomenon which we coin ‘footballisation’. It then describes the nature and evolution of football and higher education as organisational fields. The chapter continues by discussing whether or not the observed patterns will necessarily result in convergence between the two fields. Finally, it revisits the key field-level outcomes which result from the footballisation of higher education.

## 2 FOOTBALLISATION

Studies focusing on comparative developments in the organisational fields of football and higher education are scarce (See Tight [2000] as an exception.). This is not surprising, because the two sectors and their respective players or organisational actors are rather distinct and historically different. European universities first emerged in the Middle Ages, and their shape and form have evolved over the years in light of political, cultural, and economic developments (de Ridder-Symoens & Rüegg, 2003). Despite this evolution, their structures, functions, and characteristics have remained relatively stable (Rüegg, 2004), attesting to their overall resilience as social institutions (Pinheiro & Young, 2017) which serve the public good, and in close relation to the church and the nation-state. It was not until quite recently that the neoliberal ideas of competition, and then increased globalisation, emerged to deeply affect



the nature of universities, as described by Marginson (2016a, b). One way in which higher universities have responded to global forces and dynamics is by resorting to internationalisation strategies, by fostering the flows of students and staff, for example, and establishing strategic alliances, partnerships, and new business models which are centred on an entrepreneurial ethos (Maringe & Foskett, 2012). Although internationalisation has been a key feature of universities historically, the globalisation to which we refer here is essentially different, pertaining instead to the influence of hegemonic ideas, and to the establishment of a global market for higher education services, students, and staff. By contrast, football clubs and leagues first emerged during the latter half of the nineteenth century, when professional and semi-professional local and national leagues were created alongside national football associations. In the last decades, the marketisation and globalisation of football have both been taken to new levels, challenging local and national links, with some leading clubs now operating as international top brands available in the market.

In the context of this chapter, footballisation refers to the prevalence of global market forces in the governance and steering of systems, institutions, and actors across a given organisational field, with consequences on how the field is structured, and how organisations which are present in the field relate to one another. Regarding its outcomes, footballisation affects field-level dynamics in the following respects:

- **Differentiation:** This is the extent to which actors or players within the field adopt specific structures, functions, and values, to make them distinct from their direct competitors. In the case of higher education, this process is often manifested in institutional profiles, which are voluntarily adopted or prescribed by law, and which are reflected in distinct missions or functions (research intensive, vocational, or locally embedded, for example). This process is commonly associated with the notion of horizontal differentiation within national higher education systems (Van Vught, 2009).
- **Structuration:** This is the extent to which hierarchies among organisations within a given field emerge, reflecting their dominant market positions and enhanced statuses (command of resources, prestige, and other tangible and intangible aspects, for example, which engender competitive advantage). In higher education, this process is associated with vertical differentiation (Van Vught, 2009).

- **Fragmentation:** This is the degree to which the organisational field as a whole becomes structurally decoupled into multiple loosely tied sub-fields which are composed of smaller sets of organisations with similar goals and characteristics.

As for its empirical manifestations, footballisation encompasses four inter-related dimensions, as outlined in Table 1.

**Table 1** Dimensions of Footballisation

<i>Dimension</i>	<i>Primary aim</i>	<i>Football</i>	<i>Higher education</i>
Physical presence	Loyalty and recruitment of local/global talents	Main stadium vs. youth academies or satellite clubs	Main campuses vs. branched (domestic) or offshore campuses (international)
Accreditation mechanisms: formal and informal	Field legitimisation	Club rankings (financial, achievements, etc.)	Rankings and club memberships/alliances
Profiling and branding	Market recognition	Own TV channels, overseas fan clubs, merchandising, etc.	Sponsorships, merchandising, strategies, etc.
Managerialism (De-contextualisation/professionalisation of leadership)	Performance management	Star coaches (many of whom never played the game) and progressive entrepreneurial capitalists—the ‘new directors’ (King, 1997)	Decline of collegial structures and the rise of professional management

### 3 THE EVOLVING NATURE OF FOOTBALL AS AN ORGANISATIONAL FIELD

As an organisational field, football is a recognised area of institutional life (Wilkesmann & Blutner, 2002). Since the mid-1980s, it has undergone deep structural changes which were largely driven by rapid marketisation in the form of the freedoms of movement, trade, and communications, resulting in a massive global business (Kennedy & Kennedy, 2016). In 2017, the five major European football leagues alone generated annual revenues of around €15 billion (Statistica, 2017). Such globalising processes have exerted a growing influence on the structure of European football (Giulianotti & Robertson, 2007).

The reconfiguration of the field started in the late 1980s, followed by a somewhat symbolic change triggered by the establishment of the UEFA Champions League in 1992. The Champions League continued a long history of European club football competition known as the European Champion Clubs' Cup, which was established in 1955/1956, and in which only the champions of the national leagues participated. Although the European Champion Clubs' Cup was prestigious, the competition had a limited impact on the way football as a field was organised. European football rested upon largely autonomous national leagues with their own long-standing traditions, structures, promotions, and relegation systems of (Heck et al., 2012).

Starting in the early 1990s, the structure of the competition began to move its locus from the national to the European level. The gradual de-nationalisation of club football created an opportunity for larger and more influential (richer) clubs to play more games (against other big clubs), regardless of their country of origin. Unlike in the past, European competition became important not only as a source of reputation, but also as a transnational business opportunity which could generate income from television rights, transnational advertisement, and global (offshore) merchandising. The de-nationalisation of European football provided a platform for the exponential expansion of its fan base, translated into massive financial revenues (Szymanski & Kuper, 2015). In 2014/2015 alone, the top 10 European clubs reported a total revenue of 1.16 trillion GBP, the equivalent of Australia's gross domestic product.

Football is one of the most globalised social phenomena (Giulianotti & Robertson, 2007) and is often linked to the process of Europeanisation (Missiroli, 2002), referring to the increasing role of supra-national

regulations, and the power of European institutions in setting the rules of the game. However, global opportunities are only available to a few select clubs which promote themselves successfully at the transnational level. Predominant global contenders emanate from five major European leagues: the English Premier League, Spanish La Liga, Italian Serie A, German Bundesliga, and French Ligue 1. These clubs began to flourish by attracting a massive number of new overseas fans and followers, triggering the emergence of the so-called Big Five (Dima, 2015)—the most prestigious, most popular, and wealthiest national football leagues. Hobsbawm (2007) acknowledges that global forces disproportionately favour the Big Five by giving them endless opportunities to absorb resources worldwide. These global forces result in inevitable tensions, and identity conflicts among fans (Giulianotti, 2002), because the Big Five and their leading clubs colonise more peripheral parts of the football world (for example, Andrews, 2015; Armstrong & Mitchell, 2008).

The globalisation of European football has led to a radical restructuring of the field, with the Big Five becoming the field's epicentre, and consequently outplaying other national leagues (Kentrotis, 2016). Despite the fair play rhetoric of the UEFA, the establishment of the Champions League significantly increased the financial rewards for top clubs, thereby contributing to the institutionalisation of a new transnational league (Menary, 2016). A long pre-elimination structure was established, which narrowed the probability that clubs which maintain low levels of global popularity (emanating from provincial leagues) reach the group or final stage of competition. By doing so, the UEFA killed two birds with one stone: (1) maintaining the illusion of a competition of league champions, while (2) keeping unwelcome (unattractive to broadcasters) teams away from the real competition and the real money, which start at the group level. At the same time, the Champions League continues to strengthen its institutional identity on symbolic dimensions by establishing its own logo, flag, and anthem, which is ritualistically played before each game.

The global marketisation of football competition has transformed the traditional horizontal orientation of national leagues into a vertically oriented transnational and fragmented field of European football (Brand, Niemann, & Spitaler, 2013). Transnational competition opened almost endless business (advertising) opportunities in markets for global brands, which, in turn, fuelled top football clubs (from the central leagues) with massive cash flows. The resources which are available on the global scale

are being distributed highly asymmetrically, benefitting only the best football clubs, and resulting in growing inequalities (See Menary [2016], for example).

The method which is used to form the Champions League group stages is flawed because it lacks competitive balance. Consequently, the top-ranked teams remain in the highest seeding pool, which reinforces their status by providing these clubs with a better chance of qualifying for the knockout stages, and in turn more prize money and global exposure. For clubs from the Big Five, keeping the status quo in the Champions League is important because it mostly benefits them. This situation, however, strengthens existing inequalities, and widens the gap between elite clubs and the remaining clubs. In reality, and despite some occasional exceptions, only the biggest clubs win the Champions League, which helps extend their hegemonic power (field status and position) over the remaining clubs (Plumley & Flint, 2015).

This concentration of power and influence is clearly visible in the evolution of clubs' financial revenues over the last 20 years. In 1997, in the first edition of Deloitte's annual Money Football League report, which reviews the finances of most football clubs, Manchester United was ranked first with an annual income of £87.9 million. In the latest report (2019), RealMadrid reported an annual revenue of £644 million, followed by FC Barcelona with £592 million and Manchester United with £571 million. Over the given period, the top clubs increased their revenues, on average, eightfold, whereas the revenue of the entire Polish Ekstraklasa (18 clubs in total) was estimated to be £105 million. This demonstrates that leading European clubs are financially on a completely different level than the remaining clubs. Moreover, the current hierarchy which is composed of elite clubs, demonstrates a rather high-level stability. In the last two decades, the top 10 ranking saw the appearance of only two new names: Manchester City and Paris Saint Germain. Both clubs were able to join this rarefied group only because of takeovers by foreign billionaires who injected massive amounts of cash. As for their age, out of the top 20 clubs in 2019, all but two clubs—Paris Saint Germain which was founded in 1970, and AS Roma which was founded in 1927—were established in the period 1878–1905.

These developments have led to increased structuration and fragmentation along two interrelated dimensions. The first dimension refers to the prominent position of the Big Five. The prevailing, hegemonic position of the national leagues has been driven by their respective top football clubs

(those leading in the aforementioned Deloitte report) which reached a global status and outplayed their competitors. The clubs themselves, and the formation of an élite European group of teams, represent another tier of the field structuration and fragmentation (Antonowicz, Kossakowski, & Szlendak, 2015). In many respects, the rise in prominence and hegemony of the Champions League represents a restructuring of the field towards a transnational tier of élite clubs which compete in a league of their own. In short, marketisation resulted in both structuration and fragmentation at the levels of the national leagues and the clubs themselves. And given that the presence of, or access to, the Champions League is dependent on clubs' performance and positioning in the domestic leagues, the domestic and transnational fields are nested together (Hüther & Krücken, 2016), despite the fact that only the top performers at the domestic level have the opportunity to test their luck at the transnational level... in the millionaires' club.

#### 4 DEVELOPMENTS IN THE HIGHER EDUCATION FIELD

As an organisational field, higher education is currently deeply embedded both politically and structurally in local and national contexts (by funding systems and regulations, for example). Hazelkorn (2015, 2016) notes, however, that national higher education policy agendas try to adjust to geopolitical principles, such as globalisation and transnational competition, thereby resulting in local responses to global forces which affect the field as a whole (Pinheiro et al., 2015a, b). This has far-reaching implications, starting with the prevalence of world university rankings which reinforce convergence towards the research-intensive (world-class) university model (Ramirez et al., 2016). The effects of such global forces are mainly seen on the policy level and in the institutional environment which shape the higher education field (Huisman & Van Der Wende, 2004; Marginson & Van Der Wende, 2006). Although there is a policy process in which global values are translated or nationalised into policy agendas (Sahlin & Wedlin, 2008), studies suggest that these agendas are increasingly converging in light of the discourses about excellence and the imperative to become world-class (Ramirez & Tiplic, 2014). And within the context of this discourse, a pivotal role is played by world university rankings.

Mainstream rankings normalise the Anglo-American science university model, forcing universities everywhere, regardless of their contexts,

to conform to that model, in order to fulfil its indicators, maximise competitive position, and secure the global status which they all desire (Marginson, 2016a, b). This leads to the emergence of a new ruling global caste of world-class universities whose superiority and global reputation are legitimised by global rankings, and are empowered by domestic policies which enact a reduction of diversity in organisational missions (horizontal differentiation) by focusing instead on vertical differentiation (See Pinheiro et al. [2016], for example.).

Enders (2015) points out that the emergence of world university rankings symbolises the entry of a new transnational actor which not only contributes with information, but also has a massive impact on the field through the definition of success and failure (Sauder, 2008). Rankings favour a particular entrepreneurial and research-intensive type of university, distributing symbolic capital in the field (Bourdieu, 1988) and leaving other competing organisational models in subordinate positions (Marginson & Van Der Wende, 2006). Rankings unintentionally make major contributions to the establishment and empowerment of a new, global organisational model of world-class universities which “travel widely and are easily inserted into new places and for new uses” (Espeland & Sauder, 2007, p. 36)... possibly rendering a new global university champions league. According to Mohrman et al. (2008), this emerging global model stands out because the mission of higher education transcends the boundaries of the nation-state—educating for a global perspective, and advancing the frontiers of knowledge worldwide.

These changes in the higher education field have triggered a strategic/political response in the European Union in the form of the Lisbon Strategy (European Council, 2000), which signalled a rediscovery of higher education as a major driver of innovation and economic growth. Indeed, it articulated that “a new grand narrative of the role of education has emerged on a truly global level” (Enders, 2010, p. 209). Research, therefore, was legitimised as a utilitarian instrument of economic development, and it instigated a major shift in the European Union (Gornitzka, 2007), by locating higher education and research at the heart of Europe’s economic growth and development plan. This policy shift to support higher education and research was not so much a political choice, but instead a response to the changing economic environment in which knowledge was used by the post-industrial economy as an instrument for

building a comparative advantage in the market. In doing so, the European Union joined a global university arms race (Enders, 2015; Pinheiro, 2015)

Grant competitions, for example, further translate into national policies which attempt to increase the ability that universities in a given country can compete in the transnational university arms race (Enders, 2015). Vertical stratification became one of the policy priorities (Tapper & Palfreyman, 2010). And a wide range of political instruments was devised and deployed to attain this policy. But the end goal was the same—creating world-class universities (Hazelkorn, 2015; Salmi, 2009).

Such political measures which focused on select elite universities were undertaken first in the United Kingdom, and then later across continental Europe. Numerous ‘excellence initiatives’ were embedded within higher education policies in the Nordic countries (Geschwind & Pinheiro, 2017; Stensaker & Fumasoli, 2016), Central and Eastern Europe (Antonowicz et al., 2017), Germany (Kehm & Paasternack, 2009), France, and Austria (Resch, 2014). Many of these initiatives were built on the assumption that widely distributed funding, infrastructure, and staff would also benefit other universities, and would contribute to the sustainable development of the regions in which they were embedded. These initiatives, however, fail to create research capacity for the leading universities which require a high concentration of resources to create a critical mass and a strong research capacity, and in turn, compete in the global race for resources, talent, and prestige.

Another step which the European Commission undertook to address growing global challenges was to create the European Research Area. The central role of the European Research Area was given to the European Union’s Research Framework Programmes (FP), which formally began in 1984 with only a small budget which is equivalent to €4 billion. Since 2006, however, the Framework Programmes have become serious policy instruments, with a budget of more than €50 billion. Taking into account the size of Europe, one might think that the funding amount is insignificantly disproportional to the needs to be addressed. But in addition to financial resources, the European Research Council also lends a significant level of prestige to host institutions, thereby contributing to their world-class university status.

The consequences of moving resources to the European level are revealed in distributive patterns of ERC grants, which are commonly



regarded as the most prestigious, lucrative, and, consequently, competitive sources of basic research funding in Europe. From a total of 4354 ERC grants, 2832 (or 65%) went to, or were hosted in, one of five major European countries (the United Kingdom, Germany, France, the Netherlands, and Switzerland). Two out of three ERC grants were hosted by universities in these five European countries. In short, for most European universities, ERC grants are nothing more than an illusion. Empirical data (ERC Executive Agency, 2015) show that the distribution of grants has created undisputed national winners. Not surprisingly, the winners are in rich and powerful countries of Western Europe. There is little doubt that introducing all-European competition under the EU Framework Programmes reinforces already existing inequalities among nation-states. It also contributes profoundly to further stratification, because those universities which are rich and academically excellent will continue to dominate. It would be expected that various political initiatives would lead to a concentration of resources in a few of the most economically advanced countries, and in flagship universities (or select research centres) within such countries (See Geschwind and Pinheiro [2017], for example.). And indeed, the more that resources are distributed on a transnational level through competitive mechanisms, the more asymmetrical their allocation.

Among the top fifty universities which signed grant agreements in the recent Framework Programmes 7, there is no single institution from the so-called ‘new Europe’, namely the countries which joined the EU in 2004 and later. Considering only the most prestigious ERC Advances Grants (2007–2013), from a total number of 1702 grants awarded, as many as 1145 (or 67%) went to universities in the United Kingdom, Germany, France, the Netherlands, and Switzerland. This process is likely to continue, as ERC Starting Grants follow roughly the same pattern—1473 from 2332 grants (or 63%) ended up in one of the aforementioned five European countries. Furthermore, a report published by the ERC Executive Agency (2015) found that 600 out of approximately 4000 universities have hosted ERC grantees, but as many as 1779 (or 41%) were awarded to the top thirty-one universities. This illustrates a great concentration of the most prestigious grants, which exacerbates the fragmentation of European higher education.

Even if this fragmentation is at odds with the long-established tradition of European higher education—equal but different national systems (Clark, 1983)—it is politically legitimised by the global university arms

race and the quest for world-class excellence. European universities are not only being overtaken by universities in the United States, but are also increasingly challenged by Asian universities, which, thanks to massive investments in select flagship universities, are climbing in the global university rankings (Mok, 2015). Universities in Singapore and Hong Kong might not have the long history and prestige of many European universities, but they are developing faster and have more financial resources. Advocates of the Framework Programmes, therefore, underline that the programme rewards the best European universities, by helping them become globally competitive. This was openly confirmed by Helga Nowotny, former president of the ERC, who stated that...

[o]ne of the reasons for the research advantage of US universities is the concentration of research funding on less than one-tenth of degree-giving institutions [...] In 2011, each week at least one ERC-supported project published an article in either *Science* or *Nature*. (Myklebust, 2012, paragraph 4, 10)

That being said, strategic research themes are widely acknowledged to be subject to negotiations, and to the lobbying efforts of countries/universities which have primarily benefited from the Framework Programmes (See House of Commons [2007], for example.). The Framework Programmes are not only major policy tools, but also political instruments; their shape, therefore, are negotiated between national governments, undoubtedly mostly those which are most powerful in the European Union. The European Research Area has evolved into a winner-take-all market which reflects much broader changes in modern society (Frank & Cook, 1996). It can also be observed, however, that some political measures are being taken in the opposite direction. The rules of the Framework Programmes are not entirely objective, but instead are instruments of political struggle between different countries. The five major European countries (and possibly more) in the Framework Programmes 7, for example, made the European Commission drastically reduce the maximum level of salaries to €8000 per year for full-time employees who work exclusively for a project. This is a major blow to universities from less-affluent and peripheral countries, because grant winners could previously 'top up' their low salaries through ERC grants (Kwiek & Antonowicz, 2013). This move undoubtedly favours rich countries in which scholars do not need to prioritise their activities with respect

to additional income. Offering low financial rewards for scholars not only drives them away from research to other activities, but also creates brain drain, because rich universities can offer much better working opportunities to potential grant winners.

Even if the amount of funding is not significant for big and affluent universities, and accounts only for a fraction of their budgets, other much more important benefits can be drawn from the Framework Programmes. First, the Mathew effect in science (Merton, 1968) works here by effectively producing a ‘virtuous circle’ (Kwiek, 2016). Grants provide an opportunity to conduct cutting-edge research, which leads to top publications which provide a massive comparative advantage in the global race for world-class university status. Second, international reputation provides many opportunities which cannot be obtained elsewhere. Because university rankings are based mainly on research performance (although measured in several ways), research-intensive universities become more attractive for overseas students who are seeking both a solid education and the credentials which are necessary to make their way through the rocky path of a professional career. A prominent position in rankings allows universities to develop a wide range of overseas business opportunities. Third, highflyers enjoy a privileged position in their own systems (Kwiek, 2018), which has far-reaching financial implications.

## 5 IS THE FOOTBALLISATION OF HIGHER EDUCATION INEVITABLE?

As with modern football, the higher education field has been subject to turbo-capitalist rules (Luttwak, 1999) which result in deep structural fragmentation (Marginson, 2016a, b). Competition becomes both a ritualised myth and an ideological driving force for field developments, even though (as shown above) the outcome is highly predictable. Moreover, it envisages unleashed inequalities between nation-states/universities through competitive mechanisms which only reinforce historical differences in wealth, thereby leading to the emergence of the global caste of world-class/research-intensive universities (Mohrman et al., 2008).

The footballisation of higher education has several consequences for restructuring the field. The first and most profound consequence is the fragmentation of the field, which leads to the emancipation of a select élite group of universities which only extends its dominance. Global business opportunities for funding, status, and additional resources (both people

and infrastructure) through a variety of excellence initiatives significantly widen the gap between this chosen élite and the remaining universities. Transnational actors, such as the World Bank, the OECD, and the European Union, provide vital legitimacy for the new rules of the game, which concentrate the resources in flagship institutions, focus on specific types of research outcomes, and absorb third-party funding. The more the neoliberal principles become a dominant policy narrative in higher education, the more the so-called Matthew effect in science (Merton, 1968) turns into a more Darwinist form of academic capitalism (Slaughter & Leslie, 1997) which favours global leaders.

Traditional (ideal) competition, in Mertonian terms, refers to individual activities (competition among researchers). The new rules which are established in part by a global oligarchy which is composed of top universities, and in part by transnational and national policy-makers, encompass the establishment of dominant, globally competitive universities which are themselves active agents in carving out a new (niche-seeking) competitive landscape. This, in turn, creates a serious political challenge, as Szymanski (2006) notes, in which public authorities must decide...

whether it is better to protect competition or competitors. Protection of competition means allowing firms to do what they see is in the best interests of their business, i.e. their customers, even if this causes their rivals to go bankrupt. Protection of competitors means ensuring that certain firms stay in business, regardless of whether the consumers would choose to buy the product in the absence of protection. (p. 207)

The question remains open on whether or not, and how far, higher education will follow the path of football. Convergent trends suggest further and stronger global fragmentation of the higher education field along multiple lines. First, an instrumental approach has become part and parcel of the governance and managerial regimes throughout manifold national systems across Europe (Maassen & Olsen, 2007). The 2000 Lisbon Strategy marked an important turning point, with universities becoming central to the European project (aimed at global competitiveness) and, as a result, an intrinsic part of the market economy (Pinheiro, 2015). The globalisation of policymaking (Moutsios, 2010) implies that the rather narrow economic perspective becomes a powerful hegemonic narrative, putting additional pressures on European and national politics

and policies. Such an approach fits the neoliberal agenda of powerful trans- and supra-national agents (the World Bank, the OECD, and the European Union, for example), which see the market as the only alternative to improving the efficiency, responsiveness, and accountability of higher education systems (Aghion et al., 2008).

Despite setbacks, the continuing Europeanisation of higher education policy (Amaral et al., 2010) will further legitimise the dominance of central countries, particularly in light of the strategic interest of their élite universities. Removing national borders from policymaking, and injecting competing mechanisms, will inevitably lead to the proliferation of the already mentioned Matthew effect in science (see Kwiek, 2016). For example, those awarded ERC junior grants will be in a privileged position to benefit from senior grants. Leading ERC grant host institutions will likely be able to attract top-performing researchers from less-affluent systems or less-prestigious universities, resulting in further structuration along the lines of vertical differentiation. In the global economy, we observe a growing concentration of capital which clearly resembles global football (Kennedy & Kennedy, 2016). But if current trends continue, we are likely to see a further concentration of human capital in a few leading European universities.

From the start, a competitive advantage was given to well-established research-intensive universities which are located in the most developed parts of the European Union and its associated countries. They have access to, and invest great resources in, flagship institutions/centres of excellence, in order to attract the best-performing researchers from around the globe, offering them attractive packages and future prospects. Realistically, there is neither a possibility that peripheral European countries (from Central and Eastern Europe, for example) will join the major European countries, nor is there a chance that universities from these countries will enter the top 100 in the major rankings. It is far more probable that, as is the case with football, the gap between winners and losers of transnational competition in higher education will continue to grow, further fragmenting the field both nationally and globally. The structuration of the field into self-selected clubs which are composed of like-minded universities (the Coimbra Group, the Guild of European Research-Intensive Universities, and the League of European Research Universities, for example) is a clear manifestation of this re-structuration along the lines of a co-opetition paradigm (Ritala, 2012)—cross-national strategic collaborations among universities in order to be able to compete

globally. Recent developments on the establishment of a network of European universities, initiated by French President Macron, have faced criticism by some Nordic countries because of the limited membership (Myklebust & O'Malley, 2018).

The footballisation of higher education is already having far-reaching consequences regarding the institutional landscape within national systems. The supranational pressures (by the European Union, for example) put on nation-states to join the global arms race, to select flagship universities, and/or to establish centres of excellence, are putting additional strains on the public purse. The implication is that governments ought to concentrate resources in select universities, which, in the long run, which is likely to contribute to further fragmentation of the field. Élite institutions are also increasing their pressure on national governments to participate in the global arms race. By doing so, they expect internal funding arrangements which are devised in ways which benefit the global players primarily. Élite universities will continue their support for a hierarchical order from which they clearly benefit.

The footballisation of higher education as a development scenario in the European higher education field would, in our view, seriously hamper the existing logic of a largely autonomous national system which operates according to national rules and regulations. It would stand at odds with the long-standing tradition of higher education in Europe by reflecting the growing political pressure to replace horizontal diversification with vertical diversification. Policy tensions are high and observable at both the national and the European levels. Unlike football, in which UEFA and FIFA are completely unaccountable organisations, and mainly driven by their own financial gains (Pielke, 2013), the European Union and national governments are democratic platforms with an ongoing political struggle among multiple actors. This means that if they so wish, they can effectively devise and implement mechanisms to mediate the effects which are brought about by market pressures to join the global arms race. There is little doubt that the footballisation of higher education is being legitimised by powerful agents of globalisation, among which a leading role is played by global rankings, and the transnational enterprises which facilitate the diffusion of rankings... and which, in turn, indirectly influence the rise of a global transnational hierarchy and field structuration.

The footballisation of higher education, however, has limitations or circumstances which might prevent further fragmentation and structuration in the higher education field. In Europe, most universities remain

publicly funded, so differences in personnel salaries are not that significant. Still, even this is changing under global entrepreneurial pressure. The continental model of the university with a national remuneration scheme is breaking down, and more universities in countries such as Finland and Portugal (Aarrevaara, 2012; Neave & Amaral, 2012) are operating as public entities under private law. Performance is becoming an element which significantly affects universities' funding structures, even in the case of Nordic countries where equity elements have been at the forefront of the policy agenda (Pinheiro et al., 2019).

There is little chance that such differences will appear in European higher education, which remains driven by the logic of the public good, despite the aforementioned changes. That being said, a slight misalignment exists between what is good for universities and what is good for society, as succinctly pointed out by Olsen (2007). World-class excellence does not always advance the agendas of social groups, at least not in the short term. The quest for a status of prestige among universities within the field is decoupled from social dynamics, such as the need to enhance equity and accessibility. Considerable differences in pay exist between various systems, universities, and/or academic and administrative positions (Goastellec & Pekari, 2013). But because of the public nature of higher education systems, they are unlikely to reach the gaps which are encountered in football. Top football players in the Big 5 earn around €10 million per year; players in the Polish league max out at around €400,000.

## 6 CONCLUDING REMARKS

The evidence in this chapter supports the notion that European higher education, as an organisational field, is currently experiencing what is termed here as 'footballisation'—namely the adoption of market-based structures and postures across the field. This process manifests itself at multiple levels of analysis, and results in three specific structural features or outcomes. First, with regard to (horizontal) differentiation, there has been a general isomorphic trend for convergence towards a unitary model of higher education centred on research-intensive universities at the expense of other models which cater to the needs of local students, labour markets, and other external stakeholders. Such contextualised models are no longer seen as competitive in the context of a global higher education landscape which is characterised by research excellence,

competitive external funding, and world-class rankings (Geschwind & Pinheiro, 2017). Recent studies suggest that horizontal differentiation within (rather than across) universities is on the rise (Antonowicz et al., 2018), partly as a result of the structural changes which emanate from forced or voluntary mergers which are aimed at creating larger and more competitive universities (Pinheiro et al., 2016).

Second, with regard to structuration, a new global hierarchy which reflects the hegemonic dominance, resources, and prestige of a small élite group of globally competitive universities have come to the fore, and have become instituted at the top of the pyramid (the global higher education field in the last two decades) (Hazelkorn, 2016). This tendency towards vertical differentiation at the global level has also led to increasing structuration at the domestic level, with a handful of players commanding the bulk of top publications and externally competitive research funding in their pursuit of excellence (Antonowicz et al., 2017; Ramirez & Tiplic, 2014).

Third, field fragmentation is now a distinctive feature of many European higher education systems. As is the case of football, élite domestic universities seem increasingly decoupled from domestic developments at the national level. Given their hegemonic dominance, their points of reference (benchmarking) are global rather than national, and consequently they compete for talented students and staff, and other scarce resources, on a global scale. That being said, as is the case with football clubs, their historical roots and regulatory arrangements remain determined domestically, most notably with regard to teaching and students, and less so with regard to research. Efforts towards establishing a European area for research and higher education, now with a new impetus with the European Universities Initiative, have exacerbated such convergence trends, resulting in further fragmentation at the domestic level. In this respect, processes such as European integration have accelerated fragmentation at the domestic level by, *inter alia*, allowing a new transnational sphere of reference (the European higher education field) to supersede that of the nation. Future studies in Europe and beyond ought to pay close attention to the structural effects (field level) which are brought about by the complex interplay between globalisation, internationalisation, marketisation, and professionalisation. Longitudinal studies are particularly relevant in this respect, because they would allow researchers to track change dynamics (or the lack thereof) over time.



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# Neoliberal Higher Education and Its Discontents

*Gerardo del Cerro Santamaría*

## 1 INTRODUCTION

Neoliberalism represents a full-fledged attack on the conception and workings of institutions of higher education as they were conceived centuries ago. Neoliberalism is an umbrella concept which encompasses the ideologies favouring the extension of market relationships and values throughout society, and not just in the economic realm. As a political strategy which was initiated by the administrations of American President Reagan and British Prime Minister Thatcher in the 1980s, neoliberalism represents an attempt to shift the power balance between capital and labour by advancing entrepreneurialism as a social value, accountability as a control tool, and new managerialism as a regime of hegemony and domination in institutions, organisations, and the labour market.

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Resistance to neoliberalism in academia is more widespread and entrenched than it seems (Lucas, 2014). The resistance is far from surprising because within higher education, neoliberalism represents a combination of elements along two routes to authoritarian political control anticipated many decades ago by Aldous Huxley (in *Brave New World*) and George Orwell (in 1984). Orwell pointed out that tyranny would come through repression, “instigating and pushing people to obedience.” On the other hand, Huxley believed that tyranny would impose itself by means of suggestion and seduction, thus making it possible for people to “love our own submission.”

In the context of increasing pressure for changes in the university, the antagonism between academic and administrative cultures within higher education institutions has increased, and therefore it does not seem that universities’ likely or desirable future is clearer now than it was when this issue was raised a few decades ago.

The reason for the impasse is, in part, due to the shortage of convincing ideas about what direction a university ought to take in a rapidly changing world which is undergoing a deep transition without a clearly discernible direction. As the philosopher of higher education, Ronald Barnett (2000) observed, “[t]he ideas of the university in the public domain are irremediably impoverished” (p. 23). For Barnett, they are impoverished because they are unduly confined to a small range of possible conceptions of a university and irremediably because they are proposed too often without conviction. Those ideas are just being used as a way to criticise without mercy the current state of universities or to simply offer a defence, often unconvincing, of the only supposedly valid alternative: the entrepreneurial, neoliberal university.

There is dissatisfaction and, at the same time, a lack of persuasion about changing the status quo of the pre-neoliberal university because, on the one hand, our ideas about changes in higher education focus too closely on the adoption of corporate models and pedagogical technology at all levels. On the other hand, many of those who resist innovations and changes in higher education expect perhaps a return to a golden age of the university as imagined by Wilhelm von Humboldt or John Henry Newman—something which is unlikely to happen.

It is important to reflect on the gradually increased significance of knowledge as intellectual capital since approximately the 1980s. This is perhaps the most important substantive change at the core of neoliberal developments in the twenty-first century. Reconceptualising knowledge as

intellectual capital follows a strategy of political hegemony by conservative political organisations, and the corporate world which has dominated world policy forums, as alternative narratives criticising capitalist ideology have been ignored or neglected. The political project of neoliberalism has the enthusiastic support of agencies such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank, and it is an outcome of the Washington Consensus. This monolithic and homogenising view of globalisation and the knowledge economy and higher education model which it legitimises and promotes “has been facing sustained and increased criticism from many quarters, including mainstream economists” (Olssen & Peters, 2007, p. 45).

Neoliberalism in higher education has been a constant force for change over the past few decades all over the world. Privatisation and commercialisation, and the growth of capitalist and corporate influence over higher education institutions, characterise neoliberal policies in higher education (Barnett, 2000; Burton-Jones, 1999; Carnoy & Rhoten, 2002). As Barnett (2000) wrote, “[i]n the neoliberal model, higher education is ideally integrated into the system of production and accumulation in which knowledge is reduced to its economic functions and contributes to the realisation of individual economic utilities” (p. xxxi).

Many research studies on higher education have revolved around changes which have been wrought by neoliberalism, including the academic stratification of the disciplines (Rhoades & Slaughter, 1997), technology transfers (Slaughter & Leslie, 1997), privatisation (Edvinsson & Malone, 1997), the rise of managerialism in higher education (Davies & Bansel, 2007), and particularly, the adoption of private sector practices and values (such as accountability), the vocationalisation of the curriculum (Howard-Vital, 2006), corporatisation (Suspitsyna, 2012), commercialisation of both athletics and research in higher education (Bok, 2004), students as consumers (Choo, 1998), and a global trend of increasing consumerism and corporatism inside the classroom (Olssen, 2002). Neoliberalism is also related to recent shifts in higher education funding towards the hard and applied sciences (fields close to the market) and away from the social sciences and humanities (Bok, 2004). Rhoades and Torres (2006, p. 32) tellingly noted:

Knowledge is now evaluated with the language of finance, and universities are measured by their efficiency in awarding degrees and certificates. Academic leaders are replaced by managers with business backgrounds, and

the university shifts from an educational institution to just another business with a bottom line.

## 2 ENTREPRENEURIAL UNIVERSITIES AND TRIPLE-HELIX

With neoliberalism, universities are considered crucial partners in sustaining the economic growth of countries and regions by contributing human capital, innovations, and technological advances to society (Walter et al., 2011). Therefore, there are challenges for a traditional university to accommodate its socioeconomic obligations through new entrepreneurial strategies.

A new concept has appeared to support entrepreneurship education (EE), basically in terms of an environment called an ‘entrepreneurial university’, “which is conceived as one of the main economic growth and development engines” (Diaconu & Duțu, 2015, p. 23). EE was intended to develop an entrepreneurial spirit in the mind-set of students, to “sensitize them about entrepreneurship interest and entice them to create new projects” (Martin, McNally, & Kay, 2012, p. 15).

EE has become compulsory in view of the need for business creation as an economic tool for growth and competitiveness. The entrepreneurial approach has become a foundation for all or most specialties, in both private and public institutions. The three main objectives of an entrepreneurial university’s strategy are to educate, to stimulate, and to incubate. The background is defined by global and local competition and by the pressures of technological innovations on universities. The widespread perception is that “[t]here is a real need to develop and implement an entrepreneurship culture throughout higher education” (Aranha & Prado Garcia, 2014, p. 63) (See also Souitaris, Zerbinati, & Al-Laham, 2007).

Although the entrepreneurial university concept emerged in the 1990s, it is “regarded as still in its infancy in developed countries and emerging in developing countries” (Almeida et al., 2016, p. 33; see also Etzkowitz, 2014). Forsman (2008) emphasised that an entrepreneurial university is “an organisation with a flexible structure, competent leadership and management and where entrepreneurial culture is a key driving force.” Cavaller (2011) maintained that an “[entrepreneurial university] is an evolutionary model of the traditional university” (p. 54). A key

to this new paradigm is “research commercialization added to refurbished research and teaching functions” (Etzkowitz & Leydesdorff, 2000, p. 45).

To achieve its goals, the entrepreneurial university is “designed to engage with external stakeholders, industry and government, and society at large” (Philpott, Dooley, O’Reilly, & Lupton, 2011, p. 39). This is the so-called triple-helix model, which involves academic–industry–government cooperation premised under common politics, policy, and methods, aiming at “internal transformation within each of these spheres” (Etzkowitz & Leydesdorff, 2000, p. 21).

To be qualified as entrepreneurial, universities ought to develop different strategies through a thorough transformative process: “(1) the university starts to define its priorities and diversify its income sources, (2) the institution starts commercialising the intellectual property which arises from its research activities, and (3) the university takes an active role in participating in its regional innovation environment” (Etzkowitz, 2015, p. 63; see also Almeida et al., 2016).

Entrepreneurial universities are expected to adapt to environment fluctuation through “internal transformations, such as through changes in governance, management, flexibility, and leadership structure, in order to increase its flexibility, efficiency, and effectiveness” (Aranha & Prado García, 2014, p. 81). To do so, universities put in place more flexible structures “encompassing an entrepreneurial approach [which] becomes proactive and risk-taking when [universities are] deciding to innovate and seize opportunities, and utilizes creatively their resources to achieve objectives” (Diaconu & Duşu, 2015, p. 45; see also Forsman, 2008).

To realise these goals, some entrepreneurial activities ought to be initiated within a university’s environment, including “research mobilisation, technological development, collaboration with industry, and changes in university policies and within university departments” (Todorovic, McNaughton, & Guild, 2011, p. 85). Thus, a focus on deep internal transformations (policies, institutions, and culture) is key to the development of entrepreneurial universities. This explains why a major focus of the neoliberal strategy for higher education has been re-educating students in an entrepreneurial direction, including changing their widespread idealistic perceptions of societal environments and their role in society at large.

### 3 TRIPLE-HELIX MODEL: VARIATIONS AND CONTRADICTIONS

The triple-helix model of university–industry–government interactions (Etzkowitz & Leydesdorff, 2000) has gained scholarly and policy attention. According to the model, the boundaries between industry, government, and higher education are becoming increasingly blurred and intertwined. As a result, an entrepreneurial university model is “emerging as a hybrid organization which combines the activities of industry, university, and public authorities to promote innovation” (Etzkowitz, 2014, p. 71). According to Sánchez (2011), universities naturally evolve towards an entrepreneurial model which emphasises economic development in addition to the more traditional mandates of education and research “with the goal of improving national or regional economic outcomes as well as the university’s financial advantage and that of its faculty” (Etzkowitz & Leydesdorff, 2000, p. 313).

The need to access additional funding sources and “the active promotion of collaboration between universities and multiple triple-helix partners through a range of public policies and infrastructures” (Aranha & Prado García, 2014, p. 67) motivate and explain this evolution. Thus, universities are placing a higher priority on being “relevant and responsive to national, regional, and local needs, and these efforts have resulted in a progressive ‘institutionalization’ of third mission activities” (Xue, 2012, p. 63). A scenario of increased competition for funding and policy decisions in favour of an entrepreneurial transformation “could therefore be seen as top-down coercive, normative, and mimetic ‘isomorphic’ forces acting upon universities” (Delanty, 2001, p. 85).

Some scholars have questioned the implicit universality of the entrepreneurial university phenomenon (Gibb, 2005) versus the idea that the model is an “inevitable, homogeneous, and ‘isomorphic’ development path” (Philpott et al., 2011, p. 42). Specifically, authors have highlighted the multiple tensions and contradictions which are likely to emerge between different university missions and activities, and argue that “the degree and form of entrepreneurial transformation is likely to vary across countries and types of universities” (Slaughter & Leslie, 1997, p. 33; see also Higgins & Elliott, 2011; Kerr, 2001; Martin et al., 2012).

In a European university case study, for example, Philpott et al. (2011) observed a “lack of unified culture regarding the appropriateness of the third mission, as well as clear tensions and divides across disciplines on the

meaning and type of entrepreneurial engagement” (p. 33). In a study of Spanish universities, Sánchez (2011, p. 72) identified “strong differences in the performance and capabilities of universities to balance teaching with the new third mission.” Mars and Garrison’s study (2009) of Australian universities found differences in the way in which universities responded to government funding cuts, and the emergence of new managerial models, with new, less academic universities adopting a greater focus on industrial relations and applied professional education, and old-established universities maintaining collegial loyalties and academic cultures despite reforms.

There seems to be a variety of combinations of triple-helix activities in different national and regional contexts. Jansen et al. (2015) found that in the United Kingdom “different types of universities exhibited different degrees and types of knowledge transfer activity” (p. 69). While highly research-intensive universities focused “on the exploitation of IP and maximising returns from research” (Gruber, 2014, p. 43), less research-intensive ones focused mainly “on activities related to human capital development.” Kenney and Patton (2011) examined academic entrepreneurship in Italy, Germany, and China and emphasised the regional dimension of interactions. According to their results, there are differences in models of technology transfer depending on regional characteristics (Kenney & Patton, 2011, p. 61).

While European regions are characterised by an under-representation of mechanisms for the adoption/exploitation of academic research (like spin-offs, mobility of human capital, or training programmes), the Chinese region seems to put greater stress on direct valorisation mechanisms.

#### 4 ‘STUDENTS AS CUSTOMERS’ IS NOT A GOOD IDEA

One of the central tenets of neoliberalism contends that “[t]he individual is a rational optimizer and the best judge of his/her own interests and needs” (Olssen & Peters, 2007, p. 314). Following this, Desai et al. (2001) argued that, because students as consumers of professional output have needs and wants, “these should be better understood and met in order to provide an improved educational experience” (p. 136). Other authors suggested that, in order to successfully implement the marketing concept and adopt a customer orientation in academia, “universities need to assess their students’ perceptions of the institution’s commitment to

understanding and meeting their needs” (Browne, 2010, p. 58). There is literature suggesting that universities ought to start to focus on ‘students as customers’ because, “students know best what they want to get from higher education. Thus, students ought to therefore be relied on to drive up quality” (Hatfield & Taylor, 1998, p. 46).

However, the debate is polarised. Probably no professional, be it in education, medicine, or law, “has ever been willing to embrace guidance from outside groups or other structural levels, except their peers” (Olssen & Peters, 2007, p. 45). This explains why there are many observers who claim that a student-customer orientation does not contribute to professionalism: “Treating students and recruiters as customers makes the school look like a training provider, rather than a university” (Argenti, 2000, p. 36; see also Chonko, Tanner, & Davis, 2002; Eagle & Brennan, 2007; Franz, 1998; Holbrook, 2005, 2007; Olssen & Peters, 2007). There is also a claim that education is one of the areas where customer-orientation “with its short-term financial benefits and negative consequences does not belong” (Emery, Kramer, & Tian, 2002, p. 43; see also Holbrook, 2005) because of the “risk that it would result in the decline, decay, and ultimately demise of academic values” (Clayson & Haley, 2005, p. 51; see also Eagle & Brennan, 2007; Snyder, 2007).

Hussey and Smith (2010) stated that the customer analogy might, in some cases, be inaccurate or inappropriate and even damaging because students “will get neither education nor qualification if they do not work sufficiently hard” (pp. 49–50). According to Hussey and Smith, “a teacher or lecturer should not be likened to a salesperson who must acknowledge that the customer is always right” (pp. 49–50). Franz (1998) warned about “comparing the university to a shopping mall, where students shop around for classes and majors and where the goal of the educator is to attract, delight, and retain the student-customer” (p. 72). When universities decide to follow the customer-oriented logic, it will result in a situation where teachers would cater to students’ wishes, “yielding to their complaints, and focusing more on the students’ concerns for advancing their careers than about what they actually learn” (Holbrook, 2004, p. 68).

The use of the student-as-customer metaphor was intended to encourage academics “to engage in continuous improvement in order to enhance service encounters” (Yeo, 2008, p. 36; see also Koch & Fisher, 1998). According to Gross and Hogler (2005), however, “[w]hen institutions use the ‘student-as-customer’ metaphor, the teaching becomes

less discretionary and more routine” (p. 32). Professors and administrators, fearing a drop in student-influenced university rankings, “enforce a range of rules and regulations pertaining to quality control issues affecting student satisfaction” (Zell, 2001, p. 63). As a direct result, these processes “mediate the academic leaders’ autonomy and expertise to ensure the students achieve the required learning outcomes” (Bexley, 2013, p. 21; see also Bolden et al., 2009). Ramsden et al. (2007) identified that teaching quality “may be moderated by the perceptions of the academic environment, which is partly determined by the academic leadership practices” (p. 42).

According to Zell (2001), students “are not interested in their own intellectual pursuit; they attend universities to advance their own careers or get a pay increase, and usually expect high results for little effort” (p. 47). Ramsden et al. (2007) reported finding that students “most enjoy the teaching method from which they learn the least. Paradoxically, the quality of the product in education depends heavily on the hard work of the customer!” (p. 82). With the focus on meeting the needs of the students to the exclusion of other stakeholders, “staff can no longer adequately fulfil the requirements of other aspects of the academic duties” (Zell, 2001, p. 69) (See also Chung & McLarney, 2000). As a result, “quality education becomes a cause of concern if the service is entirely driven by what the students want and ultimately define” (Zell, 2001, p. 78).

According to Schwartzman (1995), universities might be acquiescing to students’ requests which are unrealistic, irrelevant, or not fully developed because ‘the customer is always right’, and warns that “this response may buy immediate satisfaction at the expense of the long-term best interests of the student and university” (p. 123). This approach provides “a short-term fix of instant gratification of consumer wants” and does not facilitate “long-term quality education, nor does it consider that students are not the only customers” (Redding, 2005, p. 152).

In an attempt to provide a quality education, the feedback mechanisms, such as students’ evaluations, degree graduation rates, and graduate exit surveys, “circumvent the intended outcome” (Becket & Brookes, 2008, p. 39; see also Delucchi & Korgen, 2002; Delucchi & Smith, 1997). While it is important to address the needs of the consumer, “a service can only be effectively provided if the provider is true to their purpose or mission” (Chung & McLarney, 2000, p. 71). When a university embraces grade inflation, the assessment process “fails to provide the appropriate



checks and balances in terms of ensuring that the students have achieved the requisite level of knowledge” (Baker, 1994, p. 158; see also Lanning & Perkins, 1995). Further, the student-as-customer trend is “resulting in ‘truth in advertising’ litigation against universities when students sue higher education institution for not receiving what was promised in their prospectus” (Scott et al., 2008, p. 48).

Academic leadership has been undermined “by the emphasis placed on meeting student-as-customer demands” (Hartley, 1995, p. 26; see also Beatty, 2004; Dillard & Tinker, 1996; Franz, 1998; Gross & Hogler, 2005; Lomas, 2007; Newby, 1999; Svensson & Wood, 2007). This, in turn, has had “a negative impact on job satisfaction and increased stress levels in the higher education work force” (Svensson & Wood, 2007). This has become a concern for the higher education sector because longitudinal research identified that “job satisfaction for academics in universities is dropping at a significant rate” (Robbins, Judge, Millett, & Waters-Marsh, 2008, p. 61).

## 5 PROFESSORS TURNED ENTREPRENEURIAL WORKERS?

Interest in measuring academic ‘productivity’ has increased over the past few decades as the costs of higher education have risen. External constituencies, such as legislators and parents, have begun to pay attention and to scrutinise the costs which could justify or explain tuition increases. The extended belief among these groups is that the increase in higher education costs has been due to higher academic salaries, together with low teaching loads and a reduction in class sizes. Consequently, these people believe that larger class sizes, higher teaching loads, or both, could turn around the cost increases. Some studies have been designed to corroborate this belief and push professors hard to change according to neoliberal ideas.

One must remember that, generally speaking, professors disagree to an important extent about the positive correlation seen by neoliberals between an increased workload and increased productivity. Academic productivity is importantly a direct function of professional development activities and quality time which is devoted to research. As a result of the divergence in views about productivity and how to measure it, and as a result of professors’ concerns about their changing professional roles and activities under neoliberalism, a myth has been spread that professors place more interest in developing their own professional goals and objectives, as

opposed to cultivating the needs of the universities which employ them. As a consequence of this ongoing debate, “multiple attempts have been made from within and without higher education” to develop frameworks for “measuring and reporting on faculty activity in teaching, research, and service,” in order to present a “rounded, accurate picture of what faculty do, and of what parents, legislators, and students pay for when they fund higher education” (Middaugh, 2000, p. 32). In the United States, the tool of choice to measure academic productivity is the Delaware Study, designed by Michael Middaugh (Middaugh, 2000).

Efforts at measuring academic productivity are at odds with the professionalism of scholars and the outstanding contributions of many of them to society. In an important article which was published in the newsletter of the American Association of University Professors (January–February 2018), Evelyn Morales Vazquez and John S. Levin condemned the “symbolic violence that neoliberal values and managerial practices promote” (Morales Vazquez & Levin, 2018, p. 35).

This form of symbolic violence strips away authenticity in the work of professionals, resulting in what sociologist Richard Sennett refers to as the ‘corrosion of character’. Neoliberal practices have been taken for granted by professors, no matter their academic disciplines, career stages, or personal expectations. Some even aspire to a role as entrepreneurial subjects. These practices colonise the academic profession through the establishment and propagation of evaluation systems and metrics of accountability which recognise only the characteristics of the ideal entrepreneurial worker, and quantifiable actions such as publishing and securing grant funding. This distorted perspective of academic professionals does not consider what professors think about changes in their work environment; it ignores personal reflections on the academic profession and its purposes.

Morales Vazquez and Levin (2018) underscored the complex, differentiated, and multidimensional nature of academic work and academic identity, which cannot be homogenised according to managerial standards and reduced to a byproduct of managerial financial concerns, as it is viewed and imposed by neoliberal approaches and ideologies in higher education.

The strengthening of competition, managerial practices, and accountability has contributed to a growing disregard of the human dimension of the academic profession, particularly the personal histories and professional aspirations of professors. For example, reward systems highlight

superficial competency and measurable behaviours, including numerical scores on student evaluations, impact factors of publication citations, and number of awards for research, teaching, and service. These systems define the ideal professor as one who is aligned with audit cultures, managerial practices, and standardised, homogenous values. This conceptualisation of academic work acknowledges merely a fragment of the selves of professors. Such fragmentation denies the roles which personal histories or professional goals play in how professors experience their work and their academic identities. Our approach to academic identity counteracts fragmented subjectivity by emphasising the role which social relationships, personal experiences, and emotions, as well as academic disciplines, professional status, and institutional contexts, play in the construction of, change to, or conflict in, academic identities (p. 43).

The authors made a vigorous and necessary call for collective action against neoliberalism in higher education (Morales Vazquez & Levin, 2018):

In 2015, a group of feminist Canadian and U.S. scholars published an article in *ACME: An International Journal for Critical Geographies*, “For Slow Scholarship,” that called for resistance to the conditions of the neoliberal university through collective action; yet there are too few responses of this kind. We need more research and scholarship to inform leaders and policymakers— including faculty in positions of influence, such as department chairs and faculty senate officials— that the stakes are both personal and institutional. (p. 48)

Neoliberal practices in higher education might “discourage interaction between faculty and students” (Marginson & Considine, 2000, p. 12). Maximising the development of human capital through education at lower costs has become a priority for nations, and “one way to cut costs is by limiting the number of full-time faculty, hiring more contingent faculty, and increasing class size, particularly in low-cost fields of study” (Apple, 2000, p. 32; see also Slaughter, 2001). The increased role of commercial activities “has reduced the share of faculty time and resources devoted to students and teaching” (Anderson & Sugarman, 1989, p. 41; see also Blumenthal et al., 1986).

Such policies “are leading to a devaluing of teaching and service” (Altbach, 1979, p. 21; see also Fairweather, 1996; Marginson & Rhoades, 2002; Ross, 1992; Slaughter, 2001; Slaughter & Leslie, 1997).

These changes to the profession are occurring despite the importance of frequent interactions between professors and students which are essential for students' education, performance in college, and the attainment of positive results, as is well documented (Astin, 1993; Bean, 1985; Bean & Kuh, 1984; Feldman & Newcomb, 1969; Kuh et al., 1991; Pascarella, 1985; Pascarella & Terenzini, 1991, 2005; Tinto, 1993). Using self-reported data from professors, Umbach (2007, p. 51) found that "part-time and full-time non-tenure-track faculty interact with students less frequently, both inside and outside of the classroom." This ought to be a reason for concern, particularly as student populations become more diverse "with increased enrolment of nontraditional students, including part-time, older, and first-generation students, who benefit from greater faculty attention" (Rendón, 1994, p. 21).

## 6 DE-PROFESSIONALISATION

The institutionalisation of neoliberal models in higher education institutions inserts a hierarchical mode of authority by which the market and state pressures are realised and made effective. De-professionalisation of the academy is a major effect of this imposition of authority. Olsen and Peters (2007) argue that de-professionalisation of the academy involves the following (Olssen & Peters, 2007):

- A shift from collegial or democratic governance in flat structures, to hierarchical models based on dictated management specifications of job performance in principal-agent chains of command.
- The implementation of restructuring initiatives in response to market and state demands... increasing specifications by management over workloads and course content by management. Such hierarchically imposed specifications erode traditional conceptions of professional autonomy over work in relation to both teaching and research. Neoliberalism systematically deconstructs the space in terms of which professional autonomy is exercised.
- Traditional conceptions of professionalism [which] involved an ascription of rights and powers over work in line with classical liberal notions of freedom of the individual. Market pressures increasingly encroach and redesign their traditional understandings of rights, as institutions must adapt to market trends (for example, just as individual departments and academics are being told of the necessity for

acquiring external research grants, so they are also being told they must teach summer schools) (p. 81).

Olssen and Peters (2007) continued:

The essence of contractual models involves a specification, which is fundamentally at odds with the notion of professionalism. Professionalism conveys the idea of a subject-directed power based upon the liberal conceptions of rights, freedom, and autonomy. It conveys the idea of a power given to the subject, and of the subject's ability to make decisions in the workplace. No professional, whether doctor, lawyer, or teacher, has traditionally wanted to have the terms of their practice and conduct dictated by anyone else but their peers, or determined by groups or structural levers which are outside of their control. As a particular patterning of power, then, professionalism is systematically at odds with neoliberalism, for neoliberals see the professions as self-interested groups who indulge in rent-seeking behavior. In neoliberalism, the patterning of power is established on contract, which in turn is premised upon a need for compliance, monitoring, and accountability organized in a management line and established through a purchase contract based upon measurable outputs. (p. 112)

There is a widespread perception that neoliberalism's impact on professionalism is highly problematic and contentious. For instance, Kezar (2004) argued that "professionals have constructed a new form of identity more suited to managerialism," and that "managerial reforms have restructured the identity of professionals" (p. 36). Gamson (1997) also argued that "we cannot assume that this is in any way an automatic or linear process, or that individuals respond in ways in which are consistent or coherent" (p. 120). Or, as Gumpert (2000) suggested,

It is dangerous... to draw sweeping conclusions about the replacement of the traditional bureau-professional organisational order in education by a managerial one. Rather, it is better to view the process as a dynamic one in which growing tensions between "old" and "new" are worked out within particular policy and management areas as different value systems and interests of influence. (p. 330)

Neoliberalism effectively alters the nature of the professional role of the academy. Indeed, academic performance is assessed via 'targets' and

‘performance criteria’ which are increasingly adopted from the corporate world, thus limiting and diminishing the autonomy of professors, researchers, and scholars as professionals. There is no doubt that neoliberal agendas fight against ‘academic freedom’ by means of, for example, placing increased importance on ‘managed research’, and putting pressure to obtain ‘funded research’, thus compromising the priorities, interests, and the independence of individual professors.

Along these lines, neoliberalism has directly attacked the overall idea of a public service ethic in education, and the conception of the university as an autonomous realm, in the liberal professional sense. There is an urgent need to recover these noble ideals, though it remains unclear to what extent this will be possible.

## 7 RANKING FOR CONTROL

University rankings, where individual institutions are classified according to their scoring in a variety of indicators, have become widespread as a tool to measure performance and to homogenise the field of higher education. Rankings are an inevitable consequence of neoliberalism in higher education “as they are integral to audit and surveillance systems of regulation and control. They alter the internal culture of universities in terms of what they measure” (Sauder & Epseland, 2009, p. 43).

Rankings enhance transparency, which is a positive trait, but given their political motivation, they put pressure on higher education institutions “to change from being ‘a center of learning’ to being ‘a business organization with productivity targets.’ They are expected to transfer allegiance from the academic to the operational” (Doring, 2002, p. 140). Lynch (2010) correctly stated that...

[t]reating change as a purely “technical matter,” means that market values can be encoded in the heart of the university’s operations without reflection. When universities focus on “key performance indicators” this directs attention to measured outputs rather than processes and inputs within education, including those of nurturing and caring. (p. 61)

Rankings induce ‘reactivity’ that, in turn, “alters patterns of investment, intake, and outputs of higher education. Universities can and do improve or retain their ranks by excluding risk factors that would downgrade their status” (Lynch, 2013, p. 71). As rankings form public

perceptions of universities, “senior administrators have to manage their ranking whether they wish to or not” (Farrell & Van der Werf, 2007, p. 45). Thus, “a range of ‘gaming strategies’ are deployed to advance university position in rankings” (Espeland & Sauder, 2007, p. 61).

One of the most notable responses is the increased funding for ‘merit’ scholarships to attract elite students (Espeland & Sauder, 2007). “Merit scholarships work to the advantage of the already privileged applicants for a number of reasons, mostly because educational attainment is, in the first instant, highly dependent on the expenditure of resources in a competitive system” (Lynch, 2013, p. 25). Parents “can and do use private resources to the advantage of their own children in economically unequal societies” (Marsh, 2011, p. 31).

As Lynch (2013) noted,

[a]s trust in professional integrity and peer regulation has been replaced by performance indicators, the quality of peer relations is also diminished. Relating through audits and appraisals enhances hierarchies and diminishes goodwill and collegiality. Rewarding staff on a measurable item-by-item performance basis also leads to a situation where personal career interests increasingly govern everyday academic life. As there are opportunities in the market for commercialized professionals and academics, internal divisions between staff in the universities are inevitable and open to exploitation by management. Academic capitalism brings highly individualized rewards to those who engage. (p. 23)

As mentioned earlier, one major problem with focusing on ‘performance measurement’ is that it negatively affects the cultural life of students “as they are directed increasingly to economic self-interest and credential acquisition” (Lolich, 2011, p. 32). The noble ideals of students and staff to work for the common good and in the service of humanity by doing public service are seriously curtailed in a context “where universities operate as entrepreneurial, purely competitive, business-oriented corporations” (Elton, 2000, p. 41).

Neoliberalism, the new managerialism, and the marketisation of higher education trigger the merging of commerce and research. We now have a situation in many universities where the interests and values of business drive university research. To be sure, universities need to interact with different people and to deal with a variety of interests and priorities, but “the ethical principles and priorities of the business sector are not synonymous with those of a university” (Eisenberg, 1987, p. 82). The danger is

very real that the interests of university research can become synonymous with those of powerful agencies and individuals in the case that universities become too reliant on industry-funded research, or too indebted to the business-driven agenda of the government.

Rankings imply a powerful ‘methodological fetishism’ (Amsler & Bolsmann, 2012). Matters of methodology and accuracy in using specific methodologies (positivistic and quantitative) take the place of serious reflection on the nature and appropriateness of comparing essentially unique institutions. The focus is on getting the rankings correct, even if this has little value unless the context and politics of the use of rankings are considered. One could also argue that rankings benefit the wealthiest students as a tool which they can use to decide where to attend (Archer et al., 2002; Clancy, 2001; Espeland & Sauder, 2007; Karabel, 2005).

Rankings are also problematic because they are presented as purely objective measures of reality, while the fact that they obey a specific neoliberal political agenda is neglected. What Hacking (1990) termed ‘the avalanche of numbers’ has “profoundly transformed what we choose to do, who we try to be, and what we think of ourselves... [in higher education]... assessment measures permit the easy conflation of what is with what ought to be, of what normal is in the statistical and moral sense” (pp. 1–10). The perceived neutrality of statistics and quantitative procedures “deflects attention from their capacity to change the places and people that use them” (Espeland & Sauder, 2007, p. 36).

The generalised use of rankings of performance in higher education has very negative consequences. Rankings are a byproduct of a very specific political agenda in which some priorities are considered and others are left out. Thus, “rankings direct our attention into a different cognitive and normative order when evaluating higher education” (Lynch, 2013, p. 126). “Questions regarding the value, purpose, and politics of higher education and rankings get swept aside in the bid to find the best ‘method’ of ranking” (Lynch, 2013, p. 131). Matters regarding access, participation, social justice, and outcomes from higher education are usually disregarded in the “positivist drive to make ranking technologies more and more ‘objective’” (Amsler & Bolsmann, 2012, p. 292).

Another consequence is that public intellectual work is unavoidably devalued. Rankings do not measure the role and activities of scholars as public intellectuals. They simply measure their communication activities with other scholars in a limited number of elite journals by discussing



work which is primarily or exclusively the output of commercially funded research.

Further, the increased overlap between private (market) and public perspectives and interests, the disregard of neoliberal universities for public intellectual work, and the disincentive of important relationships in neoliberal universities, all have as a consequence that knowledge is privatised to closed groups. As a result, the situation “forecloses the opportunity to have hypotheses tested or challenged from experiential (disinterested) standpoints outside the academy” (Lynch, 2013, p. 129).

## 8 CRITICISM AND ALTERNATIVES

Neoliberalism affects the *telos* of higher education by redefining the very meaning of higher education. Neoliberalism dislocates education by commodifying its intrinsic value, and emphasising directly transferable skills and competencies. Non-monetary values are marginalised and, with them, the non-monetary moralism which is essential in sustaining a healthy democratic society. Neoliberalism has had far-reaching effects on higher education. Education is effectively reconfigured as business training to prepare the student as entrepreneur, society is reimagined as the labour market, and the importance of rooting oneself in a deliberative, just, and equitable community is lost in the face of rooting oneself in a competitive advantage.

Some of neoliberalism’s features and their consequences for higher education can be summarised as follows:

- Exclusive focus on entrepreneurial attitudes in terms of organisational planning and priorities, as well as reward systems and promotion processes for professors.
- Unwarranted homogenisation of the field of higher education by using rankings to measure performance according to a specific political agenda and priorities which value excellence over equity.
- Reduction of ‘education’ (a deeply cognitive, emotional, and ethical pursuit) to ‘training’ and a focus on outcomes over a sensible account of origins, processes, and contexts.
- Exclusion of higher education from consideration as a public good in national political and economic priorities, together with the prevalence of individual rationality over collective explanations of behaviours and choices.

- Exclusion of non-monetary aspects in the educational process, aspects which are deemed inefficient and, as a result, commercialisation, consumerism, and transformation of students into customers deserving ‘satisfaction’.
- Increased overlap between scientific research and market priorities, and increasing dependence of research on corporate funders and their goals and objectives.
- Accountability and the artificial and misleading quantification of learning, which excludes fundamental ethical, cognitive, and emotional aspects in the educational process.
- A focus on marketable competencies in courses and programmes, resulting in the inability of students to develop a sense of social and civic responsibility.
- Neglect of systemic disadvantage and prejudice, which leads to glaring social inequities and economic, social, and civil disparities between people and groups.

In *Neoliberalism’s War on Higher Education*, Henry Giroux reminded us what is at stake for institutions of higher education and the academy: “Privatization, commodification, militarization, and deregulation are the new guiding categories through which schools, teachers, pedagogy, and students are defined” (2014, p. 36). According to Giroux (2014),

[t]his pedagogy of market-driven illiteracy has eviscerated the notion of freedom, turning it largely into the desire to consume and invest exclusively in relationships which serve only one’s individual interests. Losing one’s individuality is now tantamount to losing one’s ability to consume. Shallow consumerism coupled with an indifference to the needs and suffering of others has produced a politics of disengagement and a culture of moral irresponsibility. (p. 6)

The use of business language and codes is widespread in order for professors to ‘sell’ themselves and their programmes to deans and presidents in a constant search for funding. This is particularly true among professors in the humanities. More and more universities have decided to find sponsors in the corporate world and among the wealthy to fund departments and to keep them open and active.

Neoliberalism has put forward the perception that disciplines like philosophy, religious studies, and theological studies might be irrelevant and unnecessary in an environment which favours entrepreneurial attitudes and behaviours.

Giroux's response was to develop critical pedagogies and to encourage professors to reclaim their roles as public intellectuals (2014):

Academics have an ethical and pedagogical responsibility not only to unsettle and oppose all orthodoxies, to make problematic the common-sense assumptions which often shape students' lives and their understanding of the world, but also to energize them to come to terms with their own power as individual and social agents. (p. 99)

Giroux's ideas pointed in the direction of reflection about the role of teachers and the value of the teaching profession: teachers must think about how they teach and why they teach. Indeed, teachers have the responsibility to educate the students to ask, to think, and to act in ways which promote good ideas for shaping the world and the betterment of humankind. The task of a teacher contains a profound ethical mandate: raise up the youth so that it can contribute to a better world. According to Giroux (2014), action is urgently needed in five areas:

1. There is a need for educators to analyse the connections between the widespread attack on government as a provider of public services and the transformation of higher education as a pawn of corporate power under neoliberalism. A society-wide discussion ought to be held about the fundamental value of education as a right for all, rather than an entitlement for those who can afford it.
2. A critique of neoliberalism needs to include a debate about how to transform a market economy into a market society by realising the damage which marketisation has created in the West as well as the rest of the world. In this regard, academics need to form coalitions for collective action with broader social movements which aim at dismantling repressive institutions and other sources of injustice.
3. Academics, journalists, and others need to fully analyze the close relationships among the growing impoverishment of large segments of society and the rise of part-time labour with the massive inequality in wealth and income as manifestations of the neoliberal agenda at home and abroad.

4. It is a main responsibility of academics, teachers, researchers, professors, and scholars to fight for the rights of students to get a free education that is not colonized by corporate interests and is not aimed at developing entrepreneurial values and a neoliberal persona at the expense of fundamental features of individuals, human beings as members of collectivities and societies.
5. Within higher education, a fundamental topic for discussion and opposition should be the ongoing shift in power relations between faculty and administration and managers. The trend has been toward lower representation or even the exclusion of faculty from the governing structures of universities.

As Bill Readings' *The University in Ruins* (1996) made clear, there are good reasons to regret our departure from a 'university of culture' and our arrival at a 'university of excellence'; some call this transit a journey from a 'rational academy' to a neoliberal and instrumental academy. Massification, marketisation, and managerialism are at the core of the neoliberal attack on higher education which enables education to emerge as a private good and a consumer product. Critical thinking on the current state of higher education is more necessary than ever.

There is a need to discuss and teach critical university studies, as Jeff Williams has proposed. We need to engage in far-reaching discussions about the university's literary, cultural, and social history. This would be a step in the correct direction, which Ronald Barnett, for example, in *Being a University*, showed as a normative stance about what the university ought to be, in order to defend the common good and maintain the values which are intrinsic and essential to the education of human beings. This is not only an educational project, but also fundamentally a political project.

## 9 CONCLUDING REMARKS

One of the byproducts of neoliberalism is innovation, the call to constant change and renewal and continuous improvement. This call for innovation in higher education has been made as an organisational and institutional requirement, with apparently no alternatives. Constant innovation, a particular instance of the creative destruction in neoliberal capitalism, is presented as a *fait accompli* to which we must adapt and surrender without resistance.

The field operatives of neoliberalism in higher education are accreditation agencies (and too often the university administrations), which have so far played, at least in the United States, a mediating role between the US federal government and academic institutions. Accrediting bodies have contributed, perhaps paradoxically, to preventing the complete transformation of our temples of knowledge and critical thinking, into pawns of political, corporate, and financial power.

Has organisational and programme innovation been adopted on US campuses? Yes, to a degree. At the same time, the discourse on innovation has been vigorously transformed into a tool to promote social-scientific research on learning, pedagogical innovation, and the so-called 'quality' of teaching, and to assuage, or even to neutralise, the ethos of quasi-military submission which nested in its corporate origin. Today, after almost two decades of experimentation, we can offer tangible results about, and some lessons on, innovation, to business and financial leaders and their political supporters.

First, it is not necessary to turn students into customers in order to demonstrate that they are the focus of attention in the educational process, let alone to improve their education. The students-as-customers view is stimulated by the corporate process of customer-oriented innovation, which dictates that the interaction with the customer (in sales, marketing, service, and delivery) must be guided by satisfaction at all costs. In higher education, this idea is counterproductive or inapplicable. When applied, it has often led to harmful consequences for students, who enter the university expecting the satisfaction of, for example, receiving a high grade on an exam even if it is obvious that they do not deserve it.

It has been argued that the individual criteria of teachers when judging the work of a student might be in some cases questionable or arbitrary. In order to avoid this possible shortcoming, there are widespread procedures which include collective and multiple assessments which use multiple methods and external evaluators. What an educator ought not to do is prioritise satisfying students, because this would undermine the principle of quality and the spirit of sacrifice which ought to govern all human action in general and any educational action in particular.

Second, long before the corporate and financial world began to speak of product innovation, educators and researchers had already embraced the Heraclitan principle of 'everything flows, nothing remains'. This was traditionally reflected in curricula and the content of specific courses. Further, innovation is a form of applied creativity, and creativity and

intuition have always been prominent features in the work of the best researchers in any field of knowledge—the ‘super-creative core’ of Richard Florida—from the ancient Greeks to the present day. There are countless examples of creativity applied in the sciences, philosophy, arts, and social sciences which demonstrate the essentially dynamic nature of the search for truth and knowledge, and the proclivity of researchers to constantly innovate. In this respect, the corporate world, given its fascination with innovation, could learn significantly from educators, researchers, and scholars.

Third, corporate gurus like to talk about ‘process innovation’ and to promote the idea which business organisations ought to become ‘communities of practice’ in which the know-how of the company gets distributed in a reticular way, rather than hierarchically. Today, many corporations are new to the use of these ideas as tools to better manage their ‘tacit knowledge’. Universities, think tanks, and research centres, however, have always duly respected the principle that knowledge is free, and that any member of the organisation can contribute ideas which might have an influence on the innovation of organisational processes.

In conclusion, organisational innovation in the centres of knowledge and research has, in many cases, transformed and improved the discourse and practices of continuous improvement which are promoted by corporate, financial, political actors, and institutions, whose original purpose was primarily to increase economic efficiency, and to impose organisational and political hegemony, domination, and control.

Innovation, when it is practiced within the context of teaching, learning, and research organisations and presided over by the Aristotelian ethos of public service, is a source of examples and lessons applicable to other areas of life and society which seem much less committed to promoting the common good, and more prone to indulging in self- and shareholder interests.

It is reasonable to believe that if political and corporate leaders devoted some time to reflecting about the potential benefits which they would obtain by learning the approaches and methods of most teachers, scholars, and researchers, and if they acted accordingly, we would be in a position to avoid (or to mitigate) some of the terribly corrosive effects of power and the market which we endure today, and could look into the future with greater renewed aspirations.

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