Globalisation, Comparative Education and Policy Research 27

Joseph Zajda
W. James Jacob *Editors*

Discourses of Globalisation and Higher Education Reforms

Emerging Paradigms

Springer

Globalisation, Comparative Education and Policy Research

Volume 27

The *Globalisation, Comparative Education and Policy Research* book series aims to meet the research needs of all those interested in in-depth developments in comparative education research. The series provides a global overview of developments and changes in policy and comparative education research during the last decade. Presenting up-to-date scholarly research on global trends, it is an easily accessible, practical yet scholarly source of information for researchers, policy makers and practitioners. It seeks to address the nexus between comparative education, policy, and forces of globalisation, and provides perspectives from all the major disciplines and all the world regions. The series offers possible strategies for the effective and pragmatic policy planning and implementation at local, regional and national levels.

The book series complements the *International Handbook of Globalisation and Education Policy Research*. The volumes focus on comparative education themes and case studies in much greater scope and depth than is possible in the Handbook.

The series includes volumes on both empirical and qualitative studies of policy initiatives and developments in comparative education research in elementary, secondary and post-compulsory sectors. Case studies may include changes and education reforms around the world, curriculum reforms, trends in evaluation and assessment, decentralisation and privatisation in education, technical and vocational education, early childhood education, excellence and quality in education. Above all, the series offers the latest findings on critical issues in comparative education and policy directions, such as:

- developing new internal strategies (more comprehensive, flexible and innovative modes of learning) that take into account the changing and expanding learner needs;
- overcoming 'unacceptable' socio-economic educational disparities and inequalities;
- improving educational quality;
- harmonizing education and culture;
- international co-operation in education and policy directions in each country.

More information about this series at https://link.springer.com/bookseries/6932

Joseph Zajda • W. James Jacob
Editors

Discourses of Globalisation and Higher Education Reforms

Emerging Paradigms

Springer

Editors
Joseph Zajda
Faculty of Education & Arts, School of Education
Australian Catholic University
East Melbourne, VIC, Australia

W. James Jacob
American Fork, UT, USA

ISSN 2543-0564 ISSN 2543-0572 (electronic)
Globalisation, Comparative Education and Policy Research
ISBN 978-3-030-83135-6 ISBN 978-3-030-83136-3 (eBook)
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-83136-3

This Springer imprint is published by the registered company Springer Nature Switzerland AG
The registered company address is: Gewerbestrasse 11, 6330 Cham, Switzerland

TO REA, NIKOLAI, BELINDA, SOPHIE AND IMOGEN

Foreword

A major aim of *Discourses of Globalisation and Higher Education Reforms: Emerging Paradigms* which is the 27th volume in the 36-volume book series G*lobalisation, Comparative Education and Policy Research*, edited by Joseph Zajda and his team, is to present a global overview of selected scholarly research on global and comparative trends in dominant discourses of globalisation, ideology, higher education and policy reforms in comparative education research. It provides an easily accessible, practical yet scholarly source of information about the international concern in the field of globalisation, ideology, education and policy reforms. Above all, the book offers the latest findings on discourses surrounding on-going education and policy reforms.

The book explores conceptual frameworks and methodological approaches applicable in the research covering globalisation, ideology, higher education and policy reforms. Using a number of diverse paradigms, ranging from critical theory to globalisation, the authors, by focusing on globalisation, ideology, higher education reforms and social justice, attempt to examine critically recent trends in higher education policies and their impact on schooling.

More than ever before, there is a need to understand and analyse both the intended and the unintended effects of globalisation and forces of globalisation on nations, organisations, communities, educational institutions and individuals around the world. Current global and comparative research demonstrates a rapidly changing world where citizens are experiencing a growing sense of alienation, uncertainty, and loss of moral purpose.

The book contributes, in a very scholarly way, to a more holistic understanding of globalisation, ideology, higher education and policy reforms. The book is both rigorous and scholarly and is likely to have profound and wide-ranging implications for the future of education policy and reforms globally.

Faculty of Education & Arts, School of Education — Joseph Zajda
Australian Catholic University
East Melbourne, VIC, Australia

Preface

Discourses of Globalisation and Higher Education Reforms: Emerging Paradigms, which is **volume 27** in the 36-volume book series Globalisation, Comparative Education and Policy Research, edited by Joseph Zajda & James Jacob, presents a global overview of the nexus between globalisation, ideologies, higher education and standards-driven education reforms and implication for equity, democracy and social justice. Globalisation and competitive market forces have generated a massive growth in the knowledge industries that are having profound effects on society and higher educational institutions. One of the effects of globalisation is that the education sector is compelled to embrace the corporate ethos of efficiency, performance and profit-driven managerialism. As such, new entrepreneurial educational institutions in the global culture succumb to the economic gains offered by the neoliberal ideology and governance defined fundamentally by economic factors. Both governments and educational institutions, in their quest for global competitiveness, excellence, quality and accountability in education, increasingly turn to international and comparative education data analysis. All of them agree that the major goal of education is to enhance the individual's social and economic prospects, which can only be achieved by providing quality education for *all*. Clearly, these new phenomena of globalisation have in different ways affected the current developments in education and policy around the world. First, globalisation of policy, trade and finance has some profound implications for education and reform implementation. On the one hand, the periodic economic crises (e.g. the 1980s, the financial crisis of 2007–2008, also known as the Global Financial Crisis or GEC in 2008), coupled with the prioritised policies of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank (e.g. SAPs), have seriously affected some developing nations and transitional economies in delivering quality education for all.

Second, the policies of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), the UNESCO, the World Trade Organization (WTO) and the General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS) operate as powerful forces, which, as supranational organisations, shape and influence education and policy. By examining some of the major education reforms and policy developments and merging paradigms in a global culture, particularly in the light of recent shifts in education reforms and policy research, this volume provides a comprehensive picture of the intersecting and diverse discourses of globalisation, education and global competition-driven reforms. The impact of globalisation on higher education policy and reforms is a strategically significant issue for us all. This volume, as a sourcebook of ideas for researchers, practitioners and policymakers in globalisation and higher education reforms, provides a timely overview of the current changes in education reforms both locally and globally.

East Melbourne, VIC, Australia Joseph Zajda

Editorial by Series Editors

Volume 27 is a further publication in the Springer Series of books on globalisation, comparative education and policy research, edited by Joseph Zajda.

Discourses of Globalisation and Higher Education Reforms: Emerging Paradigms, which is **volume 27** in the 36-volume book series Globalisation, Comparative Education and Policy Research, edited by Joseph Zajda & James Jacob, presents a global overview of the nexus between globalisation, ideologies, higher education and standards-driven education reforms and implication for equity, democracy and social justice. Globalisation and the competitive market forces have generated a massive growth in the knowledge industries that are having profound effects on society and higher educational institutions. One of the effects of globalisation is that the education sector is compelled to embrace the corporate ethos of efficiency, performance and profit-driven managerialism. As such, new entrepreneurial educational institutions in the global culture succumb to the economic gains offered by the neoliberal ideology and governance defined fundamentally by economic factors.

The book explores the ambivalent and problematic relationship between the state, globalisation and education reforms discourses. Using a number of diverse paradigms, ranging from critical theory to globalisation, the authors, by focusing on globalisation, ideology and education reforms, attempt to examine critically recent trends in the political, social, economic and educational constructs affecting the nature of education reforms.

When discussing the politics of education reforms, and role of the state, and dominant ideologies defining policy priorities, we need to go beyond the technicist and business-oriented model of education, which focuses on accountability, efficiency and performance indicators. Why? Because, apart from the dominant human capital and rate of return, driving efficiency, profit and performance indicators, there are other forces at work as well. From the macro-social perspective, the world of business, while real and dominant, is only one dimension of the complex social, cultural and economic world system. At the macro-societal level, we need to consider the teleological goal of education reforms. Are we reforming education systems to improve the quality of learning and teaching, academic achievement, and excellence, and do we hope to change our societies, creating the 'good society'?

At the level of critical discourse analysis, we need to consider dominant ideologies defining the nature and the extent of political and economic power, domination, control, the existing social stratification, and the unequal distribution of socially and economically valued commodities, both locally and globally. They all have profound influences on the directions of education and policy reforms. Many scholars have argued that education systems and education reforms are creating, reproducing and consolidating social and economic inequality (Carnoy & Rothstein, 2003; McLaren & Farahmandpur, 2005; Zajda, 2015a; Milanovic, 2016; Zajda, 2021).

The book offers a synthesis of current research findings on globalisation and education reforms, with reference to major paradigms and ideology. The book analyses the shifts in methodological approaches to globalisation, education reforms, paradigms, and their impact on education policy and pedagogy. The book critiques globalisation, policy and education reforms and suggests the emergence of new economic and political dimensions of cultural imperialism. Such hegemonic shifts in ideology and policy are likely to have significant economic and cultural implications for national education systems, reforms and policy implementations. The book also evaluates discourses of globalisation, cultural imperialism, global citizenship, human rights education, and neo-liberal ideology. It is suggested there is a need to continue to analyse critically the new challenges confronting the global village in the provision of authentic democracy, equality, social justice, and cross-cultural values that genuinely promote a transformative pedagogy. There is also a need to focus on the crucial issues at the centre of current and on-going education reforms, namely global citizenship, human rights education, social justice and access to quality education for all, if genuine culture of learning, and transformation, characterised by wisdom, compassion and intercultural understanding, is to become a reality, rather than policy rhetoric.

In addressing the topic globalisation, ideology and politics of higher education reforms, some authors, like Zajda and Majhanovich, analyse the ongoing trends in higher education reforms for academic excellence, standards, equity and global competiveness. They critique and evaluate a neo-liberal and neoconservative education policy; meta-ideological hegemony and paradigm shifts in education; globalisation processes impacting on education and policy reforms; global university rankings; internationalization; competition for international students among universities, both locally and globally; promotion of economic competitiveness; national identity and social equity through education reforms; and teaching of globalism through a human-rights framework and social justice.

The authors focus on major and dominant discourses defining educational reforms: *globalisation*, *social change*, *democracy* and *ideology.* These are among the most critical and significant dimensions defining and contextualising the processes surrounding the politics of education reforms globally. Furthermore, the perception of globalisation as dynamic and multi-faceted processes clearly necessitates a multiple-perspectives approach in the study of education reforms. In this the book, the authors, who come from diverse backgrounds and regions, attempt insightfully to provide a worldview of current developments in research concerning education reforms both locally and globally. The book contributes in a very scholarly way, to a more holistic understanding of the nexus between globalisation, ideology and education reforms.

We thank the anonymous international reviewers, who have reviewed and assessed the proposal for the continuation of the series (volumes 25–36), and other anonymous reviewers, who reviewed the chapters in the final manuscript.

Contents

About the Editors

Joseph Zajda Joseph Zajda, BA (Hons), MA, MEd, PhD, FACE, co-ordinates and lectures in graduate courses: MTeach courses: (EDFX522, EDSS503 and EDFD546) in the Faculty of Education and Arts, the Australian Catholic University (Melbourne Campus). He specialises in globalisation and education policy reforms, social justice, history education, human rights education, and values education. He has written and edited 48 books and over 150 book chapters and articles in the areas of globalisation and education policy, higher education, history textbooks, and curriculum reforms. Recent publications include: Zajda, J. (Ed). *(2021) 3rd International Handbook of Globalisation, Education and Policy Research.* Dordrecht: Springer; Zajda, J. (Ed). (2020). Globalisation, Ideology and Education Reforms: Emerging Paradigms. Dordrecht: Springer; Zajda, J. (Ed). (2020). Human Rights Education Globally. Dordrecht: Springer; **Zajda**, J (Ed.). (2020). *Globalisation, Ideology and Neo-liberal Higher Education Reform.* Dordrecht: Springer; Zajda, J. & Rust, V. (2021). *Globalisation and Comparative Education*. Dordrecht: Springer; Zajda, J. & Majhanovich, S. (Eds.) (2021). *Globalisation, Cultural Identity and Nation-Building: The Changing Paradigms*. Dordrecht: Springer; Zajda, J. (2019) (Ed.). *Globalisation, Ideology and Politics of Education Reforms.* Dordrecht: Springer; Zajda, J. (2018). *Globalisation and Education Reforms: Paradigms and Ideologies.* Dordrecht: Springer; Zajda, J. (2017). *Globalisation and National Identity in History Textbooks: The Russian Federation*. Dordrecht: Springer; Zajda, Tsyrlina-Spady & Lovorn (2017) (Eds.) *Globalisation and Historiography of National Leaders: Symbolic Representations in School Textbooks.* Dordrecht: Springer; Zajda & Ozdowski (2017). (Eds.), *Globalisation and Human Rights Education* Dordrecht: Springer; Zajda & Rust (Eds.) (2016). *Globalisation and Higher Education Reforms.* Dordrecht: Springer; editor and author of the *Second International Handbook on Globalisation, Education and Policy Research*. Springer, 2015. http://www.springer.com/education+%26+language/book/978-94-017-9492-3; Zajda, J. (2014). The Russian Revolution. In G. Ritzer & J. M. Ryan (Eds.), *The Wiley-Blackwell Encyclopedia of Globalization Online*; Zajda, J. (2014); Zajda, J. (2014). Ideology. In D. Phillips (Ed.), *Encyclopedia of Educational Theory and Philosophy*. Thousand Oaks: Sage; Zajda, J. (2014). Values Education. In D. Phillips (Ed.), *Encyclopedia* *of Educational Theory and Philosophy.* Thousand Oaks: Sage; Zajda, J. (2014); Values Education. In D. Phillips (Ed.), *Encyclopedia of Educational Theory and Philosophy*. Thousand Oaks: Sage; Zajda, J (2008). *Schooling the New Russians*. Melbourne: James Nicholas Publishers.

He is the editor of the **36-volume** book series Globalisation and Comparative Education (Springer, 2013 and 2024).

He edits the following journals:

http://www.jamesnicholaspublishers.com.au/journals/ct/; Editor, *Curriculum and Teaching*, volume 36, 2022

http://www.jamesnicholaspublishers.com.au/journals/es/; Editor, *Education and Society*, volume 39, 2022

http://www.jamesnicholaspublishers.com.au/journals/wse/ Editor, *World Studies in Education,* volume 22, 2022

His works are found in 445 publications in 4 languages and some 11,210 university library holdings globally.

He is the recipient of the 2012 **Excellence in Research Award**, the Faculty of Education, the Australian Catholic University. The award recognises the high quality of research activities, and particularly celebrates sustained research that has had a substantive impact nationally and internationally. He was also a recipient of the **Australian Awards for University Teaching** in 2011 (Citation for Outstanding Contributions to Student Learning, **for an innovative, influential and sustained contribution to teacher education through scholarship and publication).** He received the Vice Chancellor's **Excellence in Teaching Award,** at the Australian Catholic University (Melbourne Campus). He was awarded an ARC Discovery Grant (with Monash University) for 2011–2015 for a comparative analysis of history national curriculum implementation in Russia and Australia ($315,000). Elected as **Fellow** of the Australian College of Educators (June 2013).

Completed (with Professor Fred Dervin, University of Helsinki) the UNESCO report: *Governance in education: Diversity and effectiveness. BRICS countries*. Paris: UNESCO (2022).

Faculty of Education and Arts, School of Education, Australian Catholic University, East Melbourne, VIC, Australia

Contributors

Kent Sheng Yao Cheng (National Chung Cheng University) is current Vice Dean of the College of Education, Professor and Director of the Graduate Institute of Education, and Director of Institute for Indigenous Education at National Chung Cheng University in Taiwan. Cheng also serves as Director of the South Center for Taiwan Foreign English Teacher Program and International Education 2.0 Teachers and Administrators Empowerment; Board Member and Division Head of the National Curriculum Council; Editor in Chief of the *Taiwan Journal of Sociology of Education* (TSSCI); Board Member of the Chinese Comparative Education Society-Taipei and Taiwan Association of Sociology of Education; Program Chair of Comparative and International Education Society (CIES) SIG: Higher Education; International Advisor of the National Center for University Entrance Examinations in Japan; Affiliated Faculty in the Institute for International Studies in Education at the University of Pittsburgh; and Fulbright Visiting Scholar at University of Pittsburgh. Cheng received his degree at UCLA in 2004, and his recent research interests are disadvantaged students and remedial teaching, teacher education, higher education, comparative education, and sociology of education. Email: kentcheng@ccu.edu.tw

Ferdinand Mwaka Chipindi (University of Zambia) is Lecturer at the University of Zambia. He has taught in its School of Education for the past 12 years. He currently heads the department of Educational Administration and Policy Studies (EAPS). Chipindi holds a PhD in Comparative and International Development Education from the University of Minnesota, USA. His research interests occur at the intersection of culture, identity and education. His PhD dissertation analysed the negotiation of professional identity among University of Zambia lecturers at different epochs in the history of the institution. He is currently working on a project on the incorporating indigenous knowledge systems into sustainable development efforts. Email: ferdinand.chipindi@unza.zm

Harrison Daka (University of Zambia) is a dedicated academician and lecturer in Foundational Educational courses and Coordinator for Postgraduate Programmes at the University of Zambia. He has over 15 years teaching experience at the University of Zambia in different schools, institutes and departments. He has lectured in over 15 educational courses in different programmes and universities. He has developed a number of new courses. He has a broad record of research both self and commissioned. He has authored many articles in local and international Journals various educational materials and reviewed many articles. He has presented numerous papers at both local and international conferences, seminars and forums. Has facilitated at many workshops, coupled with, supervising and examining at both master's and PhD levels, respectively. He is the First and Current Chancellor of Diversity Learning Institute of Central Hamburg University of Germany. He is also a Member of the Board of Governors for Duncan Memorial Trust Bible College. Harrison Daka. Email: harrison.daka@unza.zm

Ya-Wen Hou is an Assistant Professor in the Department of Education at the Chinese Culture University, Taiwan. She also serves as Executive Editor of *Taiwan Journal of Sociology of Education* (TSSCI). Hou received her PhD in Education at the University of Pittsburgh in Pennsylvania, USA. Her research interests include educational policies, higher education administration and management, teacher education, and comparative and international education. She has recently co-authored, with Sheng Ju CHAN, *Investigating into the International Education Strategies in the UK and USA* (2020). Email: hyw6@ulive.pccu.edu.tw

W. James Jacob currently serves as a Multi-country General Manager of FamilySearch International's Asia Pacific Region. Prior to this he held several senior higher education leadership positions, including as Vice President of Innovation and International at Collaborative Brain Trust and as a leadership faculty member and Director of the Institute for International Studies in Education at the University of Pittsburgh. He is a results-oriented senior manager and researcher specialising in strategic planning, quality assurance, professional development, community engagement and change management. He has written extensively on comparative, international and development education (CIDE) topics with an emphasis on higher education. Dr Jacob holds master's degrees in Organisational Behaviour (Marriott School of Management) and International Area Studies (Kennedy Center for International Studies) from Brigham Young University and a PhD in Education from the University of California, Los Angeles. Email: wjamesjacob@gmail.com

Melanie Lawrence is Assistant Professor of Education in the Faculty of Education at the University of Western Ontario, Canada. Her current research is informed largely through the theoretical and methodological framework of policy sociology, with a focus on equity, quality assurance and neoliberal accountability studies in higher education as it relates to faculty, leadership and governance. Email: mmazier@uwo.ca

John Chi-Kin Lee (Education University of Hong Kong) is Vice President (Academic) and Provost and Chair Professor of Curriculum and Instruction He was Dean of Education and Professor of Department of Curriculum and Instruction at The Chinese University of Hong Kong (CUHK). Professor Lee was also the Director of the Centre for University and School Partnership and had served as a Fellow of United College and Morningside College at CUHK. He had worked as a secondary school teacher and a Lecturer at the Sir Robert Black College of Education. Professor Lee graduated from The University of Hong Kong and received his MSc degree from the University of Oxford, MA (Ed) and PhD degrees as well as a Diploma in Education (with distinctions) from CUHK. His research interests focus on curriculum and instruction, geographical and environmental education, and school improvement. One of his projects (together with Prof Jim Chi-yung, Dr Alice Chow Sin-yin and team), 'Tree Assessment for Life Education (TALE) Project', has won a Silver Medal in the first-ever virtual edition of Geneva's Inventions Expo held in March 2021. He is the recipient of the President's Award of Outstanding Performance in Knowledge Transfer (Team Award) in 2016/17. He has served as the Editor of *The International Journal of Children's Spirituality (IJCS)*, Regional Editor (Asia Pacific) of *Educational Research and Evaluation* and Executive Editor of *Teachers and Teaching* as well as editorial board members or advisory editors of many local, regional and international journals. He is also a prolific writer who has edited and written more than 25 books and published over 100 journal articles and book chapters. Professor Lee is also the UNESCO Chair in Regional Education Development and Lifelong Learning. Email: jcklee@eduhk.hk

Jing Liu (Tohoku University) is Associate Professor at the Graduate School of Education, Tohoku University, Japan. Prior to the current position, he served as an assistant professor at the Graduate School of International Development, Nagoya University, Japan, from 2013 to 2017. Then, he worked as a Japan Society for Promotion of Science (JSPS) research fellow at the Graduate School of Education, The University of Tokyo between 2017 and 2019. His research areas include sociology of education, international comparative education and development, and education for sustainability. His current research projects include school collaboration for school improvement in China and Japan, small-scale schools and quality education in rural China, and transformation of higher education for sustainability in Asia. Email: jing.liu.e8@tohoku.ac.jp

Ninh Nguyen is PhD student at the Faculty of Education and Human Development, The Education University of Hong Kong (EdUHK) in Hong Kong. She received her BA in English language from Vietnam National University Hanoi in Vietnam, and her MA in Teaching English for Speakers of Other Languages (TESOL) from La Trobe University in Australia. Before joining EdUHK, Ninh had been a lecturer of Translation and Interpretation at the University of Languages and International Studies, Vietnam National University Hanoi. In the past 5 years, she also worked as an education consultant for the World Bank Group in Vietnam in teacher education and higher education projects. Her current research project focuses on quality in transnational higher education.

Edith Mukudi Omwami (UCLA) is Associate Professor of education in the Graduate School of Education and Information Studies of the University of California, Los Angeles. Her research interests are in human rights and dignity initiatives in education sector reforms with a focus on access and participation, nutrition and health outcomes, education and life outcomes for women and girls in developing country context. Her recent publications are on comparative perspectives on international early childhood education in the context of SDGs (*2019 Annual Review of Comparative and International Education*) and intergenerational comparison of education attainment and implications for empowerment of women in rural Kenya (2015, *Gender, Place & Culture: A journal of Feminist Geography*). (email:omwami@gseis.ucla.edu).

Goli M. Rezai-Rashti is Professor of Education and Women's Studies at the University of Western Ontario in Canada. Her research and teaching are in the field of sociology of education, with a focus on anti-racism, feminism, anticolonial, critical multicultural education, and the impact of globalisation and neoliberal policy reform in education. Her research and teaching on race, class, and gender grew out of her commitment to equity and social justice education. She received the Faculty Scholar's Award from the University of Western Ontario for recognition of my achievement in teaching and research. She is working on 2 SSHRC funded research project; one working on accountability and large-scale testing and its impact on teachers, administrators and racialised students. The other project deals with the enactment of equity education policy in Ontario. She has published several books and numerous papers in refereed journals. Email: grezaira@uwo.ca

Joshua Rust is Professor of Philosophy, Stetson University, Department of Philosophy. He is the author of two books, *John Searle and the Construction of Social Reality* and *John Searle*. He is also a co-author of several articles in empirical philosophy concerning the behaviour of ethicists as compared to other academic professionals (*Mind, Review of Philosophy and Psychology*). Unit 8250, 104-C Elizabeth Hall, 421 North Woodland Boulevard, DeLand, Florida 32723, USA. Email: jrust@stetson.edu

Xi Wang (University of Pittsburgh) is a PhD student at the University of Pittsburgh, School of Education. Wang has also served as Program Coordinator at the University of Pittsburgh Institute for International Studies in Education for the last 5 years. She earned her master's degree from the University of Hawaii at Manoa in Curriculum Studies. Wang's research interests include comparative, international and development education, educational technology, MOOCs, teacher professional development, and educational reform. Her dissertation topic is the use of MOOCs in teachers' professional development, through which she aims to explore teachers' characteristics and reasons to pursue professional development through MOOCs and learn about their effectiveness in meeting professional development goals. Email: xiwangedu@outlook.com

John C. Weidman (University of Pittsburgh) is Professor Emeritus, Higher and International Development Education, Department of Educational Foundations, Organizations, and Policy, School of Education. He was Chair, Department of Administrative and Policy Studies, 1986-93 and 2007–10; and Director, Institute for International Studies in Education (IISE), 2004-07, both at the University of Pittsburgh, USA. He has also been Visiting Research Fellow (Professor), Graduate School of International Development, Nagoya University in Japan (2011); Guest Professor at Beijing Normal University in China (2007–12); UNESCO Chair of Higher Education Research at Maseno University in Kenya (1993); and Fulbright Professor of the Sociology of Education at Augsburg University in Germany (1986-87). He has consulted on education management, reform, strategic planning and policy analysis projects in Egypt, Indonesia, Israel (Fulbright Inter-Country Grant), Kenya, Kosovo, Kyrgyzstan, Laos, Mongolia, Saudi Arabia, South Africa, Uzbekistan, Vietnam and Zambia. His recent books include *Socialization in Higher Education and the Early Career: Theory, Research and Application* (co-editor with Linda DeAngelo, Springer, 2020); *Economics and Finance of Higher Education* (co-editor with John L. Yeager, et al., Pearson, 2015); *Community Engagement in Higher Education: Policy Reforms and Practice* (co-editor with W. James Jacob, et al., Sense, 2015). Email: weidman@pitt.edu

Weiyan Xiong (Lingnan University) is a Research Assistant Professor at Lingnan University in Hong Kong. He is also serving as the Director of the MA in International Higher Education and Management (IHEM) and MSocSc in Organisational Psychology and Education Management (OPEM). His research interests include comparative and international education, indigenous higher education, liberal arts education, and higher education management. From 2013 to 2017, Xiong served as a Program Coordinator at the University of Pittsburgh Institute for International Studies in Education. He also used to work as a Visiting Student Researcher at the UC Berkeley Myers Center for Research on Native American Issues and a Research Assistant at the Center for International Higher Education of Peking University. Xiong received his PhD in Higher Education Management from the University of Pittsburgh and completed his bachelor's and master's degrees at Peking University. Email: weiyanxiong@ln.edu.hk

Shangmou Xu (University of Pittsburgh) is a graduate research assistant in the Department of Educational Foundations, Organizations, and Policy, School of Education, University of Pittsburgh. His research interests include curriculum differentiation at secondary education level, opportunity to learn, school effectiveness, international education and quantitative research methods. He also serves as a teaching fellow at Research Methodology programme in the School of Education, University of Pittsburgh. Email: shx23@pitt.edu

Aki Yamada (Tamagawa University) is Assistant Professor. She attended Doshisha University in Kyoto, Japan with a Bachelor of Arts in Policy Studies. She continued studying at Doshisha University and received her Master of Arts in

American Studies. During her master's program, she studied at Stanford University for 1 year as a Freeman Spogli Institute Visiting Researcher. Aki began her doctoral studies in education at the University of California Los Angeles in 2011, pursuing research on New Japanese living in the United States, under the direction of advisor John Hawkins. After graduating she worked 4 years as an Assistant Professor in the Empowerment Informatics leading graduate programme at University of Tsukuba. Her research interests include globalisation, contemporary Asian immigration, transnational identity, STEM&STEAM education and internationalisation of higher education. Her research methodology focuses on qualitative studies, with an emphasis on ethnography in particular. She has published several comparative studies on higher education trends in Japan and the United States. In 2018, Aki co-edited a book that Palgrave MacMillan published as part of its International and Development Education series (a series for which John Hawkins, Reiko Yamada and W. James Jacob served as co-editors. Email: akiyamada124@gmail.com

Joseph Zajda (Australian Catholic University, Melbourne) is Associate Professor in the Faculty of Education and Arts at the Australian Catholic University (Melbourne Campus). He is a Fellow of the Australian College of Educators. He received Vice Chancellor's Award for Excellence in Teaching and Peter Sheehan Excellence in Research Award (Faculty of Education) for his high quality of research activities, which celebrates sustained research that has had a substantive impact nationally and internationally. He is also a recipient of the Australian Awards for University Teaching for his innovative, influential and sustained contribution to teacher education through scholarship and publication. He has written and edited 51 books and over 130 book chapters. He specialises in globalisation and education policy reforms, social justice, history education, and values education. Recent publications include: Zajda, J. (Ed). *(2021). 3rd International handbook of globalisation, education and policy research.* Dordrecht: Springer; Zajda, J. & Rust, V. (2020). *Globalisation and comparative education.* Dordrecht: Springer; **Zajda**, J (Ed). (2020a). *Globalisation, ideology and neo-liberal higher education reform.* Springer, Zajda, J. (Ed). (2020b). Human rights education globally. Springer, Zajda, J. (Ed). (2020c). Globalisation, ideology and education reforms*: Emerging paradigms.* Springer; Zajda, J. & Majhanovich, S. (Eds.). (2020). *Globalisation, cultural identity and nation-building: The changing paradigms.* Springer. He is also the editor of the thirty six volume book series *Globalisation and Comparative Education* (Springer, 2015&2024). He edits *World Studies in Education, Curriculum and Teaching* and *Education and Society* for James Nicholas Publishers. His works are found in 445 publications in 4 languages and some 11,000 university library holdings globally. He was awarded an ARC Discovery Grant (with Monash University) for 2011–2015 for a comparative analysis of history national curriculum implementation in Russia and Australia ($315,000). Orcid ID https://orcid.org/0000-0003-4422-9782. Email: joseph.zajda@acu.edu.au

Chapter 1
Discourses of Globalisation and Higher Education Reforms: Emerging Paradigms

Joseph Zajda and W. James Jacob

Abstract The chapter focuses on current education reforms in higher education. The chapter analyses and evaluates the ascent of a neo-liberal and neo-conservative higher education policy, globalisation and practices of governance education, global university rankings, internationalization, quality assurance, entrepreneurial and competitive ways of competition for international students among universities, both locally and globally. The chapter demonstrates that neo-liberal dimensions of globalisation and market-driven economic imperatives have impacted on the nature and directions of higher education reforms. The chapter argues that the politics of higher education reforms surrounding standards, excellence and quality have largely come from Northern, often World Bank ideologies. Accountability, efficiency, academic capitalism, the quality of education, and the market-oriented and "entrepreneurial" university model represent a neo-liberal ideology, which focuses primarily on the market-driven imperatives of global competitiveness.

Keywords Academic standards · Accountability · Governance · Globalisation · Global university rankings · Higher education · Higher education policy · Ideology · Internationalization · Neoliberal ideology · Neo-liberal higher education policy · Performance · Social stratification · Quality

J. Zajda (✉)
Faculty of Education & Arts, School of Education, Australian Catholic University, East Melbourne, VIC, Australia
e-mail: joseph.zajda@acu.edu.au

W. J. Jacob
FamilySearch International, Salt Lake City, UT, USA

J. Zajda, W. J. Jacob (eds.), *Discourses of Globalisation and Higher Education Reforms*, Globalisation, Comparative Education and Policy Research 27,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-83136-3_1

Discourses of Globalisation and Higher Education Reforms: Introduction

Gobalisation and Neo-Liberalism in Higher Education Reforms

The ascent of a neo-liberal and neo-conservative higher education policy, which has redefined education and training as an investment in human capital and human resource development, has dominated higher education reforms since the 1980's. The literature relating to human capital theory demonstrates that education consistently emerges as the prime human capital investment. Human capital refers to "the productive capacities of human beings as income producing agents in the economy" (Zajda, 2008, p. 45). Human capital research has found that education and training raises the productivity of workers by imparting useful knowledge and skills; improves a worker's socio-economic status, career opportunities and income (Becker, 1964, 1994; Schultz, 1971; Levin, 1987; Carnoy, 1999; Saha, 2021; Zajda, 2007, 2021) and plays a significant role in driving overall economic performance. In general, neo-liberalism in higher education policy reforms focuses on "meeting the needs of the market, technical education and job training, and revenue generation" (Saunders, 2010, p. 54).

We define *neoliberalism* as perspectives, values, and policies related to the promotion of a free-market economic system. Stemming in Nineteenth Century capitalism, neoliberalism advocates for primarily conservative government values in oversight, with limited government spending and interplay when it comes to local, national, and international economic systems. From a higher education standpoint, neoliberalism includes advocating for quality delivery based on market demands, student interests and needs, and promoting innovation through freedom of thought, speech, and open research. Often private higher education providers can deliver a neoliberal output in greater capacity than government-sponsored higher education institutions (HEIs). But this is not always the case, depending on the amount of government oversight and regulation that exists in each higher education geographic context (e.g., a state/provincial or federal higher education system). Quality assurance organizations are generally distanced from direct government oversight in pro-neoliberal higher education contexts.

There is often a spectrum that exists between higher education systems with more stringent government regulation and those that lean toward a neoliberal amplitude. And, to a considerable extent, neoliberal higher education has shifted over time, with increasing polarizations between traditional conservative and liberal values, perspectives, and higher education reforms. Neoliberal higher education is not only based on quality and performance inputs and outputs, but also monitoring standards and quality of education. It is a global trend for all HEIs to reexamine standards, qualities, and regulations based on national and international accreditation standards, like those offered by the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), the Council for Higher Education Accreditation (CHEA), and Accreditation Board for Engineering and Technology (ABET). Accreditation standards help HEIs maintain the quality of instruction, regardless of their delivery mediums (Sutin & Jacob, 2016).

There is a policy shift focusing on performance and quality, but at the same time many higher education administrators recognize they also need to focus on operating an institution that is financially sustainable and aligned with community engagement and workforce demands (Jacob & Gokbel, 2018; Jacob et al., 2015). One of the most common critiques of neoliberal higher education is a tendency to maximize profits and reduce costs (sometimes at the expense of people). This critique often highlights the potential negatives of neoliberal HEIs, that can outweigh the positives in higher education delivery (Dougherty & Natow, 2020; Olssen, 2021).

Other neoliberal trends include how faculty are recruited, hired, and retained. Labor trends away from tenured faculty, staff, and administrators are spreading globally. This financial model is often more agile, an enables HEIs to also require high performance from their faculty members well beyond the traditional tenure point. Early retirements, adjunct hires, and reduced benefits are other trends that contribute in one way or another to neoliberal trends within the higher education faculty, staff, and administrator workforce.

How it is affecting university academics in terms of job security, promotion, and above all keeping them dangling around where they are worried about their future. For those who are permanent academics who are tenured, it is not such an issue. But it is a real issue for those under the threat of obtaining/securing permanent positions within HEIs. The trend here often leads toward cheap labor, with high teaching loads, and they are not being compensated for the work that they are doing (Childress, 2019; Pasma & Shaker, 2018).

The financial issues faced by higher education administrators are real. This has only been exacerbated in recent years, and especially in the wake of the COVID-19 pandemic. Almost overnight HEIs were forced to transition to online mode, or at the very least, a hybrid model of online learning and some traditional, in-class instruction and interactions (Bairagi, 2020; Crawford et al., 2020; Watermeyer et al., 2021). The HEIs that could navigate this required transition period have been able to survive the impact of COVID-19 and its variants on required school closures, social distancing, and mask and vaccination mandates. HEIs which could not have either closed their doors permanently or taken extreme measures to financially survive (Sullivan, 2020). Some of the extreme measures HEIs have taken include laying off faculty, staff, and other support service employees (Tamrat, 2021). Local economies have also suffered, especially in small, college towns where the foundational economy relies heavily upon students attending tertiary education in person (Jacob & Gokbel, 2020).

HEIs which already suffered from archaic financial models may never recover from the COVID-19 aftermath (Jacob & Gokbel, 2018). This is especially difficult for HEIs with unsustained financial models that relied on high tuition rates that consistently outpaced inflation (Sutin & Jacob, 2016; Wang & Jacob, 2021).

The current higher education landscape makes Clayton M. Christensen and Henry J. Eyring's (2011) predictions about the future of higher education being forced to adapt to known and unforeseen disruptive forces seem much more practical (see also Christensen, 2017; Hess, 2017; Lederman, 2017; Warner, 2017). Global disruptions, innovations, and "improvements in online delivery will continue to become a more cost-effective way for students to receive their higher education training, rendering traditional higher education finance and delivery models obsolete and uncompetitive within a very short time period (e.g., 10–15 years). This will lead to increased closures, mergers, and investments in healthier, more robust higher education financing and delivery models" (Jacob & Sutin, 2018, p. 1).

The internationalization of higher education as we knew it prior to COVID-19, shifted to a halt with limited to no international travel permitted across worldwide. Government efforts to stem the global pandemic included policies that restricted travel, visa permits, and other in-person events until signs of curbing the pandemic could be realized. Some government restrictions are much more stringent than others, with locations like New Zealand and Australia limiting entry to citizens and essential foreign visitors.

The Politics of Current Higher Education Reforms

Globalisation, policy and the politics of current higher education reforms suggest radical economic and political dimensions of neo-liberalism, and a new dimension of cultural imperialism. As the UNESCO's humanistic model for education, so influential in the 1960s, was weakening, "the economic and techno-determinist paradigm of the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank and the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) was gaining in prominence" (Zajda, 2020). Such hegemonic shifts in ideology and policy were likely to have significant economic and cultural implications for the higher education system, reforms and policy implementations. Forces of globalisation, manifesting themselves as a neo-liberal and bourgeois hegemony, tended to legitimate an "exploitative system" (McLaren & Farahmandpur, 2005), and have contributed to the ongoing neo-liberal globalisation of the higher education sector. This is characterized by a relentless drive towards performance, global standards of excellence and quality, globalisation of academic assessment (OECD, PISA), global academic achievement syndrome (OECD, World Bank), global academic elitism and league tables for the universities (Carnoy et al., 2013; Turner & Yolcu, 2014; Zajda, 2021). The latter signifies both ascribed and achieved status, in defining the positioning of distinction, privilege, excellence and exclusivity. In higher education policy documents in the OECD, the IMF and the World Bank, policy reforms appear to be presented as a given, and as a necessary response to economic globalisation and global competitiveness.

Governance in Education

In order to deal with the multidimensional complexity of governance in education one needs to clarify its meaning. Governance is an unstable notion which can be approached from different levels: ideologies, discourses and situated practices. These three aspects do not always match, which makes dealing with governance within a political and geographical space difficult and potentially generalizing. As governance includes multiple stakeholders – besides the State, e.g. think tanks, policy-makers, private foundations, and unions, to name a few. This makes governance in education even more multifaceted and thus difficult to grasp fully. Apart from the political dimensions of governance in education, the social nature of education adds another dimension of complexity. As stated in the EFA Global Monitoring Report *Overcoming inequality: Why governance matters* (2009), educational governance, apart from dealing with administration and management, also involves both formal and informal processes affecting policy formulation and implementation, and is ultimately promoting the 'distribution of power in decision-making at all levels':

> Education governance is not simply the system of administration and management of education in a country. In its broadest sense, it is concerned with the formal and informal processes by which policies are formulated, priorities identified, resources allocated and reforms implemented and monitored... It is ultimately concerned with the distribution of power in decision-making at all levels (EFA GMR, 2009, 129).

Standards-Based Reforms in Higher Education

Recent education quality and standards-based reforms in higher education are influenced by forces of globalisation, and, in particular, by the World Bank, OECD and PISA indicators. Education reforms, targeting academic achievement, skills and standards have resulted in a significant expansion of the monitoring of educational outcomes both locally and globally. Current trends in governance in education indicate that education and policy reforms are accountability, performance and output driven. The prominence given to the nexus between globalisation and practices of governance education, reflect changing dynamics in the governance in education, and education policy reforms. The impact of globalisation on education policy and reforms around the world has become a strategically significant issue, for it expresses one of the most ubiquitous, yet poorly understood phenomena of modernity, and associated politico-economic and cultural transformations. Furthermore, there is sufficient evidence to suggest that forces of globalisation have contributed to a new dimension of socio-economic stratification, which offers immense gains to the very few of the economic elite in developed nations and in the emerging economies, especially in the BRICS countries: Brazil, the Russian Federation, India, China, and South Africa. At the same time, this emerging socio-economic stratification creates a growing divide between the rich and the poor globally, thus planting seeds of discontent and conflict for the future.

Global University Rankings

One of the outcomes of higher education policy reforms both locally and globally, and demands for accountability and transparency, is world university rankings and *university league tables.* The USA and several European countries have used national HEI rankings or league tables for a number of years. However, the first *Academic Ranking of World Universities* (*ARWU*) was published by the Shanghai Jiao Tong University Institute of Higher Education in 2003. It was a significant higher education policy and research move, because higher education rankings became a global endeavor at this point (Hazelkorn, 2014). Current major and global university ranking models include the Shanghai Jiao Tong University's (2003) *Academic Ranking of World Universities* (ARWU), the *Times Higher Education* (THE) *World University Rankings (powered by Thompson Reuters, 2010), QS World University Rankings (2010), and the European Commission's U-Multirank (2010).* The global ranking of universities by the *QS World University Rankings 2012–2013,* the *Times Higher Education World University Rankings 2012–2013*, and Shanghai Jiao Tong University's *2011 Academic Ranking of World Universities* dominate higher education drive for excellence and quality in education.

Higher education reforms represent policy responses to a globalized market ideology, which focuses on increasing global competitiveness, accountability, efficiency, quality, standards-driven policy reforms, and higher education stratification. They reflect aspects of a dominant ideology of neo-liberalism and neo-conservatism. Neo-liberal policies are largely based on dominant market-oriented ideologies, rather than democratic policy reforms. The commodification of higher education, with its focus on value-added education and labour market prospects for highly skilled and competent graduates, is a vivid outcome of market-driven economic imperatives of neo-liberal ideology. Mok (2015) argues the pressure of globalisation and the imperatives of a knowledge economy led to a series of higher educational reforms. The focus of these policy reforms was the promotion of quality education, massification of higher education and global competitiveness:

> Confronted with increasing pressure for global university ranking, governments and universities in Asia have tried to adopt different strategies in terms of special funding schemes, and different forms of measures in shaping teaching, learning and research activities to enhance their global ranking (Mok, 2015, p.1).

The latest higher education reforms focus more on economic competitiveness, academic elitism, and quality and standards, rather than on addressing access and equity, in order to solve serious educational inequalities in the higher education sector.

Continuing Trend Toward Internationalization

Even though globalisation is gaining the spotlight in higher education developments, these institutions remain lodged in national infrastructures, and many of the changes they have undertaken throughout the world might be characterized as international in nature. There is a long tradition of internationalization in higher education, featuring cooperation and harmony between countries. This feature of internationalization addresses an increase in university partnerships, flow of ideas, and exchanges of students and scholars:

> …today's global trends, with their emphasis on knowledge production and information flow, play an increasingly important role in the push towards the internationalisation of higher education. The international mobility of students and staff has grown, new technologies connect scholarly communities around the world, and English has become the new lingua franca of the international community (Kogan, & Teichler, 2007).

British Council (2020) in their recent policy report 'The shape of things to come: higher education global trends and emerging opportunities to 2020: Global edition' concerning the largest tertiary education markets based on current numbers of domestic tertiary enrolments, concluded that after 2020, there will be a 'shift in the balance of strong education markets from the English-speaking countries to the East':

> Strong economic and demographic growth will spur development of Asian as well as Gulf countries in the global tertiary education market and these nations will begin to challenge established education destinations (British Council, 2020).

Boivin (2021) in his report 'The evolution of higher education: 2021 trends' suggests that the 'push for increased inclusivity in the classroom, means the push for more diversity in colleges and universities'. Prospective international students have had an entire year of Zoom training and have adapted to virtual college fairs. While nothing will ever replace the power of face-to-face communication, recruiters can take advantage of a Zoom-savvy international population as the world. In addition, de Wit and Altbach (2020) in 'Internationalization in higher education: global trends and recommendations for its future' argue that there is likely to be a shift from internationalization abroad with its strong focus on a small elite of mobile students:

> Internationalization in higher education is entering a new phase. A shift from internationalization abroad with its strong focus on a small elite of mobile students, faculty, administrators, and programs toward internationalization at home for all members of the academic community has become more urgent than ever (de Wit & Altbach, 2020).

The most obvious continuing indicator of internationalization is the degree to which higher education institutions actively and successfully recruit students and scholars from abroad into their programs of study. Such a tendency is difficult for institutions in countries that do not have a traditional foreign student presence. According to the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD, 2014), approximately three-fourths of all foreign students are located in the United States, the UK, Germany, France, Australia, and Japan; however, universities from all over the world now aspire to attract international students and scholars to their campus. One recruiting mechanism universities have adopted is to offer courses in the English language, so that students are not forced to speak Dutch, Arabic, Mandarin, or Spanish in order to attend.

A second indicator of internationalization is Study Abroad, which involves short-term exchanges of students in immersion or travel study. Immersion studies genuinely expose students to a local country and its higher education, while travel study is somewhat akin to tourism, although some of the programs are more rigorous and beneficial than others.

A third indicator is foreign language instruction. There are a number of ways to make a judgment about this. How many students are enrolled in foreign language courses? How many different languages are taught at the institution? Are the languages restricted to a certain region of the world?

A fourth indicator is curriculum content and degrees. One means of measuring internationalization is to assess the level of information those engaged in higher education disseminate about other countries, people, events, and places. It is difficult to measure international content or even to define what we mean by international content. The Bologna Process, as the dominant regional force in Europe ensures a common degree structure and a comparable quality of education.

Finally, we might look at the international scope of the teaching faculty. Where do the faculty members come from? Where did they receive their academic degrees? Where do they publish their research findings? The academic environment the teaching faculty and administrators create ensures students and faculty have the tools necessary to cope with an increasingly globalized world. Students must learn to grasp the critical elements of the global change. Cultural globalisation points toward a 24-hour information world, where people not only consume information every minute of the day, but up to 75 percent of the workforce of the developed countries is now employed for the purposes of information production and distribution. Students must learn to live in a world “where knowledge grows exponentially; they must learn to be continuously vigilant about new ways of thinking and how to cope with innovation” (Rust, 2003, pp. 305–308).

We have identified the above conventional features as internationalization, because they have long stressed cooperation, harmony, and interdependence but more and more we are finding these internationalization features begin to meld with globalisation, which focuses more on competition, trade, and commodification in higher education, rather than being seen as a broad public good. Even internationalization efforts by nation states are often undertaken with the aim of gaining a competitive edge in the global arena. In other words internationalization is often overwhelmed by global imperatives.

Globalisation and Internationalization of Higher Education

Today, we find that university documents and mission statements everywhere indicate the importance of higher education in the global arena. Competition is closely connected with a global free-market economy. Combined with the impact of globalisation and the development of the global "knowledge economy," these competitive forces have resulted in the *global competition phenomenon*.

Shifting Higher Education Delivery Systems

Many developments characterize the shifting types of institutions that are part of the global competition phenomenon in higher education, and in this volume we intend to touch on some of these developments: the increasing reliance of nation states on private higher education, innovative developments in distance learning, the decline in the importance of libraries on university campuses, the development of satellite and branch campuses.

One of the remarkable recent developments in higher education is the increase in private higher education. Today, approximately one third of all global enrollments are found in private institutions. While many private institutions are sponsored by religious and humanitarian groups, a growing number are for-profit or quasi-profit institutions. Their sponsors view higher education as a business and want to sell their educational product like they might sell soap, automobiles, or tooth paste. Commodification commands increasing attention and institutions are run on a business model, with almost all the power resting with executive boards or top administrators. Such a model is not uniformly found throughout the world, but it is coming to dominate higher education in Latin America and the Middle East.

Innovative distance learning arrangements are revolutionizing the way in which higher education is being delivered. While distance learning, in the form of extension programs, has been a part of higher education for more than a century, in the form of extension and correspondence courses, technology has enabled universities to create a remarkable array of online delivery possibilities. In the United States, many of the best universities offer courses, on-line, to anyone in the world, who is willing to pay for the course, and institutions, such as Phoenix University, enroll close to half a million students in on-line degree programs. Great Britain set the pattern for open universities, which are public research universities that enroll large numbers of students in full- and part-time programs that provide multiple instructional formats to students. Most of the former British colonies have followed suit. In India, for example, Indira Gandhi National Open University website claims that the university enrolls more than three million students. Many other nations not identified with the British colonial tradition have followed this pattern. National Autonomous University of Mexico (UNAM) enrolls almost 400,000 students in its national and international satellites. And China's Open University of China claims to enroll 2.7 million students.

The most important instructional delivery innovation is Massive Open Online Courses, or MOOCs, which have suddenly taken center stage. Since 2012, more than 20 million students have enrolled in such courses. They are generally free or low-cost online courses, sometimes developed by leading figures in a field. They are available to anyone, who has access to the Internet.

The emergence of cross-border institutions and satellite campuses pose another threat to the traditional university. Branch campuses were originally intended to extend the reach of the university, so that students would have the university available to them within so that family responsibilities, jobs, lack of resources, and other issues would not prevent them from taking advantage of higher education. Today, this trend has gone international. Satellite campuses of a home institution now extend beyond national borders. Australia has been particularly aggressive in establishing branch campuses not only in Southeast Asia, but as far away as South Africa. Many United States universities have branch campuses in East Asia, the Middle East, India and other places in the world.

The Extension of Global Rankings

In 2003, the first international ranking system was undertaken by Shanghai Jiao Tong University Institute of Higher Education with the title: *Academic Ranking of World Universities* (SJTUIHE, 2008). A year later the *London Times World University Rankings* was initiated (Times, 2008). The Times project differed from China in that it aimed to put a British stamp on universities (Rust & Kim, 2021). The British claimed that the Shanghai reports did not give the British the recognition they deserved. Both of these annual reports have stimulated the development of additional ranking systems, all of which have "triggered the transformation of world higher education" (Marginson, 2010).

At the turn of this century, little more than a decade ago, there were no global rankings. Some nations maintained internal comparisons of performance, but little had developed globally, but things have since taken a dramatic turn. When the Shanghai rankings appeared, higher education specialists, the media, and the general public took notice, and these rankings began to influence university administrators, political leaders, students and the media. In fact, national leaders in China, Taiwan, Germany, France, and Russia quickly initiated Research and Development (R&D) policies that aimed to increase their higher education stature (Hazelkorn, 2008), and rankings have continued to influence attitudes and behaviors to the point that every nation is now conscious of its global standing in higher education.

Higher education leaders and policy makers responded so readily to the international ranking phenomenon, because they were so concerned about the international status of their higher education institutions. Every country wants a world-class university.

A key feature in the global race is academic capitalism, distinguished by universities that have become entrepreneurial marketers and treat knowledge as a commodity rather than a public good (Slaughter & Rhoades, 2004). Another feature is an increase in institutional mergers, which involve the melding of "strong" and "weak" institutions, intending to enhance a country's competitive advantage (Harman & Harman, 2008). With growing demand for higher education in the free-market system, the global higher education environment is also experiencing increased provision of private and cross-border higher education, accompanied by student mobility.

In the evolving global system of higher education, being competitive becomes key, and global positioning is integral to competing with other nations and institutions. Some scholars claim that universities are currently in a "reputation race," in which they compete for reputation and academic prestige (van Vught, 2008). Furthermore, Marginson, argues that "the more an individual university aspires to the top end of competition, the more significant global referencing becomes" (Marginson, 2006, p. 27). Universities, and the countries in which they are located, thus seek to project the best image possible in order to be poised to compete for research funding, the "best and brightest" international students, and "star" faculty members. Moreover, "all of this emphasis … gravitates towards an ideal, a typical picture of a particular type of institution," (Huisman, 2008), what Kathryn Mohrman, Wanhua Ma and David Baker (2008) call the Emerging Global Model (EGM) of the top stratum of research universities.

Institutional rankings, as demonstrated earlier, indicate the governance of a neoliberal ideology of accountability and efficiency. Accountability instruments increasingly control the lives and careers of academics. They assess and govern the quality and standards of higher education, and include "accreditation, cyclical reviews, and external evaluation by peers, inspection, audits, benchmarking, and research assessments" (Robertson, 2012, p. 241). Furthermore, it becomes increasingly evident that university rankings and university league tables are "taking on a life of their own, well beyond the purposes imagined by their originators" (Robertson, 2012, p. 244), which is clearly a "reification" of the phenomenon.

Reification occurs when an abstract concept describing a social condition, in this case economic priorities for globalizing higher education reforms, becomes the reality, and the truth. According to Berger and Luckmann, "reification" occurs when specifically human creations are misconceived as "facts of nature, results of cosmic laws, or manifestations of divine will" (Berger & Luckmann, 1966, p. 89). Unlike Marx, who used the concept of reification in his *Das Capital* (1867/ 1996) to demonstrate that it was an inherent and necessary characteristic of economic value; I use "reification" in a broader sense, covering all policy and education reforms which involve power, domination and control. Reification, in this sense, also connects with Baudrillard's (1994) idea of signification, where perceived key concepts and policy goals have no referent in any "reality" except their own.

Quality Assurance

In this period of intense globalisation, quality assurance has become a priority. The proliferation of institutions, the rapid expansion of students, the mobility of students in foreign parts, and other factors have forced policy makers to pay attention to accountability and quality. In the past, the major focus of most countries has been to increase access and enrollments. Now the focus has begun to shift toward quality and achievement, not only among students but among professors and educational administrators (Suskie & Ikenberry, 2014).

A number of issues must be raised. First, most countries have mechanisms for assessing the quality of their higher educational institutions. However, as institutions emerge that fall outside the normal boundaries of control, particularly regarding so-called cross-border institutions, there is often no mechanism for assessing these institutions. Second, many countries have attempted or are attempting to establish accrediting agencies. They turn to highly developed countries and their institutions to help define quality. In the process, quality assurance has become a contested issue. In fact, some observers claim it is nothing more than the cosmopolitan powers once again imposing their notions of quality on the rest of the world and universalizing the criteria by which quality is to be determined (Ntshoe & Letseka, 2010).

There are important regional higher educational responses to globalisation. For example, the Association of Universities of Asia and the Pacific have joined together to ensure that each country in the region has a well-defined accreditation process (Hawkins, 2009). The Bologna Process is clearly the dominant regional force in Europe that ensures a common degree structure and a comparable quality of education. Europe was long the center of educational innovation, quality, and standards. However, it stagnated in the past half century and the general consensus has been universities in the USA have taken the competitive lead in educational standards and research. To address this decline, European educators, ministers, and policy-makers met at Bologna, Italy and adopted the so-called Bologna Process. The purpose of the Bologna process (or Bologna accord) is to make European higher education standards more comparable and compatible. In 1999, the accord was signed by Ministers of Education from 29 European Union countries. Additional countries belonging to the Council of Europe later signed the accord so that the number of participating countries has reached 47. Other governmental meetings have been held in Prague (2001), Berlin (2003), Bergen (2005), London (2007), Leuvan (2009), Vienna (2010), Bucharest (2012) and Yerevan (2015). The overall aim of the Bologna Process was to establish a European higher education area (EHEA) by 2010, with a harmonized degree and course credit system that would allow students to move freely between European countries without having to translate their credits or qualifications--a single education currency. That process has now expanded far beyond the European Union and encompasses almost all countries in the region). In particular, the efforts to introduce a three-cycle degree system—composed of bachelor, master and doctoral degrees—are already beginning to change the landscape.

Evaluating Teaching and Research Performance in the Higher Education Sector

Summative evaluation of the teaching and research performance in universities involves annual faculty career and performance plans, annual research plans for individual academics and obligatory evaluation of teaching. At some universities, evaluation of teaching is compulsory for all teaching staff, and is administered in the online mode. Students rate their lectures online. An annual career and performance plan for an academic covers teaching workload, short-term and long-term career goals, and agreed performance objectives for teaching, research and other activities (such as university leadership, profession and service), as well as strategic links to school, faculty and university targets, and professional and career development, which includes development to be undertaken to achieve agreed performance outcomes. All these are typical features of a neo-liberal ideology and its focus on accountability, efficiency and ongoing performance surveillance of learning, teaching and research.

All these new facets of evaluating teaching and research represent a very high degree of surveillance, power (Foucault, 1980) and control over academics' professional lives. It becomes a global and ubiquitous managerial version of "panopticon", or the all-seeing environment. Certain offices, without walls, all in glass, are modern examples of surveillance and panopticon. Panopticon, as a concept, was an institutional building designed by English philosopher and social theorist Jeremy Bentham (c. 1798). In Foucault's development of this notion, the individual is under constant surveillance in the prison/organization. This power/knowledge mechanism over time becomes *internalized* by the subject, resulting in a self-surveillance and self-analysis in terms of the *normalizing* pressure of the system. This power/knowledge mechanism "compares, differentiates, hierarchises, homogenises, excludes. In short it normalises" (Foucault, 1979, p. 183). Its contemporary manifestation is present in such managerial systems as ongoing annual appraisals, performance reviews, the constantly reworked CV and E portfolios--a ubiquitous feature of today's higher education environment.

In deconstructing modes of evaluation of the performance of universities, we may also refer to "simulacrum", to critique the reification of systemic accountability, quality and standards. The simulacra that Jean Baudrillard (1994) refers to are the significations and symbolism of culture and media that construct perceived reality. According to him, our perception of the world/reality is constructed out of models or simulacra, which have no referent or ground in any "reality" except their own. One could argue, in terms of reification, that the models employed in for measuring the overall quality of the higher education system are taking on a life of their own, and parading as truth in their own right. It is essential, argues Robertson, to remember that ranking universities is based on a selection of criteria of *preferred* "fragments of knowledge":

> That we remind ourselves of just what a ranking is a fragment of knowledge about what university knowledge and experiences mean, rather than some essential understanding, or distilled essence of the whole. (Robertson, 2012, p. 244).

Conclusion

Higher education reforms globally, as discussed earlier, represent policy responses to globalized market ideology, which focuses on increasing global competitiveness, accountability, efficiency, quality- and standards-driven policy reforms, and higher education stratification. They reflect aspects of a dominant ideology of neo-liberalism and neoconservatism. Neo-liberal policies are largely based on dominant market-oriented ideologies, rather than democratic policy reforms. The foregoing demonstrates that neo-liberal dimensions of globalisation and market-driven economic imperatives have impacted higher education reforms in four ways: competitiveness-driven reforms, finance-driven reforms, equity-driven reforms and quality-driven reforms. Global competitiveness was and continues to be a significant goal on the higher education policy agenda. Accountability, efficiency, academic capitalism, the quality of education, and the market-oriented and "entrepreneurial" university model represented a neo-liberal ideology, which focuses primarily on the market-driven imperatives of cultural and economic globalisation.

References

Bairagi, R. (2020). Impacts of COVID-19 on Australian higher education export – A discussion. *Journal of Economics and Sustainable Development, 11*(18), 23–28. https://doi.org/10.7176/JESD/11-18-03

Baudrillard, J. (1994). *Simulacra and simulation*. Éditions Galilée (French) and University of Michigan Press.

Becker, G. (1964). *Human capital*. Columbia University Press.

Becker, G. (1994). *Human capital: A theoretical and empirical analysis with special reference to education*. University of Chicago Press.

Berger, P., & Luckmann, T. (1966). *The social construction of reality: A treatise in the sociology of knowledge*. Anchor/Doubleday.

Boivin, B. (2021). *The evolution of higher education: 2021 trends*. Keystone Education Group. Retrieved from https://www.keystoneacademic.com/news/the-evolution-of-higher-

British Council. (2020). *The shape of things to come: higher education global trends and emerging opportunities to 2020: Global edition*. Retrieved from https://www.voced.edu.au/content/ngv:56402

Carnoy, M. (1999). *Globalisation and educational reform: What planners need to know*. UNESCO, International Institute for Education Planning.

Carnoy, M., Loyalka, P., Dobryakova, M., Dossani, R., Froumin, I., Kuhns, K., Tilak, J. B. G., & Wang, R. (2013). *University expansion in a changing global economy: Triumph of the BRICs?* Stanford University Press.

Childress, H. (2019). *The adjunct underclass: How America's colleges betrayed their faculty, their students, and their mission*. The University of Chicago Press.

Christensen, C. M. (2017, April 27). Keynote address at the Salesforce Higher Ed Summit 2017, Austin, TX.

Christensen, C. M., & Eyring, H. (2011). *The innovative university: Changing the DNA of higher education from the inside out*. Jossey-Bass.
Crawford, J., Butler-Henderson, K., Malkawi, J., Glowatz, R., Burton, M., Magni, P. A., & Lam, S. (2020). COVID-19: 20 countries' higher education intra-period digital pedagogy responses. *Journal of Applied Learning & Teaching, 3*(1), 1–20.
de Wit, H., & Altbach, P. (2020). Internationalization in higher education: Global trends and recommendations for its future. *Policy Reviews in Higher Education, 5*(1) Retrieved from https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/23322969.2020.1820898
Dougherty, K., & Natow, R. (2020). Performance-based funding for higher education: How well does neoliberal theory capture neoliberal practice? *Higher Education, 80*(3), 457–478.
EFA Global Monitoring Report. (2009). *Overcoming inequality: Why governance matters*. OECD.
Foucault, M. (1979). *Discipline and punish: The birth of the prison*. (Trans A. Sheridan). Vintage.
Foucault, M. (1980). *Power knowledge: Selected interviews and other writings 1972–1977* (G. Gordon, Ed.). Harvester Press.
Harman, G., & Harman, K. (2008). Strategic mergers of strong institutions to enhance competitive advantage. *Higher Education Policy, 21*, 99–121.
Hawkins, J. N. (2009). *Higher education and quality assurance: Trends and tensions in Asia.* Paper presented at the Association of Universities of Asia and the Pacific Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia.
Hazelkorn, E. (2008). Learning to live with league tables and ranking: The experience of institutional leaders. *Higher Education Policy, 21*, 193–215.
Hazelkorn, E. (2014). Rankings and the global reputation race. In L. M. Portnoi & S. S. Bagley (Eds.), *Critical perspectives on global competition in higher education* (New directions for higher education, pp. 13–26). Jossey-Bass.
Hess, A. (2017, November 15). *Harvard Business School professor: Half of American colleges will be bankrupt in 10 to 15 years*. CNBC.
Huisman, J. (2008). World class universities. *Higher Education Policy, 21*, 1–4.
Jacob, W. J., & Gokbel, V. (2018). Global higher education learning outcomes and financial trends: Comparative and innovative approaches. *International Journal of Educational Development, 58*(1), 5–17. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijedudev.2017.03.001
Jacob, W. J., & Gokbel, V. (2020). Global higher education financial trends. *International Association of Universities (IAU) Horizons, 25*(1), 23–25.
Jacob, W. J., & Sutin, S. E. (2018). Global trends in higher education financing. *International Journal of Educational Development, 58*(1), 1–4. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijedudev.2017.12.002
Jacob, W. J., et al. (Eds.). (2015). *Community engagement in higher education: Policy reforms and practice*. Sense Publishers.
Kogan, M. & Teichler, U. (Eds.). (2007). *Key challenges to the academic profession* (UNESCO Forum on Higher Education Research and Knowledge). Werkstattberichte. Retrieved from: http://portal.unesco.org/education/en/files/54977/11970234265Key_Challanges_Academic_Profession_REV.pdf/Key_Challanges_Academic_Profession_REV.pdf
Lederman, D. (2017, April 28). Clay Christensen, Doubling Down. *Inside Higher Ed*, Washington, DC.
Levin, H. (1987). Work and education. In G. Psacharopoulos (Ed.), *Economics of education* (pp. 146–157). Pergamon Press.
Marginson, S. (2006). Dynamics of national and global competition in higher education. *Higher Education, 52*, 1–39.
Marginson, S. (2010). Global comparisons and the university knowledge economy. In V. D. Rust, L. M. Portnoi, & S. S. Bagley (Eds.), *Higher education, policy, and the global competition phenomenon*. Palgrave Macmillan.
McLaren, P., & Farahmandpur, R. (2005). *Teaching against global capitalism and the new imperialism*. Rowman & Littlefield.

Mohrman, K., Ma, W., & Baker, D. (2008). The research university in transition: The emerging global model. *Higher Education Policy, 21*, 5–27.
Mok, K. H. (2015). Higher education transformations for global competitiveness: Policy responses, social consequences and impact on the academic profession in Asia. *Higher Education Policy, 28*, 1–15. https://doi.org/10.1057/hep.2014.27
Ntshoe, I., & Letseka, M. (2010). Policy and practices on quality assurance and global competitiveness in higher education. In V. D. Rust, L. M. Portnoi, & S. S. Bagley (Eds.), *Higher education, policy, and the global competition phenomenon*. Palgrave Macmillan.
OECD. (2014). *OECD StatExtracts*. Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development.
Olssen, M. (2021). Neoliberal competition in higher education today: Research, accountability and impact. In M. Olssen (Ed.), *A normative Foucauldian* (pp. 307–327). Brill.
Pasma, C., & Shaker, E. (2018). *Contract U*. Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives.
Robertson, S. (2012). World-class higher education (for whom?). *Prospects, 42*(3), 237–245.
Rust, V. D. (2003). Globalisation. In D. Groux (Ed.), *Dictionnaire d'éducation comparée* (pp. 305–308). L'Harmattan.
Rust, V. D. & Kim, S. (2021). Globalisation and global university rankings. In J. Zajda (Ed.). *Second international handbook of globalisation, education and policy research* (pp. 241–255). Springer.
Saha, L. (2021). Cultural and social capital in global perspective. In J. Zajda (Ed.), *Third international handbook of globalisation and education policy research* (pp. 777–788). Springer.
Saunders, D. (2010). Neoliberal ideology and public higher education in the United States. *Journal for Critical Education Policy Studies, 8*(1), 42–77.
Schultz, T. (1971). *Investment in human capital*. Free Press.
SJTUIHE. (2008). *Academic ranking of world universities*. http://ed.sjtu.edu.cn/ranking.htm
Slaughter, S., & Rhoades, G. (2004). *Academic capitalism and the new economy*. Johns Hopkins University Press.
Sullivan, R. (2020, June). *College Towns and Covid-19: The Impact on New England* (Federal Reserve Banks of Boston Working Paper No. 2020-3). FRB of Boston. Available at SSRN: https://ssrn.com/abstract=3638544
Suskie, L., & Ikenberry, S. (2014). *Five dimensions of quality: a common sense guide to accreditation and accountability*. Jossey-Bass.
Sutin, S., & Jacob, J. (2016). *Strategic transformation of higher education: Challenges and solutions in a global economy*. Rowman & Littlefield.
Tamrat, W. (2021). Enduring the impacts of COVID-19: Experiences of the private higher education sector in Ethiopia. *Studies in Higher Education, 46*(1), 59–74.
Times. (2008). World university rankings. *Times Higher Educational Supplement.* http://www.topuniversities.com/worlduniversityrankings/
Turner, A., & Yolcu, H. (Eds.). (2014). *Neo-liberal educational reforms: A critical analysis*. Routledge.
van Vught, F. (2008). Mission diversity and reputation in higher education. *Higher Education Policy, 21*, 151–174.
Wang, X., & Jacob, J. (2021, Forthcoming). Financing higher education in Asia. In Devesh Kapur, Lily Kong, and David M. Malone (Eds.),.*Oxford handbook on higher education in Asia*, : Oxford University Press.
Warner, J. (2017, November 21). Disruptive Innovation? More Like Destructive Innovation. *Inside Higher Ed*, Washington, DC.
Watermeyer, R., Crick, T., Cathryn Knight, C., & Goodall, J. (2021). COVID-19 and digital disruption in UK universities: Afflictions and affordances of emergency online migration. *Higher Education, 81*, 623–641.
Zajda, J. (2007). Credentialism in the 21st century: The importance of qualifications. *Educational Practice and Theory, 29*(2), 61–79.

Zajda, J. (2008). Globalisation and implications for equity and democracy in education. In J. Zajda, L. Davies, & S. Majhanovich (Eds.), *Globalisation, comparative and policy research: Equity, access and democracy in education* (pp. 3–13). Springer.

Zajda, J. (Ed.). (2020). *Globalisation, ideology and neo-liberal higher education reform*. Springer.

Zajda, J. (Ed.). (2021). *Third international handbook of globalisation and education policy research*. Springer.

Chapter 2
Conceptualizing Policy for International Educational Development

John C. Weidman

Abstract This chapter presents conceptual frameworks for understanding social and educational changes that influence international educational development policy. Drawing from several main trends driving contemporary educational development and reform, directions reflected in international educational policy declarations generated by United Nations agencies (e.g., Sustainable Development Goals or SDGs) and initiatives of the World Bank are discussed. In order to illustrate the underlying complexity of international educational development initiatives, I use positivist conceptual underpinnings with historical roots in the field of comparative and international education. Assumptions about the ways in which social and educational change occur are also identified and linked to structural dynamics of educational policy formation. The chapter concludes with a discussion of implications for international educational development, generally, as well as for funding agencies and policymakers seeking to improve educational systems.

Keywords Comparative education · Education policy · Education reforms · Globalization · International education · International educational development policy · Social change · Sustainable development goals · United Nations · World Bank

Conceptualizing Policy for International Educational Development; Introduction

This chapter presents conceptual frameworks for understanding social and educational changes that influence international educational development policy. Drawing from several main trends driving contemporary educational development and

J. C. Weidman (✉)
Department of Educational Foundations, Organizations, and Policy, School of Education, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, PA, USA
e-mail: weidman@pitt.edu

J. Zajda, W. J. Jacob (eds.), *Discourses of Globalisation and Higher Education Reforms*, Globalisation, Comparative Education and Policy Research 27,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-83136-3_2

reform, directions reflected in international educational policy declarations generated by United Nations agencies (e.g., Sustainable Development Goals or SDGs) and initiatives of the World Bank are discussed. In order to illustrate the underlying complexity of international educational development initiatives, I use positivist conceptual underpinnings with historical roots in the field of comparative and international education is applied. Assumptions about the ways in which social and educational change occur are also identified and linked to structural dynamics of educational policy formation. The chapter concludes with a discussion of implications for international educational development, generally, as well as for funding agencies and policymakers seeking to improve educational systems.

This chapter begins with a set of trends driving international educational development reflected in the work of two of the most influential multinational agencies driving contemporary educational policy, the United Nations (UN) and the World Bank. I discuss several key directions of their initiatives and then categorize them in terms of theoretical perspective from the social sciences, suggesting ways in which the implementation of educational policy and practice as well as their potential for long-term sustainability could be improved.

Main Trends in Education for National Development

According to Carbonnier et al. (2014), academics, scholars, and international development professionals have struggled over the past half century to find common pathways toward educational improvement policy. This is reflected in education, training, and development policies that have

> …. fluctuated with the evolving positions of individual states, the international aid community, business, and civil society. Oversimplifying, education has been envisaged along a continuum ranging from a human right to be enjoyed by everyone irrespective of the cost and the return on investment on one extreme, to a tool aimed at responding to market demand in support of economic growth on the other extreme. Likewise, for the development continuum, education would serve economic growth as the sole objective pursed at one extreme or pursue the sole advancement of the social dimension of human development at the other (Carbonnier, et al., 2014, Section 4, paragraph 21).

This emphasis on education for economic growth is reflected, according to Draxler (2014), in three main trends driving the directions of international investment on education for national development:

- widespread advocacy and acceptance of the role of the private sector in both the design and the provision of education;
- trends to generalise international tools of measurement and testing;
- the search for tools that can help education contribute to reducing poverty and unemployment, notably by insisting on the relevance of education to the economy (Draxler, 2014, Section 6, paragraph 28).

I will address each of these trends in terms of education strategy and policy initiatives. My primary focus is on two of most influential multinational agencies, the United Nations (UN) agencies and the World Bank, both of which have been driving international educational policy declarations currently being followed by many national governments. Other agencies are also mentioned as appropriate.

United Nations Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs)

Initially designated under the umbrella of Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and now Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), the international agreement that established the basic directions for education as a key MDG was the Dakar Framework (UNESCO, 2000). Full attainment of the very ambitious Dakar Framework goals did not occur by its target date of 2015. However, there was sufficient progress to justify re-doubling efforts for another 15-year period.

Consequently, as MDGs morphed into SDGs (Sustainable Development Goals), new efforts were made to forge an international agreement on the specific dimensions to be addressed for international educational policy and practice. The central emphases advocated for international educational development are reflected in SDG Goal 4 to "Ensure inclusive and quality education for all and promote lifelong learning." The targets under SDG Goal 4 are:

4.1 By 2030, ensure that all girls and boys complete free, equitable and quality primary and secondary education leading to relevant and Goal-4 effective learning outcomes
4.2 By 2030, ensure that all girls and boys have access to quality early childhood development, care and preprimary education so that they are ready for primary education
4.3 By 2030, ensure equal access for all women and men to affordable and quality technical, vocational and tertiary education, including university
4.4 By 2030, substantially increase the number of youth and adults who have relevant skills, including technical and vocational skills, for employment, decent jobs and entrepreneurship
4.5 By 2030, eliminate gender disparities in education and ensure equal access to all levels of education and vocational training for the vulnerable, including persons with disabilities, indigenous peoples and children in vulnerable situations
4.6 By 2030, ensure that all youth and a substantial proportion of adults, both men and women, achieve literacy and numeracy
4.7 By 2030, ensure that all learners acquire the knowledge and skills needed to promote sustainable development, including, among others, through education for sustainable development and sustainable lifestyles, human rights, gender equality, promotion of a culture of peace and non-violence, global citizenship and appreciation of cultural diversity and of culture's contribution to sustainable development
4.A Build and upgrade education facilities that are child, disability and gender sensitive and provide safe, nonviolent, inclusive and effective learning environments for all
4.B By 2020, substantially expand globally the number of scholarships available to developing countries, in particular least developed countries, small island developing States and African countries, for enrolment in higher education, including vocational training and information and communications technology, technical, engineering and scientific programmes, in developed countries and other developing countries

4.C By 2030, substantially increase the supply of qualified teachers, including through international cooperation for teacher training in developing countries, especially least developed countries and small island developing states (http://www.un.org/sustainabledevelopment/education/).

To implement SDG 4, in May of 2015 UNESCO convened a World Education Forum outside of Seoul, South Korea, resulting in the "Incheon Declaration" that asserts the following targets:

Access…we will ensure provision of 12 years of free, publicly funded, equitable quality primary and secondary education, of which at least nine years are compulsory, leading to relevant learning outcomes. We also encourage the provision of at least one year of free and compulsory quality pre-primary education and that all children have access to quality early childhood development, care and education…commit to providing meaningful education and training opportunities for the large population of out-of-school children and adolescents, who require immediate, targeted and sustained action ensuring that all children are in school and are learning.

Inclusion and equity…We commit to addressing all forms of exclusion and marginalization, disparities and inequalities in access, participation and learning outcomes…

Gender equality…supporting gender-sensitive policies, planning and learning environments; mainstreaming gender issues in teacher training and curricula; and eliminating gender-based discrimination and violence in schools.

Quality…strengthening inputs, processes and evaluation of outcomes and mechanisms to measure progress. We will ensure that teachers and educators are empowered, adequately recruited, well-trained, professionally qualified, motivated and supported within well-resourced, efficient and effectively governed systems…

Lifelong learning opportunities…equitable and increased access to quality technical and vocational education and training and higher education and research, with due attention to quality assurance. In addition, the provision of flexible learning pathways, as well as the recognition, validation and accreditation of the knowledge, skills and competencies acquired through non-formal and informal education, is important. We further commit to ensuring that all youth and adults, especially girls and women, achieve relevant and recognized functional literacy and numeracy proficiency levels and acquire life skills, and that they are provided with adult learning, education and training opportunities…

Safe, supportive and secure learning environments free from violence…We recommend a sufficient crisis response, from emergency response through to recovery and rebuilding; better coordinated national, regional and global responses; and capacity development for comprehensive risk reduction and mitigation to ensure that education is maintained during situations of conflict, emergency, post-conflict and early recovery (UNESCO, 2016, pp. 7–9).

Figure 2.1 shows the three levels identified by the UN Secretary-General in September of 2019 that must be addressed during a "decade of action for delivery of global goals" in order to attain the SDGs by 2030: global, local, and stakeholder. These levels include both potential areas and actors for policy development and intervention. The figure has SDGs in the space where the three circles intersect, suggesting that the three areas are inextricably interconnected, interdependent and mutually reinforcing. The targets of SDG 4 and the Incheon Declaration may be seen to reflect what Carbonnier, et al. (2014, par. 42) identify as outcomes of a global trend toward policies based on "a functional or instrumental understanding of education and training." While not exclusively so, these international conventions

Fig. 2.1 Action required attaining UN Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). (Adapted from https://www.un.org/sustainabledevelopment/decade-of-action/

emphasize the primacy of instrumental ends such as economic growth over human and social capital growth, and of education as an economic commodity as opposed to a basic human right. Also particularly notable in these emerging policies was a shift in emphasis toward the importance of private, in addition to public, investment in education, e.g., the UN Global Compact (UNESCO et al., 2013).

World Bank Initiatives

The World Bank, the most highly capitalized and, hence, also the most influential multi-lateral development bank is a central player in forging the priorities for educational development across the globe. As a multilateral development bank, its mission in the education sector is focused on lending for and finance of efforts to improve national educational systems. While well intentioned World Bank "policies on education have not been as effective as postulated, and in some cases have created significant educational distortions…predicated on the Bank's tendency to become 'captured' by single methodologies beginning with manpower forecasting and later rate of return techniques (Heyneman, 2003, p. 315).

Nonetheless, country governments as well as bi- and multi-lateral donors tend to look to the World Bank's 2011 Education Sector Strategy 2020, *Learning for all,* for recommendations of ways that national social and economic development can be furthered through reform and improvement of education. Despite significant criticism (e.g., Klees et al., 2011), this document continues to shape both practice and theory of international educational development. The World Bank has also committed significant resources to the standardization of educational indicators and metrics in order to support and extend its policy initiatives. SABER (Systems Approach for Better Education Results) is chief among them (World Bank, 2013):

> At the country level, it provides education systems analyses, assessments, diagnosis, and opportunities for dialogue. At the global level, it improves the education systems knowledge base and uses this information to implement effective reforms (http://saber.worldbank.org).

SABER incorporates advocacy for World Bank educational development policy into its measurement function, notably including as one of its domains, "engaging the private sector." For a detailed critique of SABER, see Klees et al. (2020). Other standardized international tools of measurement and testing of student learning in schools include, among others, the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) Programme for International Student Assessment, PISA (https://www.oecd.org/pisa/aboutpisa/), and the studies developed by the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA):Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study, TIMSS (http://www.iea.nl/timss_2015.html); and the Progress in International Reading Literacy Study, PIRLS (http://www.iea.nl/pirls_2016.html). Data from these studies are widely disseminated and used for research as well to inform educational policy.

The Global Partnership for Education (GPE) is a global fund solely dedicated to transforming education in lower-income countries, and building unique, multistakeholder partnerships (https://www.globalpartnership.org/). GPE assists applicant countries with (a) developing an evidence-based national strategic plan for education, (b) building coalitions of donors for sector-wide funding initiatives (focused on primary education, but with implications for the entire education sector), and (c) identifying key performance indicators. This approach is designed to facilitate donor coordination and more cost-effective reform efforts, the lack of incentives available for joint initiatives across donors weakens coordination. Specifying "lead" donors with formally designated control of resource allocation can also be very difficult. "Basket" aid in which all donors agree to pool funds under joint government and lead donor allocation authority also does not have a particularly strong record of success.

Given the dominance of the structural-functional/systems views of education in the work of UN Agencies, the World Bank, and other agencies such as GPE and IEA that support emphasis on both the standardization of educational metrics and the privatization of educational service provision, it is instructive to explore plausible conceptual bases of such views. Consequently, in the next section of this chapter the conceptual underpinnings of three widely used theoretical perspectives for describing the relationship between education and society are presented. Similarities and differences among them as well as their roots in the field of comparative and international education are also explored.

Framing International Educational Development: Theoretical Perspectives

Educational policy development encompasses a complex set of inputs and processes and any approach has both strengths and weaknesses. From a descriptive point of view, the social systems perspective can be very useful in identifying key elements of and actors in educational policy development. Consequently, I begin with a functionalist lens to suggest various dimensions underlying policy initiatives from a comprehensive, sector-wide perspective (Weidman, 2001).

The functionalist perspective is based on the view that all societies, including their major social institutions, must have an accompanying social structure that fulfills the four main functional requirements of any social system. Posited by Parsons (1961, pp. 36–41), these functions are: adaptation, goal attainment, integration, and pattern maintenance. Using somewhat different terms, the analogous social structures for accomplishing each of these functional imperatives reside, respectively, in the economic (adaptation), political (goal attainment), social (integration), and educational (pattern maintenance) systems.

The framework shown in Fig. 2.2 contains two intersecting ellipses, shown with dotted lines to suggest that boundaries among section are fluid and permeable. The four key elements (ends of the ellipses) each represent one of the general functional imperatives of social systems described by Parsons (1961, pp. 36–41). These four functional imperatives also appear, with some differences, in classic writing about inquiry and analysis in the field of comparative education (e.g., Kandel, 1936; Paulston, 1977). The framework posits a set of key actors and organizations without regard to variations in system dynamics underlying any of the elements. As such, it is more of a classification scheme than model or "map" (in the sense of Paulston, 1993) of mutually influencing dimensions.

The core of the intersecting ellipses in Fig. 2.2 is the object of policy reform, educational systems, comprised of physical resources (schools and other educational institutions) and human resources (teachers, students, administrators). The constructs included are not exclusive, but rather illustrative of the particular phenomena that is under consideration (center core of the figure).

To make these functional imperatives more relevant for framing international development education, the terminology has been modified. The term "pedagogical" has been added to the education function to emphasize the importance of teaching and learning, including teacher education (Weidman et al., 2014). This emphasizes the importance of technical contributions to educational policy and reform that come from pedagogical and other related knowledge and skills provided by experts. The term "legal" has been added to the social function to emphasize the importance of formal regulation of relationships among stakeholders. This can also include influences of interest groups on education for development.

The bottom section of Fig. 2.2 shows aspects of the economic imperatives for educational reform. For developing countries, government funds raised via taxation are often not sufficient to cover the full costs of educational improvement.

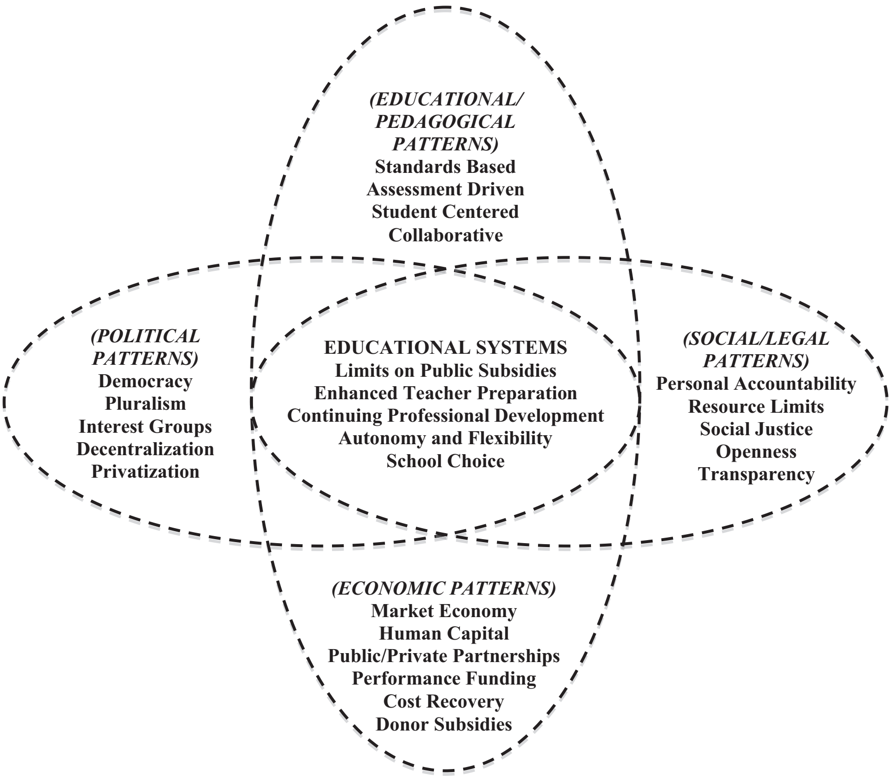


Fig. 2.2 Conceptualizing education in global context. (Adapted from Weidman & Bat-Erdene, 2002; Weidman, et al., 2014; Weidman, 2016)

Consequently, these governments tend to seek additional funding from bi-lateral and multi-lateral donors. These may include country aid agencies, multi-lateral development banks, and private non-governmental organizations (NGOs). It is not uncommon for donor priorities and country client needs to be different. Donor agendas are set by remote governments/parliaments and boards of directors, not necessarily by the recipient country. Donors may compete among each other for influence and financial advantage perceived to accrue from investments, especially, as often is the case, when education sector investments are linked to private sector business and commerce interests. Education ministries and local education authorities may lack sufficient human and physical capacity to manage a large volume of donor-funded projects. As a result, opportunities for corruption that may arise could diminish the impact of donor investments (Heyneman, 2004).

Given the particular importance of teachers as key actors in educational quality improvement (Carnoy, 1999, 83–84). Figure 2.2 includes teacher preparation and continuing professional development as central to educational policy reform (Weidman, Jacob and Casebeer, 2014). Figure 2.2 suggests a set of social, economic, political and educational dimensions that shape educational systems in different national contexts. Selection of and specification of relationships among the constituent constructs may vary, depending upon the particular intentions for and use of the framework. It must be noted that the dimensions in this figure are not intended to be exhaustive or mutually exclusive but rather to cut across the four main patterns in the framework. Carnoy (1999, p. 86) provides support for the assertion that the dimensions are significantly interrelated. In discussing the potential consequences decentralization might have for education quality improvement, he suggests a set of cross-cutting relationships that could also be seen as reflecting dimensions shown in Fig. 2.2:

> Despite urging from some quarters that decentralizing or marketizing education – that is, making education more accountable to parent-consumers – is the most effective strategy available to nations and regions in a globalized economy, the evidence suggests something quite different. National governments may decide to decentralize education to respond to ethnic, regional, or social movement demanding 'political' reform. But improving student learning or expanding educational opportunity requires coherent and systemic effort by the public sector. This usually means more, as well as more effective, public spending (Carnoy, 1999, p. 86).

Figure 2.2 may be criticized for representing notions of education reform that are generally static rather than dynamic, reflecting an underlying assumption that transformation is a slow, tedious, and predominantly incremental process. This figure does not, in fact, specifically incorporate notions of change. However, there is the implication that an understanding of key elements could lead to identification of underlying change mechanisms. In the next section, both theoretical perspectives other than structural-functionalism and notions of change are added.

Social and Economic Change in Educational Development

Paulston (1977, pp. 372–373; 2000a, p. 335) developed a foundational classification scheme for theories of social and educational change that was intended to inform academic inquiry as well as educational development. This scheme is based on two "paradigms" or generalized frameworks for explaining the dynamics of societies, equilibrium and conflict. Paulston included structural-functional and systems theories under the equilibrium paradigm and Marxian theories under the conflict paradigm. In addition, Feinberg and Soltis (2009; first published in 1985) added a third theoretical perspective, interpretive, to explain the relationship between education and society that is applicable to educational reform and change in both domestic and international contexts. They describe proponents of these perspectives as follows:

> The *functionalist* generally sees schools as serving to socialize students to adapt to the economic, political and social institutions of that society. . . A *conflict theorist* would generally view schooling as a social practice supported and utilized by those in power to maintain their dominance in the social order. . . The *Interpretivist* sees the social world as a world made up of purposeful actors who acquire, share, and interpret a set of meanings, rules and norms that make social interaction possible (Feinberg & Soltis, 2009, pp. 6–7).

Table 2.1 Assumptions about social and educational change under functional, conflict and interpretivist theories of society

Theories of Society	Functional	Conflict	Interpretivist
Structure of society	Stable (equilibrium)	Unstable (conflict)	Fluid
Nature of elements in society	Integrative	Disintegrative (dialectical basis)	Contingent (meanings made by individuals)
Function of elements in society	System maintenance	System modification	System enhancement
System dynamics	Consensus (values/norms)	Coercion	Shared patterns of meaning
Type of change over time	Evolutionary (incremental)	Revolutionary	Negotiated
Citizen agency	Corporativist (shaped by social structure)	Individualistic (shaped by personal interests)	Collectivist (shaped by shared interests)

Adapted from Feinberg and Soltis (2009), Weidman (2016), and Weidman and DeAngelo (2020)

Table 2.1, drawing from the three perspectives described by Feinberg and Soltis (2009), shows the functionalist, conflict, and interpretivist perspectives arrayed according to basic underlying assumptions about society (structure, nature of elements, function of elements. Table 2.1 incorporates dynamics of change in social structures as well as type of change over time. It also includes citizen agency as a key element in the policy process not usually recognized sufficiently in structural-functionalism, thus acknowledging the centrality of individual motives and personal behavior. This dimension is described in the theory of structuration developed by Giddens (1979, 1984):

> …The basic domain of study of the social sciences, according to the theory of structuration, is neither the experience of the individual actor, nor the existence of any form of societal totality, but social practices ordered across space and time. Human social activities, like some self-reproducing items in nature, are recursive. That is to say, they are not brought into being by social actors but continually recreated by them via the very means whereby they express themselves as actors. In and through their activities, agents reproduce the conditions that make these activities possible (Giddens, 1984, p. 2).

Giddens' work not only stresses the importance of human agency in social processes but also suggests its potential for mediating the influences of social structures on educational development policy. From this point of view, it can be argued that individuals <u>have</u> the capacity to modify the very contexts in which they participate (Weidman & DeAngelo, 2020).

There are at least three major sociological theories applicable for analyzing societies, namely the functionalist perspective, the conflict perspective, and the interpretivist perspective.

The **functionalist perspective** is based on the premise that all societies are fundamentally built upon a broadly based consensus among members with respect to beliefs, values and norms for individual and collective behavior. A main tenet of functionalism is that societies seek to accomplish a state of equilibrium in all systems and activities. As such, social and organizational structures function to integrate, maintain stability, and manage change in an incremental, evolutionary fashion over time. SDGs, the Incheon Declaration, and the World Bank (2011) education sector strategy, recommend goals and courses of action that reflect a primarily functionalist view of reform and development in education that corresponds with the observation by Carbonnier, et al. (2014, par. 42).

The **conflict perspective** assumes a fundamental tension in personal and system relationships that result from attempts of those in positions of power and influence to maintain dominance, even in the absence of normative consensus. This inevitably leads to conflict and efforts to coerce contending groups and individuals against their will. Change occurs through revolutionary or quasi-revolutionary activity in which certain interest groups prevail over others, replacing existing social structures with new ones. Examples of this type of thinking with respect to the roles of education in society are reflected in works by Freyre (1968), Collins (1971), and Carnoy (1974).

The **interpretivist perspective** assumes that all social systems are in a constant state of meaning making and that social relationships are fluid rather than normatively driven. Change occurs because of fluctuating definitions and understandings among members of any given society, organization or group, depending on their individual perceptions and assessments. Consensus among participants is important, but it is the result of shared patterns of meaning derived by individuals rather than collective agreement based on normative expectations that are not subject to personal interpretations. Hence, educational reform and development are driven by individuals' interests, often collectively (cultural heritage), rather than by economic factors. Examples of this perspective are reflected in the work of Geertz (1973), Stromquist (2011), and Meyer (2010).

When applied to the policy and practice of education for social and economic development, each of these theoretical perspectives has strengths and weaknesses, depending upon the particular priorities and goals being addressed. They cross different academic disciplines, notably economics, sociology, anthropology, psychology and political science, with each perspective potentially favoring specific directions within a particular discipline. Disciplinary differences are also reflected in the use of research methodologies arrayed along identifiable quantitative and qualitative spectra (Paulston, 2000b, Fig. 2). Despite these differences, it is appropriate to draw from various disciplines, theoretical orientations, and research methodologies in advancing understanding of the international educational policy process, depending on the particular set of issues involved. It is also important for long-term sustainability of initiatives that explicit consideration is given to main patterns of social and political change occurring in given country.

Implications for Funders and Policymakers

For the immediate future, it is likely that there will continue to be a number of entities driving international development education activities, from a plethora of potential funders (e.g., country governments, national and multi-national aid agencies, international organizations, multi-national corporations, etc.). Further development activities will continue to be driven by "bottom line" concerns:

> It seems reasonably clear that, in the near future at least, the combination of slow growth among donor countries, reduced support for public sector spending and influence, strategic planning for market opportunities by key technology and media corporations, and a desperate search for practical help from the education sector in alleviating poverty and youth unemployment, will favour economically led approaches to education planning (Draxler, 2014, pr. 40).

Unfortunately, capacity to manage donor activity in tandem with basic public educational services is quite variable across developing countries. At times, this has led to over-estimating the economic prospects for repayment of loan aid, given national and global economic prospects. Donors and international organizations such as the UN (SDGs) and UNESCO (Incheon Declaration) continue to have what is perhaps an inordinately strong influence on national priorities for educational improvement. The sort of "one size fits all" nature of the goals promoted may not serve the interests of all (or even most) developing countries, so governments have an increasingly greater responsibility to establish priorities that fit their own particular contexts and resources.

It includes deciding where to focus efforts with respect to type and level of education (e.g., primary, secondary, tertiary, vocational, lifelong, etc.), human and physical resource development, and activity (e.g., teaching and teacher preparation, student learning and assessment, quality improvement, etc.). This will also require more targeting of potential donors based on their specific funding priorities, especially given a growing tendency of both public and private funders to assess the extent to which investments lead to desired outcomes (results-based funding) specified by agency boards rather than country authorities. Relying on international consultants to assist local and national education officials in policy and planning activities may also not necessarily be effective, especially when local education staff do not have the training necessary for effective cooperation.

Another international pattern is the increasing emphasis on performance-based assessment of teachers. This is often reflected in a focus on standardized international test (e.g., PISA, TIMMS, and PIRLS) scores, with accompanying pressure on teachers to make certain their students achieve high scores. It has also resulted in the emergence of private testing companies and tutoring services that have the goal of improving student performance on standardized international tests. At the tertiary level, international institutional rankings (league tables) have increased pressure on faculty to publish results of their research in highly ranked, English language journals. This includes an increasing number of national higher education policies linking salary increases directly publication productivity as measured by internationally recognized metrics. All this is occurring despite the reality that aspirations for attaining "world class" status at any level of the education system may not be feasible for most developing countries in terms of either human or financial resources.

Education's role in international development activities is likely to continue being a contested area. Because governments in developing countries continue to experience significant financial constraints, it is increasingly difficult to pay salaries in the education sector that are commensurate with people's qualifications. Reductions in available human resources abound, not only because of "brain drain" to other more developed countries but also due to competition for highly qualified staff with private sector employers. Corruption can be a consistent contributor to the failure of government funds to reach designated targets. Finally, limited capacity of governments to raise revenue via taxation along with growing trepidation about increasing volume of loan debt may lead to increased competition for available government funds across sectors.

Conclusion

As demonstrated above, international educational development will continue to be a complicated area for study, policy development, and practice. Consequently, it is increasingly important to prepare emerging scholars and development practitioners in ways that emphasize building conceptual and analytical capacities necessary for addressing the complexity of educational problems. International educational development requires strategies and policies that are designed to foster emerging scholars' and professionals' capacity to understand problems and issues from multiple conceptual perspectives and with multiple quantitative and qualitative skills. All of this is necessary if we are to succeed in the design and implementation of comprehensive, multi-faceted, and mutually beneficial educational structures, programs, and policies across the entire spectrum of international, national, and individual contexts.

References

Carbonnier, G., Carton, M. & King, K. (2014). International education and development: Histories, parallels, crossroads. *International Development Policy/Revue internationale de politique de développement.* Retrieved from http://poldev.revues.org/1767

Carnoy, M. (1974). *Education as cultural imperialism*. D. McKay.

Carnoy, M. (1999). *Globalization and educational reform: What planners need to know*. UNESCO.

Collins, R. (1971). Functional and conflict theories of educational stratification. *American Sociological Review, 36*(6, December), 1002–1019.

Draxler, A. (2014). International investment in education for development: Public good or economic tool? *International Development Policy/Revue internationale de politique de développement*. Retrieved from http://poldev.revues.org/1772

Feinberg, W., & Soltis, J. F. (2009). *School and society* (5th ed.). Teachers College Press, Columbia University.

Freyre, P. (1968). *Pedagogy of the oppressed* (originally published in Portuguese as *Pedagogía del oprimido*) (Myra Bergman Ramos, 30th Anniversary Edition, Trans.). Continuum, 2000.

Geertz, C. (1973). *The interpretation of cultures: Selected essays*. Basic Books.

Giddens, A. (1979). *Central problems in social theory: Action, structure and contradiction in social analysis*. Macmillan.

Giddens, A. (1984). *The constitution of society: Outline of the theory of structuration*. Polity Press.

Heyneman, S. P. (2003). The history and problems in the making of education policy at the World Bank 1960–2000. *International Journal of Educational Development, 23*, 315–337.

Heyneman, S. P. (2004). Education and corruption. *International Journal of Educational Development, 24*(6), 637–648.

Kandel, I. L. (1936). Comparative education. *Review of Educational Research, 6*(4), 400–416.

Klees, S. J., Samoff, J., & Stromquist, N. P. (Eds.). (2011). *The World Bank and education: Critiques and alternatives*. Sense Publishers.

Klees, S. J., Ginsburg, M., Anwar, H., Robbins, M. B., Bloom, H., Busacca, C., Corwith, A., Decoster, B., Fiore, A., Gasior, S., Le, H. M., Primo, L. H., & Reedy, T. D. (2020). The World Bank's SABER: A critical analysis. *Comparative Education Review, 64*(1), 46–65.

Meyer, J. W. (2010). World society, institution theories, and the actor. *Annual Review of Sociology, 36*, 1–20.

Parsons, T. (1961). An outline of the social system. In T. Parsons, E. Shils, K. D. Naegele, & J. R. Pitts (Eds.), *Theories of society: Foundations of modern sociological theory* (pp. 30–79). Free Press.

Paulston, R. G. (1977). Social and educational change: Conceptual frameworks. *Comparative Education Review, 21*(2–3), 370–395.

Paulston, R. G. (1993). Mapping discourse in comparative education texts. *Compare, 23*(2), 101–114.

Paulston, R. G. (2000a). A spatial turn in comparative education? Constructing a social cartography of difference. In J. Schriewer (Ed.), *Discourse formation in comparative education* (pp. 297–354). Peter Lang. Retrieved from http://eric.ed.gov/?q=ED442711

Paulston, R. G. (2000b). Imagining comparative education: Past, present, future. *Compare, 30*(3), 353–367.

Stromquist, N. P. (2011). A social cartography of gender. In J. C. Weidman & W. J. Jacob (Eds.), *Beyond the comparative: Advancing theory and its application to practice* (pp. 173–192). Sense Publishers.

UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization). (2016). *Education 2030: Incheon declaration and framework for Action* (World Education Forum 2015, Incheon, Republic of Korea. Publication ED-2016/WS/28). UNESCO. Retrieved from https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000245656

UNESCO, UNICEF (United Nations Children's Fund), the UN (United Nations) Global Compact and the UN Special Envoy for Global Education. (2013). *The smartest investment: A framework for business engagement in education*. UN Global Compact. Retrieved from https://www.unglobalcompact.org/docs/issues_doc/development/Business_Education_Framework.pdf

Weidman, J. C. (2001). Developing the Mongolia education sector strategy 2000–2005: Reflections of a consultant for the Asian Development Bank. *Current Issues in Comparative Education* [Online], *3* (2). Retrieved from https://www.tc.columbia.edu/cice/pdf/25683_3_2_Weidman.pdf

Weidman, J. C. (2016). Framing international development education in the post-2015 era: Suggestions for scholars and policymakers. *Asia Pacific Education Review, 17*(3), 403–412.

Weidman, J. C., & Bat-Erdene, R. (2002). Higher education and the state in Mongolia: Dilemmas of democratic transition. In D. W. Chapman & A. E. Austin (Eds.), *Higher education in the developing world: Changing contexts and institutional responses* (pp. 129–148). Greenwood Press.

Weidman, J. C., & DeAngelo, L. (2020). Toward a 21st century socialization model of higher education's impact on students. In J. C. Weidman & L. DeAngelo (Eds.), *Socialization in higher education and the early career: Theory, research and application* (pp. 311–323). Springer Nature.

Weidman, J. C., Jacob, W. J., & Casebeer, D. (2014). Conceptualizing teacher education in comparative and international context. In A. W. Wiseman & E. Anderson (Eds.), *Annual review of comparative and international education 2014* (pp. 115–145). Emerald.

World Bank. (2011). *Learning for all: Investing in people's knowledge and skills to promote development* (World Bank Group Education Strategy, 2020). The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development/The World Bank. Retrieved from https://openknowledge.worldbank.org/handle/10986/27790

World Bank. (2013). *SABER overview: The what, why, and how of the systems approach for better education (SABER)* (Conference Edition). The World Bank. Retrieved from http://wbgfiles.worldbank.org/documents/hdn/ed/saber/supporting_doc/Background/SAB

Chapter 3
Higher Education Curriculum Reforms in Vietnam in the Era of Globalization

Ninh Nguyen and John Chi-Kin Lee

Abstract The era of globalization was marked for Vietnam since the late 1980s when the country opened its doors to welcome exchanges with the rest of the world. Many reform agenda have consequently been set for all sectors, including higher education. While there has been accumulative research on Vietnamese higher education reform agendas, this chapter focuses on major curriculum changes over the last four decades against the globalization backdrop, in terms of national-level policy making and institutional-level curriculum development and implementation. The changes will be described through document analysis of higher education curriculum policies promulgated between 1980 and 2020, university curricula and their reports on curriculum matters within this time frame. The impacts of globalization on curriculum reforms in Vietnam as well as its nexus with higher education policy making will be revealed through discussing achievements, challenges, and paradoxes in advancing university curriculum. Such discussions will hopefully provide policymakers with useful knowledge about what Vietnam has yet to do in its on-going reform agenda.

Keywords Academic achievement · Curriculum development · Curriculum reforms · Globalization · Higher education · Higher education reforms · Vietnam

Higher Education Curriculum Reforms in Vietnam in the Era of Globalization: Introduction

The era of globalization was marked for Vietnam since the late 1980s when the country opened its doors to welcome exchanges with the rest of the world. Many reform agendas have consequently been set for all sectors, including higher

N. Nguyen · J. C.-K. Lee (✉)
The Education University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong, China
e-mail: jcklee@eduhk.hk

J. Zajda, W. J. Jacob (eds.), *Discourses of Globalisation and Higher Education Reforms*, Globalisation, Comparative Education and Policy Research 27,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-83136-3_3

education with a vision towards an advanced and competitive system in the region by 2020 (Hayden & Lam, 2006). While there has been accumulative research on Vietnamese higher education reform agendas, this chapter focuses on major curriculum changes over the last four decades against the globalization backdrop in terms of national-level policy making and institutional-level curriculum development and implementation. The changes will be described through document analysis of higher education curriculum policies promulgated between 1980 and 2020, selected university curricula and their reports on curriculum matters within this time frame. The impacts of globalization on curriculum reforms in Vietnam as well as its nexus with higher education policy making will be unveiled through discussing achievements, challenges, and paradoxes in advancing university curriculum.

To unpack these changes in Vietnamese higher education between 1980 and 2020, the concept known as policy borrowing (Steiner-Khamsi, 2012, 2014; Phillips & Ochs, 2004; Phillips & Schweisfurth, 2008) is used in this chapter to depict "the deliberate and conscious adoption of ideas, policies, or practices from elsewhere" (Phillips & Ochs, 2004) or to highlight "the transnational flow of global policies" (Steiner-Khamsi, 2012; Verger, 2014; Eta, 2019, p. 83). Nonetheless, it is better not to make the assumption that every idea especially those from the western system would be faithfully adopted in another context and in reality, these ideas from the western or another context are often viewed as vehicles for adapting, translating into and embedding local meanings (Steiner-Khamsi, 2016, p. 382). The state is often not acting passively as a recipient of ideas, whatever good intentions they may convey, outside the home country, but instead selectively adopting or adapting policy ideas based on the context of home country (Ruby & Li, 2020, p. 89).

Vietnamese Higher Education Before 1986: The Highly Specialized Curriculum[1] Influenced by the Soviet Thinking

To better understand recent changes in higher education in Vietnam, it is crucial to shed light on the main features characterized the system prior to these changes. In more than 20 years from 1954–1975, the country was separated into North and South Vietnam. While the North embraced former Soviet's model in organizing its higher education system, institutions in South Vietnam were claimed as reflecting the traits of American universities. The dual system did not last very long until the country's reunification in 1975 and the former Soviet's model was chosen for the whole system (Lâm Quang Thiệp, 2017). Following this, university curriculum was highly specialized to prepare human resources needed for the economic development of coutry dominated by public sectors and students were guaranteed a place upon graduation.

[1] The highly Specialized Curriculum: Chương trình đào tạo theo diện hẹp.

Some Vietnamese researchers (Lâm Quang Thiệp, 2017; Nguyen, 2018; Dang, 2013) believed that Vietnam followed exactly what had been done in former Soviet in organizing its higher education system during the period characterized by the separation of research function from universities to form a system of research institutes, monodisciplinary higher education institutions (HEIs), and highly specialized curricula. They pointed to possibly the influences of French and German higher education and centrally-planned economic model as major factors shaping these characteristics of former Soviet higher education in Vietnam. The French and German influences in this regard should, however, be taken cautiously and one should note that there are three main traditions in European higher education, namely the "Humboltian", the "Napoleonic", and the "Anglo-Saxon" (Karseth & Solbrekke, 2016, pp. 2018–219) that reflect the different missions of universities. While the Humbodtian tradition is said to embrace academic freedom, viewing science and scholarship as inquiry processes – an approach to learning and a capacity to think, rather than things to be learned, from textbooks for example, and specialized knowledge; the Napoleonic approach tends to emphasize high-level vocational training and specialized professional training, and the Anglo-Saxon underlines personality development through liberal education (Karseth & Solbrekke, 2016).

Given changing circumstances during the early 1980s, the specialized and monodisciplinary model under the regime of the former Soviet Union was found to be inappropriate and mismatch with the demand of the public sectors when graduates were still trained with specialized knowledge and skills. Vietnam, to some extent, felt the same urgency.

Doi Moi and the Broad-Based Curriculum:[2] Towards a Unique Blended Model of Vietnamese Higher Education

The year 1986 probably marked historic moments for Vietnam as the country boarded on its most important transition journey with systemic reforms, known as Doi Moi, at both depth and breadth in all aspects. As Vietnamese leaders put it, the country needed new socialist men for its course in socialism realization and higher education must be reformed to serve that end. A university rectors' conference was convened in Nha Trang, a city south of Vietnam, in the fall of 1987. At the conference, both politicians and rectors called for broadening the university curriculum (Nguyen, 2018). Accordingly, a two-phase curriculum structure was adopted at undergraduate level to allow for the inclusion of more general knowledge into the first phase (1.5 to 2 years) and to make knowledge in the second phase (2.5 to 4.5 years) less specialized. At the end of the general phase (Phase 1), students had to take the 'screening exam' to enter the professional knowledge phase (Phase 2).

[2] Broad-based curriculum: chương trình đào tạo theo diện rộng.

The introduction of general knowledge and de-emphasis of specialized knowledge were to overcome the limitations of old system in which students with too specialized knowledge were less employable and could not work in other fields. Their justification was on an instrumental basis, highlighting 'labor market adaptability' and 'flexibility' of university education. Vietnamese leaders of the time determined that pursuing depth was the past and breadth would be the future, which was not an easy path but with 'revolutionary spirit', they could make it happen (Vo Nguyen Giap, 1987).

In this spirit, the general curriculum in Vietnam was expected to somehow feature the American 'liberal arts' curriculum, according to some researchers (Le, 1997; Nguyen, 2018). Such claims, however, seem to be taken loosely because there are several interpretations to the 'liberal arts' education and one of the popular conceptions refers to the development of the free person, not bound by a particular profession. Students would choose whichever pathway to their professional career after graduation or they could pursue higher degrees. In the Vietnamese context, it had been interpreted as the major part of the general curriculum being dedicated to values and political knowledge that aimed to develop students into the 'socialist men' (Nguyen, 2018). This reflects the blending of socialist and political ideologies with liberal educational orientation highlighting a more broad-based knowledge in university education and open choices for future personal and career development.

These reformative orientations had been officially legalized through Decree 90/CP in 1993. In addition to the phasing of the undergraduate level, Decree 90 also aligned doctoral qualification equivalent to Ph.D. in other countries by recognizing only one doctoral degree instead of the canđiđat nauk and doctor nauk (similar to doctoral candidate and doctor) adopted from the Soviet system (Lam Quang Thiep, 2017). While whether the broad-based curriculum could be seen as an achievement or not was still debatable, the recognition of one single doctoral degree is obviously an important step for Vietnamese higher education at the onset of globalization.

From policy borrowing perspectives, this period's ideology shift from modelling the Soviet system to learning from the American ideas not only echoed Vietnamese policy makers' desperate search for solutions from the widely perceived successful experience of higher education systems in response to turbulent economic and social changes (Shanfari, 2016), but also resonated the political deliberation to mobilize globalization as a domestically induced rhetoric rather than an external force to generate reform pressure (Steiner-Khamsi, 2014).

> It is important to highlight the following new ideas introduced in the higher education system through Decree 90/CP. First, the new system is to replace the seamless training system based on the Soviet model … and to integrate into the region's higher education landscape, which represents the American higher education models (Lam Quang Thiep, 2017).

Modularization of the Curriculum from the Early 1990s: Towards Encouragement of Student Mobility and Co-operation with Universities Within and Beyond Vietnam

Another reformative initiative in Vietnamese higher education curriculum is the adoption of the course-credit system in which knowledge was re-organized into independent and non-sequential units or modules. Started in the U.S. and later becoming popular in many other countries, the credit system is believed to allow much greater flexibility for learners and facilitate mobility. The idea was first introduced in Vietnam at about the same time as the two-phase curriculum. Ho Chi Minh City University of Science and Technology was one of the pioneers in departing from the year-based and subject-based curriculum to introduce the credit-based system from the 1993–1994 academic year. Several universities such as member universities of Vietnam National University Ho Chi Minh in the South also followed; however, it was much later, in 2007, that the credit system was made official in Vietnam through Decision 43/2007/GD-BGD&DT (Ministry of Education and Training, 2007).

Rationales for the modularization of university curriculum in Vietnam was multifold. On one hand, the nature of it would support the call for 'labor market adaptability' and 'flexibility' for Vietnamese students as mentioned earlier. On the other, the modular approach was believed by Vietnamese policy makers to help re-organize curriculum, teaching and learning in a way that is closer to that of other countries in the region (Le, 1997; Nguyen, 2018).

The original idea of the credit-based system is to help students accumulate knowledge in a more flexible timeline instead of having to go through a sequence of subjects and to allow them to opt for courses that are more suitable to them via the selection of optional courses offered along with compulsory courses. All of these would lead them to a degree or qualification that is based on the number of credit points accumulated rather than prescribed courses. When introduced in Vietnam, the system was actually appropriated to better fit local contexts (Nguyen, 2018).

Although one would need a great deal more empirical evidence on how the credit-system was actually implemented by Vietnamese universities to judge whether the borrowing of such idea has been a reform success in Vietnam, it is obvious that Vietnamese policy makers had accounted for context-specific and sociologic elements in policy borrowing by attaching local meaning to such global idea (Steiner-Khamsi, 2014, 2016). On top of that, the credit-based curriculum now widely adopted in Vietnam not only out of policy intention but also from institutional willingness has proved that Vietnam is moving in the right direction.

Higher Education Massification and Centralization of the Core Curriculum[3] in the Late 1990s and 2000s

In 1998, the first Law on Education of Vietnam was enacted, removing the two-phase higher education and the screening exam as they deemed no longer appropriate in implementation (Nguyen, 2018). The idea of making higher education curriculum less specialized was yet preserved through a more loosened division between generalist studies and specialist studies by the promulgation of Ministry of Education and Training (MOET)'s Decision 04/1999 on curriculum, pedagogical practices and evaluation in higher education (Ministry of Education and Training, 1999).

To tighten State control over curriculum matters as some policy makers at the National Assembly felt that the broad-based curriculum was too general (Nguyen, 2018), the 'Core Curriculum' (Chương trình khung) concept was introduced in the new Law. It also stipulated that the general curriculum framework (the amount of general knowledge) and the core curriculum (knowledge and content of academic fields and disciplines) shall be regulated by MOET. Such top-down approach to policy making and the culture of central planning had placed MOET into a unique situation where they must be responsible for legitimizing the core curriculum concept as well as elaborating the core curricula for major academic fields and discipline, a function that should otherwise, if legitimate, be taken by academics (Nguyen, 2018). Throughout the years, MOET had designed and promulgated the sample core curriculum for the seven streams of academic disciplines. HEIs would base on these samples to detail out their program curricula and get approval from MOET. Another observable trend since the 1998 Law on Education was the spectacular increase of HEIs, leading to the rapid access expansion to higher education in Vietnam – the massification period. Statistics obtained by MOET showed that there was an average of 7–8 new HEIs annually during the 10-year period of 1998–2008 (Central Propaganda and Training Commission, 2008). Especially in the 2 years of 2006 and 2007, every month, there came two new universities. Along with new establishments were a series of problems or inadequacies in infrastructure and academic staffs (Central Propaganda and Training Commission, 2008).

While the Core Curriculum idea was originally intended to foster state management and control over higher education, it actually created new tasks for academic affairs which inherently should not be the function of state management. What is even worse, too much control over curriculum had caused MOET to trade off on proper inspection on the establishment of new HEIs. This reform period implies a hectic time for Vietnam's higher education from State management perspectives.

[3] Core Curriculum: Chương trình khung.

The 2006 Higher Education Reform Agenda: Towards Outcome-Based Education and Internationalization of Curriculum

Heavily influenced by economic globalization in the late 1980s and early 1990s, many countries were pressurized to upskill their labor force in a more '*projective orientation'* (Karseth & Solbrekke, 2016), the direction that points to the utility of study programs with reference to functions and stakeholders external to university to enhance the relevance of university education in equipping students with transferable skills. This, together with the paradigm shift from teaching to learning, have led to the introduction of learning outcomes in university curriculum world-wide.

In Vietnam at a later time, MOET, with the support and influence of the World Bank, was assigned with drafting the Higher Education Reform Agenda (HERA), a comprehensive reform strategy for higher education for 20,062,020 (Ministry of Education and Training, 2005), in response to the Prime Minister's education strategy for 2001–2010. Another university curriculum reform was triggered, as a result, to lead curriculum to meet the country's socio-economic development needs, which once again, re-emphasizes the continuation and officialization of the credit-based system, leading to Decision 43 in 2007 as mentioned above. On top of that, the urgent need for better quality management of higher education stemming from dramatic increase of HEIs and new study programs in the 2000s discussed in the previous paragraphs had pushed MOET to learn from international quality assurance and accreditation models to quickly develop a system for Vietnam. By the time Vietnam embarked on its quality assurance (QA) agenda, outcomes-based education and outcomes-based QA had already been prevailing in many countries around the globe, learning outcomes had therefore naturally found their way to some Vietnamese universities and their program curricula.

In another development, the Core Curriculum was still enforced through MOET in the same years, causing, to some extent, a dissonance with the credit-based system (Nguyen, 2018) and inadequate attention as well as tensions with the outcomes-based curriculum movement. The issue was that the Core Curriculum embedded contradictory principles of organizing knowledge (Nguyen, 2018) with the credit-based system: an integrated model of organized and systematic knowledge units versus a collection model of non-sequential units of knowledge but highlighting outcomes of knowledge. The 2006–2015 period could be characterized as somehow chaotic for Vietnamese HEIs in terms curriculum reform with too much legislative guidance. While MOET continued to issue core curriculum for the remaining of the seven streams of disciplines until 2013, the Minister of MOET signed off Official Document 2196/BGDDT-GDDH in 2010 on the construction and publication of learning outcomes of a study program. The advent of learning outcomes, despite the fact that the majority of HEIs were not ready for them, had fueled tensions amidst university curriculum reform in this period. Circular 07/2015/TT-BGDDT in 2015 on the minimum amount of knowledge, requirements on competence for graduates at each level of higher education and on the procedures for constructing, accrediting, promulgating the undergraduate and post graduate curricula and the Vietnam Qualifications Framework in 2016 (Government of Vietnam, 2016) were further attempts to make legal guidance on curriculum more consistent and coherent (Parajuli et al., 2020).

Around and after 2013, there has been some autonomy granted to universities under the influence of decentralization but there have been different interpretations of institutional autonomy and how it could be operated (Dao & Hayden, 2010; Hayden & Lam, 2007; Phan et al., 2016, p.1259). In addition, there is more attention given to internationalization of curriculum in the Vietnamese context. This implies greater emphasis on integrating international and intercultural dimensions … for all students within domestic learning environments (Trinh & Conner, 2019, p.156; Beelen & Jones, 2015, p.69). The implementation of internationalized curriculum is easier said than done as it involves a lot of issues ranging from faculty development, medium of instruction, curriculum adaptation to student engagement (Trinh & Conner, 2019, p.167).

The period from 2006 to 2017 signifies Vietnam's greater integration into the global village of higher education. The adoption of outcomes-based curriculum and efforts in internationalization of curriculum, amongst other important policy borrowing moves, on the one hand, represent the influence of globalization as an external force. According to Steiner-Khamsi (2014, p. 156) It has been materialized through the universally called 'best practices' or 'international standards' that have become attractive particularly to developing countries. Policy borrowing in the era of globalization has therefore become the norm, not the exception to policy makers world-wide. On the other, the involvement of international organizations such as The World Bank has also facilitated, at times imposed, the borrowing of educational ideas from the 'First World' into the 'Third World' because economically, policy borrowing is a condition for receiving aids in poorer countries (Steiner-Khamsi, 2014; Dang, 2009).

The 2018 Amended Higher Education Law and the Advent of a New Curriculum Reform

Despite substantial efforts at both national and institutional levels, many of the goals and targets set out in the 2006 Higher Education Reform Agenda could not be achieved by 2020 as expected (Parajuli et al., 2020). The higher education sector is criticized for failing to provide qualified and competent human resources to meet the need of the country's economic development. There are persistent challenges that Vietnam has yet to be solved.

The biggest challenge related to university curriculum is that many study programs still tend to focus heavily on content and theoretical knowledge although the credit-based and outcomes-based systems have been introduced since 2006. Many universities have attempted to define learning outcomes around desirable skills for their study programs, but having a set of learning outcomes would not guarantee that students acquire those skills without constructive alignment between predefined learning outcomes, teaching/learning strategies and assessment methods. Meanwhile, Vietnamese lecturers at large still need a lot of support in this regard to successfully transition into outcomes-based teaching/learning and depart from the conventional content-based approach. Hence, with too much content and theory, students are left with very little room to develop transversal skills such as communication, team work, and problem-solving skills, etc. (Parajuli et al., 2020).

Another challenge that constrains Vietnamese universities from staying relevance with the work world is the low linkages with industry and employer. Although the challenge is commonly found in some other countries, the limitation seems to be more servere in Vietnam. Some literature has pointed out the need to enhance Vietnamese university programs to align with employers' expectations (e.g. Dang, 2019). By regulation, it may be desirable to consider compulsory for universities to engage industry partners into academic matters such as program development and employers' feedback on graduate performance to update curriculum. However, there have not been proper incentives for both sides to match their interest and sustain fruitful partnerships, especially in the curriculum area (Dang, 2019; Parajuli et al., 2020).

These problems, coupled with changing socio-economic needs and budget constraints, have led to the urgent amendment for 2012 Higher Education Law in 2018. The amended Law confers further autonomy on HEIs, for which HEIs, in return, shall be accountable for their decisions and performance. On curriculum matters, HEIs are required by law to ensure their training and study programs relevant to the labour market needs and align their degrees with the Vietnam Qualifications Framework. This would imply major changes to university curriculum whereby institutional capacity needs to be built to develop and update study programs and innovate teaching/learning and assessment strategies. Credit-based and outcomes-based approaches to curriculum will continue to be sought after in a more systematic way (National Assembly of Vietnam, 2018).

To facililate enactment of these changes entailed by the 2018 amended Higher Education Law, the Government of Vietnam in 2019 signed off a Vietnamese PhD Fellowship Scheme (Scheme 89) on capacity building for HEI's academic and administrative staff, in response to the requirements of the radical and comprehensive reform in education and training in 2019–2030 (The Prime Minister of Vietnam, 2019). Scheme 89 aims to (1) provide PhD/doctoral scholarships for 10% of all university lecturers (3% trained by Vietnamese HEIs and 7% by foreign partners (foreign universities in the top 500 of recognized international ranking system), (2) provide Master degree scholarships for lecturers of arts, sports, music, and cultural universities, aiming for 80% of academic staff in these universities having master's degrees or above; (3) provide professional development opportunities for HEI's academic and administrative staff in curriculum development, foreign language and ICT skills, teaching and learning strategies, etc., and (4) attract at least 1500 scientists and PhD holders to work in Vietnamese HEIs (Vietnamnet, 17 May 2021).

Further down the line, in 2020, MOET convened a conference on the implementation of Vietnam Qualifications Framework as per Decision 436/QD-TTg of the Prime Minister which provides standards and reference points for systematic development of study programs based on learning outcomes (Ministry of Education and Training, 2020). Four years after the Vietnam Qualifications Framework was developed and issued in 2016, the implementation process officially started and a new agenda on curriculum reform has been set for Vietnam.

Key Observations and Lessons Learned

According the Vietnamese higher education reform experiences, it seems that policy borrowing from the East (Soviet system) and the West (France, Germany, US and elsewhere) has happened over the past years but such policy borrowing has revealed local adaptations to educational and political ideologies as well as economic changes. There are a few key policy observations and lessons learned as follows:

1. Higher education curriculum as part of the educational reform agenda is to some extent in line and alignment with the political and educational ideologies in the home country. As regards political ideologies are concerned and despite the influences of Marxism and European colonialism, socialist morality coupled with the influences of Confucianism is emphasized and all these values orientations, to some extent, have shaped the ideal attributes of a graduate from schools and universities in the Vietnamese context (Ali, 2020, p. 115; Doan, 2005, p. 451).
2. Higher education curriculum changes including the incorporation of outcome-based education or approach (Nguyen, Sivapalan & Linh, 2020) to some extent resonate with economic changes as the production of graduates is called for employability and economic competitiveness from a human capital or resource perspective (Kennedy, 2011; Kennedy & Lee, 2008, 2018; Nha & Tu, 2015; Phuc, Vinh and Do, 2020; Sahlberg, 2006; Tran, 2012). This has led to changes and paradigmatic shift towards learning, learners' choices and highlighting outcome-based approaches. Under the impact of globalization, Vietnamese higher education also shifts towards more internationalization of curriculum (Trinh & Conner, 2019) and transnationalization (Nguyen & Lee, 2020) through modularization of curriculum facilitating credit transfer and collaboration with overseas universities in developing joint programmes with the view to enhancing quality and echoing the knowledge and market-oriented economy (Le, 2014).
3. There is a gap between rhetoric and practices as between policy mandates and policy implementation. This requires more attention be given to quality assurance and enhancement measures as well as coordination and capacity building for stakeholders' changes (Nguyen & Lee, 2020).
4. Reception and translation of borrowed policies in Vietnam has been more normative than analytical. Vietnamese policy makers, when faced with the pressure

of solving pressing problems in education, often seek answer to normative questions regarding the adaptation and effective dissemination of best practices (Steiner-Khamsi, 2014, p.154; Shanfari, 2016). Furthermore, the pressure to borrow has increasingly greater that policy makers are, in many cases, placed in the awkward position of "having to retroactively define the local problem that fits the already existing global solution or reform package" (Steiner-Khamsi, 2014, p.156). As the country goes deeper into globalization, more analytical questions could be focused on by policy analysts when it comes to policy borrowing, e.g., 'Whose practices should be considered 'best', ideologically appropriate or professionally practical for Vietnam?', 'Which conditions should be created for a practice to be disseminated?' and 'Who would benefit and who would lose when changes are enacted?' (Steiner-Khamsi, 2014, p.154). It is recommended that Vietnam should take a judicious approach in borrowing curriculum policies by assimilating foreign and indigenous sources of knowledge, teaching and learning (adapted from Tan & Chua, 2015).

Conclusion

This chapter analyzed major curriculum changes over the last four decades, against the globalization backdrop, in terms of national-level policy making and institutional-level curriculum development and implementation. The changes were discussed through document analysis of higher education curriculum policies promulgated between 1980 and 2020, university curricula and their reports on curriculum matters, within this time frame. The impacts of globalization on curriculum reforms in Vietnam as well as its nexus with higher education policy making has been analyzed through discussing achievements, challenges, and paradoxes in advancing university curriculum. Such discussions will hopefully provide policymakers with useful knowledge about what Vietnam has yet to do in its on-going reform agenda.

Acknowledgments The authors would like to thank the support of Ms. Hilton Cheung and Mr. Zhang Xingzhou, the Department of Curriculum and Instruction, Faculty of Education and Human Development as well as the Graduate School, The Education University of Hong Kong for preparing this manuscript. This chapter only reflects authors' personal views in their personal capacity and their views do not necessarily represent those of The Education University of Hong Kong.

Appendix: List of Selected Legal and Official Documents Mentioned in This Chapter

Government of Vietnam. (1993). *Nghị định của Chính phủ số 90-CP ngày 24/11/1993 về cơ cấu khung của hệ thống giáo dục quốc dân, hệ thống văn bằng, chứng chỉ về giáo dục và đào tạo của nước Cộng Hoà Xã Hội Chủ Nghĩa Việt Nam [The Government of Vietnam's Decree 90-CP dated 24/11/1993 on the*

structure of the national education system, the qualification system of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam]. Retrieved from https://thuvienphapluat.vn/van-ban/Giao-duc/Nghi-dinh-90-CP-quy-dinh-co-cau-khung-cua-he-thong-giao-duc-quoc-dan-he-thong-van-bang-chung-chi-ve-giao-duc-va-dao-tao-cua-Viet-Nam-38646.aspx.

Ministry of Education and Training. (1999). *Quyết định số 04/1999/QĐ-BGDĐT ngày 11/2/1999 về việc ban hành quy chế về tổ chức đào tạo, kiểm tra, thi, và công nhận tốt nghiệp đại học vàcao đẳng hệ chính quy* [Decision 04/1999/QĐ-BGDĐT dated 11/2/1999 on the issuance of regulations on arrangement of the instructional processes, examination, testing, and recognition of graduation for fulltime formal university and college programs]. Retrieved 18 April 2021 from https://thuvienphapluat.vn/van-ban/Giao-duc/Quyet-dinh-04-1999-QD-BGDDT-Quy-che-to-chucdao-tao-kiem-tra-thi-cong-nhan-tot-nghiep-dai-hoc-cao-dang-he-chinh-quy-46368.aspx

Ministry of Education and Training. (2005). *Đề án đổi mới giáo dục đại học Việt Nam giai đoạn 2006–2020 [Higher Education Reform Agenda for 2006–2020]*. Hanoi: Ministry of Education and Training.

Ministry of Education and Training. (2007). *Quyết định số 43/2007/QĐ-BGDĐT ngày 15/8/2007 về việc ban hành Quy chế đào tạo đại học và cao đẳng hệ chính quy theo hệ thống tín chỉ [Decision 43/2007/QĐ-BGDĐT dated 15/8/2007 on the promulgation of Regulations for mainstream university and college education using the credit system]*. Retrieved https://thuvienphapluat.vn/van-ban/Giao-duc/Quyet-dinh-43-2007-QD-BGDDT-Quy-che-dao-tao-dai-hoc-cao-dang-he-chinh-quy-he-thong-tin-chi-56390.aspx

Ministry of Education and Training. (2010). *Thông tư 37/2010/TT-BGDĐT ban hành Bộ Chương trình Khung giáo dục đại học khối ngành Sư phạm, trình độ đại học [Circular 37/2010/TT-BGDĐT on the issuance of the Core Curricula for Teacher Education at the undergraduate level]*. Retrieved from http://www.udn.vn/app/webroot/upload/files/TT%2037%20BGD%20BAN%20HANH%20CHUONG%20TRINH%20KHUNG%20GDDH%20KHOI%20NGANH%20SU%20PHAM%20TRINH%20DO%20DAI%20HOC.pdf

Ministry of Education and Training. (2010). *Công văn 2196/BGDĐT-GDĐH hướng dẫn xây dựng và công bố chuẩn đầu ra ngành đào tạo [Official Document 2196/BGDĐT-GDĐH on development and publication of learning outcomes of study programs]*. Retrieved https://m.thuvienphapluat.vn/cong-van/giao-duc/cong-van-2196-bgddt-gddh-cong-bo-chuan-dau-ra-nganh-dao-tao-104676.aspx

Ministry of Education and Training. (2015). *Thông tư 07/2015/TT-BGDĐT ban hành quy định về khối lượng kiến thức tối thiểu, yêu cầu về năng lực mà người học đạt được sau khi tốt nghiệp đối với mỗi trình độ đào tạo của giáo dục đại học và quy trình xây dựng, thẩm định, ban hành chương trình đào tạo trình độ đại học, thạc sĩ, tiến sĩ [Circular 07/2015/ TT-BGDĐT promulgating the regulations on minimum amount of knowledge, required capacity among graduates of each training level of higher education, and procedures for the development, appraisal, and issuance of training programs at bachelor's, master's and doctoral levels]*. Retrieved from https://thuvienphapluat.vn/van-ban/Giao-duc/Thongtu-07-2015-TT-BGDDT-quy-trinh-xay-dung-chuong-trinh-dao-tao-trinh-do-dai-hoc-thac-si-tien-si-271929.aspx

National Assembly of Vietnam. (2012). *Luật Giáo dục Đại học [Law on Higher Education]*. Retrieved from https://thuvienphapluat.vn/van-ban/Giao-duc/Luat-Giao-duc-dai-hoc-2012-142762.aspx

National Assembly of Vietnam. (2018). *Luật sửa đổi, bổ sung một số điều của Luật Giáo dục Đại học [Law on Amendments to the Law on Higher Education]*. Retrieved from https://thuvienphapluat.vn/van-ban/Giao-duc/Luat-Giao-duc-dai-hoc-sua-doi-388254.aspx

The Prime Minister of Vietnam. (2016). *Quyết định 1982/QĐ-TTg phê duyệt Khung trình độ Quốc gia Việt Nam của Thủ tướng Chính phủ [Decision 1982/QĐ-TTg on the Prime Minister's approval of Vietnam Qualifications Framework]*. Retrieved from https://thuvienphapluat.vn/van-ban/Giao-duc/Quyet-dinh-1982-QD-TTg-phe-duyet-khung-trinh-do-quoc-gia-Viet-Nam-2016-327841.aspx

The Prime Minister of Vietnam. (2020). *Quyết định 436/QĐ-TTg ngày 30/3/2020 ban hành kế hoạch thực hiện Khung trình độ Quốc gia Việt Nam đối với các trình độ của Giáo dục đại học giai đoạn 2020–2025 [Decision 436/QĐ-TTg dated 30/3/2020 on the issuance of the plan for implementation of Vietnam Qualifications Framework applied for higher education in the 2020–2025 period]*. Retrieved from https://m.thuvienphapluat.vn/van-ban/giao-duc/quyet-dinh-436-qd-ttg-2020-khung-trinh-do-quoc-gia-doi-voi-trinh-do-cua-giao-duc-dai-hoc-438647.aspx

The Prime Minister of Vietnam. (2019). *Quyết định 89/QĐ-TTg ngày 18/1/2019 phê duyệt đề án nâng cao năng lực đội ngũ giảng viên, cán bộ quản lý các cơ sở giáo dục đại học đáp ứng yêu cầu đổi mới căn bản toàn diện giáo dục và đào tạo giai đoạn 2019–2030 [Decision 89/QĐ-TTg dated 18/1/2019 on the Prime Minister's approval of the Scheme on capacity building for lecturers and administrative staff of higher education institutions to meet the requirements of the fundamental and comprehensive reform of education and training in the 2019–2030 period]*. Retrieved from https://thuvienphapluat.vn/van-ban/Bo-may-hanh-chinh/Quyet-dinh-89-QD-TTg-2019-Nang-cao-nang-luc-giang-vien-can-bo-quan-ly-co-so-giao-duc-dai-hoc-405475.aspx

References

Ali, F. (2020). The origins of contemporary moral education and political ideology in Confucian-Marxist Hồ Chí Minh's Vietnam. *Asian Studies, 8*(2), 115–134. https://revije.ff.uni-lj.si/as/article/view/8746/8960

Association of Vietnam Universities and Colleges. (2017). *Một số tư liệu về đổi mới giáo dục đại học Việt Nam giai đoạn 1987–1997* [Compilation of selected documents on Vietnam's higher education reform in the 1987–1997 period]. Retrieved from http://cshe.edu.vn/wp-content/uploads/2018/02/Kiyeu-Mot-so-tu-lieu-doimoi-GD-DH-87-97-Ban-cuoi-dua-in.pdf

Beelen, J., & Jones, E. (2015). Redefining internationalization at home. In A. Curaj, L. Matei, R. Pricopie, J. Salmi, & P. Scott (Eds.), *The European higher education area: Between critical reflections and future policies* (pp. 59–72). Springer.

Central Propaganda and Training Commission, Communist Party of Vietnam. (2008, September 1). Đào tạo đại học, cao đẳng giai đoạn 1998–2008 – Thực trạng và giải pháp [Higher education in the 1998–2008 period – Status quo and suggested solutions]. *The Central Propaganda and Training Commission's electronic magazine*. Retrieved from http://www.tuyengiao.vn/khoa-giao/giao-duc/dao-tao-dai-hoc-cao-dang-giai-doan-1998-2008-thuc-trang-va-giai-phap-1458

Dang, Q. A. (2009). Recent higher education reform in Vietnam: The role of the World Bank. In S. Wright (Ed.), *Working papers on university reform* (pp. 1–116). Danish School of Education.

Dang, V-H. (2013). *A new approach to explain policy reforms in Vietnam during Đổi Mới by developing and validating a major policy change model for Vietnam*. Unpublished PhD thesis. Portland State University, Portland.

Dang, H-Y (Maya) T. (2019). *The need for academic reform in Vietnamese Higher Education (VHE) to align with employers' expectations.* Unpublished EdD thesis. University of New England, Australia. https://dune.une.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1209&context=theses

Dao, K. V., & Hayden, M. (2010). Chapter 9: Reforming the governance of higher education in Vietnam. In G. Harman, M. Hayden, & P. T. Nghi (Eds.), *Reforming higher education in Vietnam* (Higher education dynamics) (pp. 129–142). Springer.

Doan, D. H. (2005). Moral education or political education in the Vietnamese educational system? *Journal of Moral Education, 34*(4), 451–463.

Eta, E. A. (2019). Education policy borrowing: Adoption and adaptation of Bologna process ideas in the Cameroonian higher education system – A summary. *Nordic Journal of Comparative and International Education (NJCIE), 3*(4), 82–90.

Hayden, M., & Lam, Q. T. (2006). A 2020 vision for higher education in Vietnam. *International Higher Education, 44*(Summer), 11–13. Retrieved from https://ejournals.bc.edu/index.php/ihe/article/view/7913/7064

Hayden, M., & Lam, Q. T. (2007). Institutional autonomy for higher education in Vietnam. *Higher Education Research & Development, 26*(1), 73–85. https://doi.org/10.1080/07294360601166828

Karseth, B. & Solbrekke, T.D. (2016). Curriculum trends in European Higher Education: The Pursuit of the Humboltian University Ideas. In S. Slaughter & B.J. Taylor (Eds), *Higher education stratification and workforce development, higher education dynamics 45*. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-21512-9-11.

Kennedy, K. J. (2011). Conceptualising quality improvement in higher education: Policy, theory and practice for outcomes based learning in Hong Kong. *Journal of Higher Education Policy and Management, 33*(3), 205–218.

Kennedy, K. J., & Lee, J. C. K. (2008). *The changing roles of schools in Asian societies – Schools for the knowledge society*. Routledge.

Kennedy, K. J., & Lee, J. C. K. (Eds.). (2018). *Routledge international handbook of schools and schooling in Asia*. Routledge.

Lâm Quang Thiệp. (2017, September 13). Đại học Việt Nam 1987, Hội nghị Nha Trang và "bốn tiền đề" [Vietnamese universities 1987, Nha Trang Conference and "the four premises"]. *Giáo dục Việt Nam*. Retrieved from https://giaoduc.net.vn/giao-duc-24h/dai-hoc-viet-nam-1987-hoi-nghi-nha-trang-va-bon-tien-de-post179617.gd

Le, V. K. (1997). Đào tạo đại học theo quy trình hai giai đoạn [The two-phased instructional process of higher education]. In Department of Higher Education (Ed.), *Giáo dục Đại học* [Studies in Higher Education] (pp. 79–85). Hanoi: Ministry of Education and Training.

Le, H. (2014). Vietnamese higher education in the context of globalization: Qualitative or quantitative targets? *The International Education Journal: Comparative Perspectives, 13*(1), 17–29.

Ministry of Education and Training. (2020, June 11). *Xây dựng Chương trình đào tạo bậc đại học theo chuẩn đầu ra và hội nhập quốc tế* [Development of higher education curriculum towards an outcomes-based approach and global integration]. Ministry of Education and Training Website. Retrieved April 18, 2021, from https://moet.gov.vn/tintuc/Pages/tin-tong-hop.aspx?ItemID=6716

Nguyen, T. K. Q. (2018). *University curriculum reform in Vietnam 1986–2015: Knowledge, Specialization and Social Order*. Unpublished PhD thesis. The University of Melbourne, Australia.

Nguyen, N., & Lee, J. C. K. (2020). Governance of transnational higher education in Vietnam: Issues and way forward. In J. C. K. Lee, & N. Gough (Eds.), *Transnational education and curriculum studies: International perspectives* (pp. 203–215). Routledge.

Nguyen, H. T. T., Sivapalan, S., & Linh, N. T. M. (2020). Implementing an outcome-based education framework: Case studies of FPT education. *ICMET'20: Proceedings of the 2020 2nd international conference on modern educational technology* (pp. 15–20). Singapore. https://dl.acm.org/doi/abs/10.1145/3401861.3401863

Nha, N. V., & Tu, V. N. (2015). Higher education reform in Vietnam: Current situation, challenges and solutions. *VNU Journal of Science, 31*(4), 85–97.

Parajuli, D., Vo, D. K., Salmi, J., & Tran, N. T. A. (2020). *Improving the performance of higher education in Vietnam: Strategic priorities and policy options*. World Bank.

Phan, T. N., Lupton, M., & Watters, J. J. (2016). Understandings of the higher education curriculum in Vietnam. *Higher Education Research & Development, 35*(6), 1256–1268. https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/07294360.2016.1149693?journalCode=cher20

Phillips, D., & Ochs, K. (2004). Researching policy borrowing: Some methodological challenges in comparative education. *British Educational Research Journal, 30*(6), 773–784. https://doi.org/10.1080/0141192042000279495

Phillips, D., & Schweisfurth, M. (2008). *Comparative and international education: An introduction to theory, method and practice*. Continuum International Publishing.

Phuc, P. T., Vinh, N. Q., & Do, Q. H. (2020). The implementation of outcome-based education: Evidence from master program in economic management at Hanoi universities. *Management Science Letters, 10*(14), 3299–3306.

Ruby, A., & Li, A. (2020). The mobility of education policy in the 21st century. Lessons from other fields. *FIRE: Forum for International Research in Education, 6*(3), 83–93.

Sahlberg, P. (2006). Education reform for raising economic competitiveness. *Journal of Educational Change, 7*, 259–287. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10833-005-4884-6

Shanfari, S. A. A. (2016). *Transnational higher education and quality: Oman's experience and the concept of policy borrowing*. Unpublished PhD thesis. The University of Edinburgh, the United Kingdom.

Steiner-Khamsi, G. (2012). Understanding policy borrowing and lending. In G. Steiner-Khamsi & F. Waldow (Eds.), *World year book of education: Policy borrowing and lending in education* (pp. 3–17). Routledge.

Steiner-Khamsi, G. (2014). Cross-national policy borrowing: Understanding reception and translation. *Asia Pacific Journal of Education*, *34*(2), 153–167. https://doi.org/10.1080/02188791.2013.875649.

Steiner-Khamsi, G. (2016). New directions in policy borrowing research. *Asia Pacific Education Review, 17*, 381–390. https://doi.org/10.1007/s12564-016-9442-9. https://link.springer.com/content/pdf/10.1007/s12564-016-9442-9.pdf

Tan, C., & Chua, C. S. K. (2015). Education policy borrowing in China: Has the West wind overpowered the East wind? *Compare: A Journal of Comparative and International Education, 45*(5), 686–704.

Tran, T. T. (2012). Vietnamese higher education and the issue of enhancing graduate employability. *Journal of Teaching and Learning for Graduate Employability, 3*(1), 2–16.

Trinh, A. N., & Conner, L. (2019). Student engagement in internationalization of the curriculum: Vietnamese domestic students' perspectives. *Journal of Studies in International Education, 23*(1), 154–170.

Verger, A. (2014). Why do policy-makers adopt global policies? Towards a research framework on the varying role of ideas in education reform. *Current Issues in Comparative Education, 16*(2), 14–29.

Vietnamnet. (2021, May 17). *Sau những đề án nghìn tỷ, Đề án 89 cử giảng viên học tiến sĩ có gì mới?* [Following million-dollar schemes, what is new about Scheme 89 on Vietnam's PhD Fellowship for university lecturers?]. Retrieved May 25, 2021, at https://vietnamnet.vn/vn/giao-duc/tuyen-sinh/co-gi-moi-o-de-an-89-cu-giang-vien-lam-tien-si-737047.html

Vo Nguyen Giap. (1987). Bài nói chuyện của đồng chí Võ Nguyên Giáp, Uỷ viên Ban chấp hành Trung ương Đảng, Phó chủ tịch Hội đồng Bộ trưởng [Speech of Comrade Vo Nguyen Giap,member of the Party's Central Committee and Vice-Chairman of the Councils of Ministers]. In Ministry of Higher Education and Post-Secondary Professional Education (Ed.), *Phương hướng, mục tiêu, chương trình hành động 1987–1990* [Directions, goals, and action plans for 1987–1990] (pp. 4a–4e). Hanoi: Ministry of Higher Education and Post-Secondary Professional Education.

Chapter 4
The University and Globalisation as a New Mediaevalism

Joshua Rust

Abstract If early European universities played a key role in facilitating the rebalancing of power relations between ecclesiastical and civil authorities following the twelfth-century Papal Revolution, Hedley Bull's characterization of globalisation as a "New Mediaevalism" raises the question as to whether or not contemporary universities are well-suited to play an analogous role in the present day. A brief history of the European university suggests that the scholastics' use of dialectical reasoning methods was an essential tool in mediating jurisdictional disputes. While this fact strongly recommends that the university should be defined in terms of the deployment of such methods, it remains the case that scholasticism differs in important ways from the dialectical reasoning techniques characteristic of contemporary university scholarship. The question concerning the university's role in mediating the paradoxes of globalisation can then be addressed by discussing the potential efficacy of contemporary methods of analysis. To this end I survey Max Weber's, Jürgen Habermas's, and Richard Bernstein's pictures of de-scholasticized dialectical reasoning, and conclude that only Bernstein's picture would render the university relevant to our New Mediaevalism.

Keywords Contemporary university scholarship · Dialectical methods · Dialectical reasoning · Globalization · European universities · New Mediaevalism · Power · Power relations · University

J. Rust (✉)
Department of Philosophy, Stetson University, DeLand, FL, USA
e-mail: jrust@stetson.edu

J. Zajda, W. J. Jacob (eds.), *Discourses of Globalisation and Higher Education Reforms*, Globalisation, Comparative Education and Policy Research 27,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-83136-3_4

The University and Globalisation as a New Mediaevalism: Introduction

Globalisation portends what Hedley Bull calls a "New Mediaevalism" (1977, pp. 254–255; see also Held, 1997, p. 261), wherein the requirements of a politically and commercially interconnected world increasingly impugn on provincial authority. Brexit, Trumpism, and other nationalistic movements are not counterexamples to Bull's claim, but vivid expressions of it. Bull's reference is, of course, to the Papal Revolution (1075–1122), wherein the Church of Rome sought to assert centralized religious authority over Europe's patchwork of emperors, kings, and feudal lords. These efforts culminated in the creation of what legal historian Harold Berman describes as "the first modern state" (2006, p. 4). While imperfect, the comparison between globalisation and the Papal Revolution is nevertheless productive. The first European universities arose in the context and aftermath of the Papal Revolution and played a central role in the continuous renegotiation of ecclesiastical and civil authority. Scholastic dialectical reasoning techniques enabled these scholars to produce new ways of understanding traditional power relations without denying the authority of the texts that would legitimize those relations.

This, in turn, raises the question as to the possible ways in which the contemporary university might help us navigate the perils of globalisation. For reasons I describe, I remain cautiously optimistic about the university's capacity to help reconcile tradition and innovation. However, its potential to do so requires a nuanced appreciation of the scope and power of the dialectical reasoning practices that are definitive of university scholarship.

In section "The University, papal revolution, and legal positivism", I locate the university's role in the context of the Papal revolution. This discussion, in turn, allows me to define a university, as opposed to other schools of higher education, in terms of the institutionalisation of the dialectical reasoning practices—including, but not limited to scholasticism—that accommodated the transition from traditionalism to legal positivism. In section "The New Mediaevalism", I develop and problematize the analogy between globalisation and the Papal Revolution, as suggested by Bull's phrase. While disputants in the Papal Revolution agreed that their power was traditionally anchored in a shared set of authoritative texts (such as the bible, the Justinian corpus, and canon law), thus enabling the scholastics to play a key role in mediating jurisdictional disputes, if the authority of global actors are legitimized via legal-rational enactment, then they have no such recourse. If the dialectical reasoning practices which constitute contemporary university scholarship proceed without the substantive assumptions made by the scholastics, do we have any reason to think that the university can help us negotiate the perils of a New Mediaevalism? In section "What difference can the university make? Three pictures of what de-scholasticized, discursive reasoning might look like", I consider Max Weber's, Jürgen Habermas's, and Richard Bernstein's answers to this question. I argue that by partially dissolving the distinction between an Old and New Medievalism, upon which the question is founded, only Bernstein's approach gives the university a clear path forward. I summarize my findings in section "Conclusion: tradition and traditionalism".

The University, Papal Revolution, and Legal Positivism

While all universities are schools of higher learning, I use the word "university" in a quasi-stipulative manner to describe a particular *type* of school of higher learning that institutionalized dialectical reasoning practices, of which the early European universities of Bologna, Paris, and Oxford are exemplars.[1] I also argue that universities play a key role in the establishment of non-traditionalistic modes of legitimate authority.

The Origins of European Universities

Medievalist Charles Radding describes changes in the practices of medieval scholarship from the eighth century to the late 12th and early 13th centuries, when the first European universities were established. Cathedral schools and monastic scholars in the eighth through tenth centuries focused on collecting, preserving, and arranging authoritative texts. However, the eleventh century saw what Radding calls a "professionalizing trend" in scholarship (1997, p. 1317), wherein some schools came to be seen as especially prestigious, masters began to relocate to such schools, scholarly reputation was increasingly correlated with student employment opportunity, and the opinions of other masters were increasingly noted in commentaries. These changes appear to have been prompted by the eucharistic controversy, which concerned matters that could not be settled by appeals to authoritative texts (Radding, 1997, p. 1318). Additionally, the fact that Europe was fragmented and

[1] That I treat the first European universities as exemplary should not imply that universities have not or could not have existed in non-European contexts. As documented by Roy Lowe and Yoshihito Yasuhara, the "received wisdom" is that the university is a uniquely European institution (2013; see also Peters, 2019). For example, Jacques Verger, in his contribution to the influential *A History of the University of Europe*, asserts that "[n]o one today would dispute the fact that the universities in the sense in which the term is now generally understood, were a creation of the Middle Ages…" (Verger, 1991, p. 35). If *university* is treated as a *historical kind*, then it is not implausible that all contemporary universities are historical descendants of the universities of Bologna, Paris and Oxford. However, even if this is the case, this is insufficient to demonstrate the truth of Verger's claim, as it may be the case that these early European universities are themselves historical descendants of centers of learning in the Muslim word, as argued by Lowe and Yasuhara (2013) and Mehdi Nakosteen (1964). In what follows, I propose a *non-historical* definition of the university as a functional kind. Institutions might thus count as instances of a university even if there is no historical link, just as the cowrie shells as used by Oceanic communities and U.S. dollar might both qualify as *money*, even if these institutions originated independently. For a discussion of historical and non-historical institutional kinds see (Epstein, 2014).

decentralized, and subject to multiple, overlapping legal jurisdictions (civil, canon, feudal, etc.) contributed to the increasing autonomy of these scholars. Relatedly, scholars showed a growing interest in and familiarity with Roman law, culminating with the 1070 rediscovery of the Justinian *Digest*. This established, in Radding's words, a "self-regulating and self-sustaining intellectual environment," in the sense that, first, there were implicit membership criteria which governed who could participate in the scholarly conversation and, second, that successive generations of students ensured the continued vitality of these discussions (Radding, 1997, p. 1321). These trends in scholarship were perpetuated by the Papal Revolution (1076–1122), wherein Pope Gregory VII sought to consolidate and centralize religious authority by undermining the ecclesiastical power of feudal and local rulers. The papal revolution was fueled by a new system of canon law, which lay authorities, in turn, countered by appeal to Roman law. As historian Tamar Herzog notes, a new legal science "was driven by the growing prominence of kings who sought to justify their extending powers, by new municipal corporations and agents who wished to do the same, by papal desires for primacy" (Herzog, 2019, p. 76).

In the remainder of this section, I claim, first, that universities are defined in terms of the institutionalisation of dialectical reasoning practices, including scholasticism, and, second that the institutionalized deployment of such practices is a necessary but insufficient step towards legal positivism.

Universities Necessarily Institutionalize Dialectical Reasoning Practices

Peter Abelard (1079–1142), sometimes called the father of scholasticism, began to articulate a method of investigation which explicitly aimed to identify and resolve the appearance of contradictions in source texts. The twelfth century is characterized by the accelerated development and employment of this dialectical method of thinking and exposition. A core technique of dialectical reasoning is what medieval scholars called the *distinctio*. If two authoritative text fragments pointed to different solutions to what seemed like the same legal, philosophical, or theological problem, scholars would distinguish various senses of a disputed term in order to render the fragments more coherent.

Given the distinction suggested by Radding's history, which entails that the scholarly practices which characterize a cathedral school are importantly different than those that characterize a university, I make the quasi-stipulative claim that *universities*, including the first European *studium generale* at Bologna, are to be distinguished from other schools of learning insofar as they uphold dialectical reasoning as a core scholarly practice. Thus, the cathedral schools and monasteries that stressed the preservation and organization of authoritative texts would not qualify as universities in this sense. Nor would ordinary trade schools, including many ancient Roman and early European law schools.

Radding's history also briefly highlights an additional institutional feature of the university—namely, its relative autonomy from secular and religious authority structures. While European universities were sponsored by such authorities, the socio-political context was such that university scholars enjoyed a relatively high (but not unlimited) degree of autonomy or academic freedom from those sponsors, at least as compared to those who worked within cathedral schools and monasteries. In this way, the university was not simply conceived as an appendage of preexisting ecclesiastical or secular institutions.

In summary, universities are (1) institutionalized schools of higher education (2) that stress the deployment of dialectical reasoning practices and (3) are relatively independent from secular and religious authority structures. These conditions enable the university to mediate high-order jurisdictional disputes, the existences of which are typically conditions for its initial creation.[2] Note, as discussed in footnote 1, that this non-historical, functional definition of *university* does not preclude the inclusion of some non-European schools of higher learning that predated the creation of the *studium generale* at Bologna under the extension of the term. However, it is also the case that many schools of higher education, such as cathedral schools, will not qualify as universities.

The Institutionalisation of Dialectical Reasoning Practices as a Step toward Legal Positivism

For the traditionalist, social statuses are "perceived as natural" and anchored in "tradition: the validity of the ever-existing" (Weber, 1920a, p. 1007, b, p. 115).[3] Thus, the contingency of a social status is masked and hidden, which has the effect of stabilizing the grounds of a status in a felt inevitability (see Rust, 2021). Of course, changes in social statuses are possible. But phenomenologically, such innovations feel like discoveries to the traditionalist (Weber, 1920a, pp. 227, 814–815). By contrast, legal positivists, such as ourselves, anchor the grounds of a status in explicit legal enactment. This mode of legitimization does not attempt to mask the contingency of social statuses, but anchors such statuses, following H.L.A. Hart, in

[2] Note that, just as a vehicle can still qualify as a boat whether or not it is actually being used for aquatic transportation (Baker, 2007, p. 52), an institution of higher learning can still qualify as an university whether or not it is in fact involved in the mediation of such disputes. It is also worth re-emphasizing the fact that this functional role is not exclusive to universities; sufficiently independent legal guilds might, for example, also play such a mediating role.

[3] The term "anchoring" is social ontologist Brian Epstein's (2015, pp. 74–87, 2016, pp. 148–149). Anchors roughly correspond to the factors that would explain how Weber's ideal types of authority are legitimated, and which include the "most varied motives for conformity: from dull habituation to purely purposively rational considerations" (Weber, 1920b, p. 338). For a discussion of the connection between anchoring and modalities of legitimate authority see (J. Rust, 2021, sec. 4).

the collective acceptance of rules-for-rules—"the Ultimate Rule of Recognition" (Hart, 2012, pp. 94–116).

For example, the key effect of England's "Glorious Revolution" is the transformation of the Crown from an absolute monarchy to a constitutional monarchy. Prior to the Revolution, the authority of the crown was anchored in the traditionalist and absolutist assumption that God appoints the monarch to carry out His will on earth, so that the monarch's authority is legitimated by this appointment and not through a social contract (Berman, 2006, pp. 234–238). After the Revolution, and from the internal point of view of those subject to the Crown's authority, the Crown came to have the powers and functions it did in virtue of collective agreement and legal enactment; William III and his successors took an oath to govern "according to the Statutes in Parliament agreed on, and the Laws and Customs of the same" (see Berman, 2006, p. 228; Blackstone, 1872, p. 234).

I have argued that universities necessarily involve the institutionalisation of dialectical reasoning practices as applied to authoritative texts, of which scholasticism is an instance. I now make a second claim: the institutionalisation of dialectical reasoning practices is an essential but insufficient step in the movement from traditionalism to legal positivism.

Why? As discussed, traditionalism legitimizes hierarchically arranged statuses by appeal to their being natural and inevitable, as described by authoritative texts. Of course, traditionalism is most efficacious when authority and tradition is uncontested. Threats to the ubiquity of a given traditional anchoring regime were common in the ancient world and were typically resolved by forcibly eliminating competing (i.e., *heretical*) pictures. But there are also contexts, as exemplified in, but not limited to, eleventh and twelfth century Europe, wherein competing and incompatible traditionalist regimes come uneasily to coexist. And in this context, an increasingly institutionalized set of dialectical methods—in this case, scholasticism—emerged explicitly to recognize and address the resulting contradictions.

These dialectical methods differ from traditionalist methods of adjudication. It is not, as H.L.A. Hart suggests (2012, pp. 92–93), that traditionalist legal systems are static or inflexible, but rather that any legal or social innovations had to be recast in terms of its having "always been what it is" (for discussion of this point see Rust, 2018, 2021; Weber, 1920a, pp. 814–815). That is, in a traditional order, "[r]ules which in fact are innovations can be legitimized only by the claim that they have been 'valid of yore,' but have only now been recognized by means of 'Wisdom'" (Weber, 1920a, p. 227). By contrast, what the scholastics did was *explicitly and self-consciously* surface contradictions in authoritative sources—what Weber calls the "documents of tradition" (Weber, 1920a, p. 227)—in such a way that allowed them to be systemically addressed. This methodology has a distancing effect, such that it becomes at least possible to see a status system as short of inevitable. And such distancing is necessary for legal positivism, which sees statuses as created or enacted, rather than as naturally self-evident or discovered.

I have argued that development of a relatively autonomous institution, such as a university, that supports the engagement of authoritative texts by way of dialectical reasoning practices, is necessary for entry into a positivistic legal regime. However, the institutionalisation of such reasoning practices is not sufficient. This is because, while, as illustrated in Fig. 4.1, scholasticism is a version of dialectical reasoning that affords some distance from the authoritative texts so interpreted, it still, unlike other modalities of dialectical reasoning, "presupposes the absolute authority of certain books, which are to be comprehended as containing an integrated and complete body of doctrine" (Berman, 1983, p. 131). Scholastic inquiry, thus, proceeds on the assumptions that (1) there are a shared set of authoritative texts such as the bible, the Justinian corpus (Roman law), and canon law, (2) that these authoritative texts truly describe a naturalized moral and political order, and, so, (3) that any putative contradiction between and within such texts must be the result of a faulty interpretation rather than any flaw or contradiction within the source text itself.

While dialectical methods allow scholars to distance themselves from the status systems under investigation, so illuminating the potential contingency of their various grounds, the scholastics' background assumption that these documents and methods will eventually reveal a natural and coherent moral order entails that the revealed contingency of these statuses and their grounds is ultimately illusory or merely epistemic. Thus, scholasticism represents a kind of dialectically-informed traditionalism, albeit one that helps set the stage for legal positivism by enabling a degree of epistemic distancing. There must be additional factors that would explain the ascendancy of legal positivism. However, as this paper is focused on the university's contribution to the establishment of legal positivism, I will not here speculate as to what those additional factors might be.

Fig. 4.1 Scholasticism as a kind of dialectical reasoning practice

The New Mediaevalism

Held (1997) and Bull (1977) observe that the social and political issues promoted by globalisation bear at least a passing resemblance to those raised by the Papal Revolution (1075–1122), which is the soil from which the first European university emerged. As noted, the Papal revolution sought to reclaim ecclesiastical authority from subservience to the dense and heterogeneous fabric of emperors, kings and feudal lords. Berman describes the resulting pan-European Church as "the first modern state" (Berman, 2006, p. 4). Today, as flagged by Brexit, Trumpism, and other expressions of virulent nationalism, it is the authority of the well-establish states that is threatened by globalising forces, formal and otherwise. Citing what Bull calls "A New Medievalism" (Bull, 1977, pp. 254–255), Held writes that.

> the operations of states in increasingly complex global and regional systems affect both [states'] autonomy (by changing the balance between the costs and benefits of policies) and their sovereignty (by altering the balance between national, regional, and international legal frameworks and administrative practices). … Against this background, it is not fanciful to imagine, as Bull once observed, the development of an international system that is a modern and secular counterpart of the kind of political organization found in Christian Europe in the Middle Ages, the essential characteristic of which was a system of overlapping authority and divided loyalties (Held, 1997, p. 261).

Of course, there are important differences between the Papal Revolution and globalisation, beyond the fact that in the former the state was the unifying-agent rather than -patient. While the Papal Revolution set the stage for a centuries-long transition to legal positivism, the context within which that revolution took place was still thoroughly traditionalistic. As discussed, while universities emerged as an institution uniquely suited to adjudicate competing jurisdictional claims, the mode of dialectical reasoning—scholasticism—so employed proceeded on the traditionalist assumption that there are a shared set of authoritative texts that truly describe a naturalized moral and political order. While ecclesiastical and secular interlocutors might sharply disagree about important jurisdictional matters, the fact that such interlocutors worked within a shared horizon of assumptions gave scholastic practices a relatively robust path to conflict resolution. Indeed, the scholastic method was so successful that, over time, it became increasingly difficult to distinguish canon and civil (Roman) law.

> Applying the scholastic method and constantly conversing with their colleagues studying Roman law, canon-law jurists ended up glossing, commenting, and writing treatises on canon law. They developed vocabularies, extracted principles, and systematized the juridical thinking of the Church. As a result of these similarities in method and places of creation, over time canon and Roman law tended to fuse to such a degree that it was sometimes hard to distinguish between them (Herzog, 2019, p. 85).

Because scholasticism is a dialectically-informed modality of traditionalism, it was well-equipped to resolve jurisdictional disputes cast in traditional terms. However, since the jurisdictional issues raised by globalisation assume that a disputant's authority is anchored, not in the pronouncements of a shared, authoritative text, but in the collectively accepted enactments of a *citizen body*, what confidence can we have that the de-scholasticized dialectical reasoning practices characteristic of contemporary university scholarship can help resolve these *transnational* conflicts? In other words, while the university played an essential role in mediating sovereignty conflicts in traditionalist Europe, that the conflicts of a New Mediaevalism take place in a post-traditional context would seem to undermine the university's continued relevance to resolution. Indeed, if scholarly debates about relatively trivial (or, at least, non-political) issues tend to end in a kind of dialectical stalemate, or else endure through the seemingly endless introduction of conceptual epicycles,[4] then what confidence can we have that such scholarly methods could help resolve the pressing and politically fraught matters raised by globalisation?

What Difference Can the University Make? Three Pictures of What de-Scholasticized, Discursive Reasoning Might Look like

To review, in the context of the Papal Revolution, the university emerged as a relatively autonomous mediator. Thus, I define a university as a relatively independent institution of higher learning that stresses dialectical reasoning practices. Scholasticism represents a particular, traditionalistically inflected version of such reasoning practices, insofar as the scholar attempts to resolve putative contradictions against the background assumption that there are a shared set of authoritative texts that truly describe a naturalized moral and political order. I also claimed that the university was relatively successful—at least prior to the Protestant Revolution—it its ongoing efforts to revise the balance of power between ecclesiastical and civil authorities.

But if, as suggested by Hedley Bull and David Held, there is an analogy between the conditions of the old and new Mediaevalism, the point of disanalogy suggest a diminished role for the university in mediating jurisdictional disputes. This is because the scholastic assumptions that were more or less shared by parties to the jurisdictional dispute no longer obtain when our political institutions are anchored in and legitimated by, not the authority of a shared text, but legal enactment. There are no shared substantive assumptions upon which such dialectical practices could operate. And the dialectical reasoning practices characteristic of contemporary university scholarship are too formal and thin—and perhaps too critical and adversarial—to provide much hope that the university will play a central role in helping us resolve the paradoxes of globalisation. In its place, one worries that these disputes

[4] For example, philosopher David Chalmers worries that the lack of philosophical convergence on answers to the "big questions of philosophy" is an important indicator that philosophy does not make progress in the way that the natural sciences do (Chalmers, 2013).

will *only* be resolved through the brute and arbitrary exercise of political and physical power.

Against this dispiriting conclusion, I survey three attempts to mitigate the displacement of dialectical reasoning practices. In so far as the university is a semiautonomous institution dedicated to the deployment of such practices, these attempts would also speak in favor of the university's role in helping resolve the sovereignty conflicts associated with globalisation.

Picture 1: Weber on Dialectical Reasoning as Instrumental Rationality

Because non-scholastic dialectical reasoning does not have recourse to the substantive assumptions regarding the truth of a canon of authoritative texts and the naturalness of a political-social order implied therein, Weber argues that it reduces to "instrumentally-rational" (*zweckrational*) argumentation. While disputants in a jurisdictional conflict can no longer appeal to substantive considerations, as found in a shared set of "documents of tradition," scholars can nevertheless trace the consequences and implications of a proposed set of policies and ideologies. This is, indeed, exactly the ideal of "clarity" that Weber would have the scholar embrace in the "Science as Vocation" (2004), which involves the capacity to intellectually explore the consequences of the practical standpoints (*Weltanschauungen*) advocated by different politicians within a given form of life (see J. Rust & Smallpage, 2020). The conceptual topography of a *Weltanschauung* consists in a network of conditionals which the scholar can make explicit and the politician can exploit. Where, according to Weber's proposed division of labor, the politician's domain is that of action (Arendt's *vita active* (2018)), the teacher-scholar's is that of possibility (*vita contemplativa*). Addressing the politician in the second-person, Weber writes:

> If you take up this or that attitude, the lessons of science are that you must apply such and such means in order to convert your beliefs into a reality. These means may well turn out to be of a kind that you feel compelled to reject. You will then be forced to choose between the end and the inevitable means. Does the end "justify" these means or not? The teacher can demonstrate to you the necessity of this choice (Weber, 2004, p. 26).

On Weber's picture of de-scholasticized dialectical reasoning, the scholar cannot take a stand on which of these *Weltanschauungen* to take up, as that requires, not an act of discovery, but an act of Nietzschean will. This is the politician's task. Still, the hope is that mere instrumental rationality will show that certain standpoints and policies are self-evidently more attractive than others, based on their inferred effects. This is a fair description of how we, in fact, attempt to justify globalist or non-globalist policies. Where pro-globalists describe the importance of transnational policies to solve global crises, such as climate change, or the productivity gains that come with free trade, anti-globalists cite the job losses that come as companies would export jobs to lower-cost countries. Each of these arguments appeal to the consequences and implications of a given standpoint. On the proposed Weberian view, insofar as the university remains a semiautonomous institution committed to de-scholasticized dialogical reasoning practices, then, and insofar as scholars continue to explore the implications of policy proposals, it would seem like the university remains relevant to our attempts to resolve the political conflicts raised by globalisation, just like the early European university's deployment of scholastic reasoning was relevant to the resolution of ecclesiastical and civil jurisdictional conflicts.

Unfortunately, there are good reasons not to be overly sanguine about instrumental rationality's capacity to usher us into a new era of global political stability. Weber himself was highly doubtful that the mere scholarly exploration of consequences would yield self-evident solutions. Rather, most policy proposals yield an incommensurable combination of good and bad consequences, or else the long-term implications of a given policy proposal remain opaque due to the non-linear nature of social systems. Thus, Weber cynically embraced the conclusion that political "life is about the incompatibility of ultimate possible attitudes and hence the inability ever to resolve the conflicts between them" (Weber, 2004, p. 27). He characterized a disenchanted, instrumentally rationalized political order as a kind of return to polytheism, wherein multiple gods embody multiple and fundamentally incompatible *Weltanschauungen*: where instrumental rationality remains the only tool by which our fundamental disputes might be settled, the "numerous gods of yore … arise from their graves" to "strive for power over our lives, and resume their eternal struggle among themselves" (Weber, 2004, p. 24).

If university scholarship involves, as Weber suggests, the mere drawing out of the entailments of a practical standpoint, then the university is unlikely to play a key role in the relatively peaceful realization of a post-national social order, because there is little reason to think that mere instrumental rationality provides a path to such order. The university, in other words, would appear less relevant to a New Mediaevalism than it was to the old Mediaevalism.

Picture 2: Habermas and Dialectical Reasoning as Moral Discourse

If Weber operates with a deflationary conception of non-scholastic dialectical reasoning and arrives at a pessimistic conclusion regarding our ability rationally to resolve the jurisdictional crises prompted by globalisation, Habermas is fairly cast as Weber's inverse. Because of scholasticism's substantive commitments to the authority of certain texts and the naturalisation of a given social order, Habermas would describe scholasticism as rationally discursive, but also as a variety of "ethical discourse." Ethical discourses are such that they locate an individual within the horizon of a particular and contingent form of life.

But of what use is the university in resolving jurisdictional disputes if the disputants no longer work within the same ethical horizon? We have surveyed Weber's deflationary answer: de-scholasticized dialectical reasoning practices reduce to brute instrumental rationality, and instrumental rationality is insufficient to resolve the conflicts of sovereignty prompted by globalising factors. Thus, the university, as an institutional home of such practices, is rendered irrelevant, except as a manufacturer of ultimately inconclusive argumentation that politicians might use to advance their agendas (or else, simply be ignored or worse).

Habermas offers a more cheerful solution. He outlines a third modality of dialectical reasoning that resists reduction either into the "ethical" (traditionalistic, including the scholastic) or the "pragmatic" (instrumental rationality)—namely, what he calls "moral discourse". Moral discourse is, like instrumental rationality, merely formal and, so, shorn of substantive, ethical, or traditional assumptions. It is, in other words, a de-scholasticised and de-ethicised mode of dialectical rationality which is not particularistic or limited to a historical group. However, unlike mere instrumental rationality and like ethical discourse, moral discourse has the capacity to bring well-meaning interlocutors to some kind of agreement. As such, moral discourse, unlike pragmatic (instrumentally rational) or ethical (traditional) discourse, is uniquely situated to serve:

> …a growing need for justification, which, under the conditions of postmetaphysical thinking … can be met only by *moral discourse*. The latter aim at the impartial evaluation of action conflicts. In contrast to ethical deliberations, which are oriented to the telos of my/our own good (or not misspent) life, moral deliberations require a perspective freed of all egocentrism or ethnocentrism (Habermas, 1998, pp. 97–98).

Moral discourse is guided by a commitment to certain communicative norms which, if followed, will organically orient citizens to the common good: according to moral discourse theory, "practical reasoning no longer resides in universal human rights, or in the ethical substance of a specific community, but in the rules of discourse and forms of argument…" (Habermas, 1998, pp. 296–297). Moral discourse theory involves an open, rule-governed, and critical examination of political and social possibilities and exemplify what Michelle Maiese and Robert Hanna describe as "libertarian-procedural democracy" (2019, pp. 163–164). If moral discourse, as defined by Habermas, is a possible mode of dialectical reasoning, then it also has the potential to revitalize the role and importance of the university as an institution that can mediate sovereignty disputes, as it did following the Papal Revolution, so long as scholars recognize and practice these morally inflected dialogical methods.

The possibility of a set of procedural norms that would allow discussants to converge on a solution to fraught concerns about the scope of national sovereignty and other jurisdictional issues would appear to be exactly the antidote we need. Unfortunately, it would also appear to be a kind of chimera. If we consider simple democratic procedures, such as majority rule, it is easy to appreciate how the exercise of such procedures would not guarantee just outcomes; a majority could, for example, vote to strip basic rights from a dissenting minority. Of course, the procedural norms that Habermas promulgates are those which govern discourse. But even then, it remains unclear what would guarantee that such discursive procedures will issue in the promised consensus. After all, Robert's rules of order also place systematic and agreed upon constraints on conversation, but are hardly a guarantor of just outcomes (Maiese & Hanna, 2019, p. 164).

Moreover, as Habermas' friend and critic Richard Bernstein argues, discourse theory has, despite its claims to substance-neutrality, smuggled in non-procedural, substantive, and non-universal commitments to a "democratic ethos:"

> To the extent that Habermas's discourse theory is rationally persuasive, it is because he implicitly, and sometimes almost explicitly, builds substantial-ethical commitments into his theory. … Habermas's references to good reasons and "the force of the better argument" presupposes such an ethos where participants debate and agree with each other in good faith. Without such an ethos, democracy is always in danger of becoming a mere sham—a set of mere "formal" procedures without any substantial-ethical content—without much democratic content (Bernstein, 1998, pp. 289, 291).

More concretely, if there are traditionalists or pseudo-traditionalists who not only fail to share a commitment to scientific and rational norms of argumentation and discourse, but are—as the members of the nativist "Know Nothing movement" were during the U.S. Civil War era—actively and self-consciously skeptical of expertise, the merits of critical discussion, and the possibility of universal mutual regard, then this lays bare the substantive commitments tacitly embedded into the supposed merely procedural norms that constitute Habermasian moral discourse theory. And if this is the case, then moral discourse theory fails to be the promised panacea when it comes to the paradoxes of globalisation, at least insofar as key interlocutors' social orders remain traditionally anchored.

Picture 3: Bernstein and the Caricaturing of Tradition

We have surveyed two opposing pictures of de-scholasticised dialectical reasoning and assessed their prospects in helping us resolve the jurisdictional issues raised by globalisation. So far, our answer has been decidedly skeptical. If, as Weber claims de-scholasticised dialectical reasoning is nothing more than instrumental rationality, then we have every reason to expect, as Weber did, perpetual political conflict. Against Weber, Habermas heroically resists the suggestion that de-scholasticized dialectical reasoning—reasoning shorn of the scholasticism's substantive, "ethical" commitments—reduces to mere instrumental rationality (or what he calls "pragmatic discourse"). There is, on his view, a third modality of discourse—"moral discourse"—that is procedural in the way that pragmatic or instrumentally rational discourse is, but, unlike pragmatic discourse, is capable of issuing in consensus rather than perpetual conflict. However, I have followed Bernstein in arguing that the ideal of moral discourse smuggles in certain substantive notions of what counts as legitimate conversation—notions that some traditionalists explicitly reject—and so is an unpromising solution to the jurisdictional issues raised by globalisation.

Fortunately, Bernstein's critical assessment of Habermas's solution includes an (arguably underappreciated) alternative to the possibility of moral discourse. I shall survey that alternative and draw out its implications as a potential paradigm of higher education. Bernstein's critique of discourse theory and formulation of an alternative builds from the observation that Habermas's proposal begins with his drawing an unjustifiably sharp distinction between the ethical (the substantive or traditional) and moral (the merely formal but not instrumentally rational). The core of Bernstein's thought is this: rather than divide the discursive field into the substantive, traditional, and culturally contingent, on the one hand, and the procedural, moral, and universal, on the other, let us remain open to the possibility that these traditions against which the moral is compared are significantly *less provincial and nativist* than Habermas appears to think they are. Of course, traditions have this dimension, and some are exhausted by this dimension, but many traditions are also rich enough to include the idea that we might also have obligations to those *who are not us*. In other words, Bernstein compellingly draws our attention to the caricature of the traditional upon which Habermas's distinction between the ethical and the moral is founded:

> Consider "actually existing" ethical traditions. Embedded in their historical contingency are universal demands and obligations. If I identify myself with the Jewish people, I am not limited in my ethical reflections to questions of shared intersubjective values with my fellow Jews. It would make a mockery of this tradition if I did not recognize that I have obligations and responsibilities that transcend my fellow Jews and are relevant to all human beings. … It is a fiction—and indeed a violently distortive fiction—to suggest that ethical discourse is limited to discourse about particular historical groups—that ethical discourse qua ethics never has a genuinely universal scope. It is a fiction to suggest that there are, or ever were, two separate types of discourse—ethics and morals, with two independent logics. Such a dichotomy falsifies both ethics and morals—utilizing Habermas's terms of art (Bernstein, 1998, p. 301).

It is not that Bernstein denies that there are different varieties of obligation that are usefully flagged by the terms, "ethical" and "moral." Traditions do differentiate an "us" and a "them." It is rather that he denies that (1) these varieties are categorically distinct and (2) that traditions only acknowledge our provincial, local, or tribal obligations. Rather, most traditions acknowledge that our tribal obligations radiate outward in degrees and are weighted differently under different circumstances. Thus, we should see that *within* most traditional schemas, "we can distinguish more particularistic and more universal concerns" (Bernstein, 1998, p. 302), rather than simply and a aprioristically identifying tradition with the particularistic. This nuanced description of "actually existing" traditions is lost under Habermas' ideally typical, mutually exclusive, and exhaustive distinction between the ethical and the moral.

This, in turn, has important implications for what de-scholasticised dialectical reasoning might look like. It is not, qua Weber, mere instrumental rationality nor is it, qua Habermas, universally applicable constraints on the possibility of moral discourse. Rather such reasoning processes must involve the patient, thoroughgoing, and historically-informed investigations of the normative topography of "actually existing" human traditions.

Of course, the aim of such inquiries *cannot* be guided by the a priori assumption that every such tradition contains the seeds of a set of political prescriptions *already discovered* by Western luminaries, as when an undergraduate thinks she has identified the prefigurings of our modern scientific outlook in the fragments of the pre-Socratic philosophers. While certain parallels of thought might be identified, the investigator must be equally concerned to preserve the distinctiveness of the tradition under investigation. For this reason, ideally, such investigations are spearheaded by those with a felt commitment to, rather than mere interest in, the tradition under investigation.

To the extent that we might come to agree on a path forward, we also need to recognize that agreement might be anchored in importantly different ways, so limiting the scope of that agreement. Traditions are complex and often exist in tension with themselves, so a tradition that permits, e.g., female genital cutting might have the resources also to see the practice curtailed, but in a way that makes no reference to universal human rights (e.g., Gruenbaum, 2005).

Of course, Bernstein's prescription that we take tradition seriously does not guarantee consensus. It may be that the implications of some traditions will come to be recognized as simply irreconcilable. But while agreement is not guaranteed, nor is it foreclosed, offering interlocutors a modicum of hope. Moreover, and against Hart's assumption that traditions are static things (2012, pp. 92–93), traditions not only change, but have within them the resources to understand the possibility of change, although traditionalists also have reasons to avoid describing such changes as "innovations" (Weber, 1920a, p. 227). Thus, an investigation into the nature of a tradition might also prompt welcome changes to that tradition, although such changes must be understood in ways that are internal to that tradition. If Herzog is correct, this was exactly the result of the scholastics' attempt to better understand the heart of their own traditions:

> From the twelfth to the sixteenth century (considered the formative period of this new European legal science), scholars (now identified as jurists) debated the principles, terminology, and structures of Roman law. Though they were trying to explain ancient texts, their endeavor did not revive the ancient law of Rome, but instead reinvented it (Herzog, 2019, p. 79).

I draw three concluding implications from Bernstein's suggestion that de-scholasticized dialectical reasoning must remain profoundly attentive to the substantive or ethical commitments embedded in the traditions of those who would be affected by globalising tendencies.

A Revised Paradigm of University Scholarship

Bernstein's outlook preserves a role for the university, so long as it accommodates the comparative and non-comparative investigations of the various substantive traditions which would partially anchor the globe's various systems of norms and statuses. While such investigations need not necessarily take place within the framework of the university, the university provides a serviceable forum within which cross-traditional dialogue might ensue. What this means, however, is that scholars would do well to place less emphasis on the critical, adversarial dimensions of discursive reasoning. We cannot critique a text, tradition, or *Weltanschauung* until it is understood, and when too much stress is placed on critique, the temptation to mimic understanding through caricature is evidently too great. For this reason, I concur with Kyla Ebels-Duggan's suggestion that university scholars should be more concerned to foster, both in themselves and in their students, the intellectual virtues of *charity, intellectual humility*, and *tenacity*—as captured by Hans-Georg Gadamer's notion of the "anticipation of completeness" (1992)—in addition to the critical and anti-traditional intellectual virtue of *autonomy* (Ebels-Duggan, 2015).

Taking History Seriously

An outlook that would stress the difference between the ethical-traditional, on the one hand, and a thinner and purer, less substantive notion of either instrumental rationality (Weber) or moral discourse (Habermas) on the other, is one that would diminish the importance of history in understanding ourselves and others. Rationality, on this view, transcends the provincialism of custom. But Bernstein's positive outlook would have us take history—both our own and others'—seriously. Following in the footsteps of Sir Edward Coke (1552–1634) and anticipating arguments to be advanced by Edmund Burke (1792–1797), the English Jurist Sir Matthew Hale (1609–1676) argues, against Thomas Hobbes (1588–1697), that it is history and not reason alone that imbues law with its force and validity. This suggestion does not stem from an antiquarian or romantic instinct that would mechanically identify the good with the old, but from the thought that laws and policies which endure do so because they reflect, not the exceptional wisdom of one legislative genius, but the cumulative, judicial, and largely unthematized wisdom of countless generations of jurists and juries: "it is a reason for me to prefer a law by which a kingdom hath been happily governed four or five hundred year than to adventure the happiness and peace of a kingdom upon some new theory of my own, tho' I am better acquainted with the reasonableness of my own theory than with that law" (Berman, 2006, p. 259; Hale as quoted in Holdsworth, 1924, p. 504). To be clear, Hale articulates a historically sensitive form of dialectical reasoning which remains open to change by way of thoroughgoing engagement with a community's history. He famously compares the law to "the Argonauts Ship" which "was the same when it returned home, as it was when it went out, tho' in that long Voyage it had successive Amendments, and scarce came back with any of its former Materials" (Hale, 1971, p. 40).

In the field of comparative education, Val Rust (2006) uses the notion of *restoration*, along with *receptivity* and *resistance*, to gesture to a version of Bernstein's historically-informed conception of dialectical reasoning. Where "[m]ainstream 'modern' scientists assume that their knowledge has universal validity, and they take for granted that indigenous knowledge is usually community based and context specific" (V. Rust, 2006, p. 29), the scholarly virtue of restoration, so central to the work of the comparativists, challenges this Habermasian assumption. Thus, comparative education's historical focus itself emerges as a kind of paradigm that ensures the university's relevance within a New Mediaevalism: "Comparative educators have long been cognisant of the difficulties involved in proposing the adoption of and resistance to policies and procedures beyond a country's own national context" (Rust, 2006, p. 30).

From Tradition to Legal Positivism?

Bernstein's positive suggestion also compels us to reevaluate the terms of the question which initiated the present inquiry. That question was, If the scholastic dialectical reasoning practices of the medieval university helped resolved the jurisdictional conflicts that would undermine the pan-European Church as "the first modern state" (Berman, 2006, p. 4), and if contemporary universities are characterized in terms of the exercise of "de-scholasticized" dialectical reasoning practices, can the university help negotiate the jurisdictional paradoxes prompted by globalisation? This question makes sense if we assume, with Weber and Habermas, that the reasoning practices which characterize contemporary university scholarship are, and unlike those as practiced by the scholastics, entirely devoid of any substantive commitments. However, if Bernstein is correct, this is a false assumption. Dialectical reasoning is always already imbued with substantive commitments. There is no such thing as Kantian-Rawlsian-Habermasian "pure" or "thin" reasoning practices, entirely divested of the ethical. And if this is the case, then we should not sharply distinguish between the dialogical reasoning practices of the scholastics and those which have been "de-scholasticized." Nor, for the same reason, should we speak simply and without qualification about an anchoring regime change from traditionalism to legal positivism.

If there is a difference between what contemporary scholars do and what the scholastics did, it is not that *we* have unmoored ourselves from the "documents of tradition." It is only that we have come to better appreciate how our political commitments might be variously but traditionally and ethically anchored in a wide variety of different traditions, including those of which are our own. The solution to this polytheism of anchors is not to leave this polytheism behind, as Habermas would have it, but to dive much deeper into the particulars of these traditions to see if there are any points of overlap between their respective horizons.

Conclusion: Tradition and Traditionalism

I have followed Bernstein in arguing that if the university no longer appears relevant to the jurisdictional disputes that characterize the "New Medievalism" of globalisation, it is because we have too sharply distinguished our "thin" and "formal" dialectical reasoning practices from the "thick," "ethical," and "substantive" reasoning practices that are characteristic of scholastic scholarship. As such, these morally or instrumentally rational practices, now devoid of ethical or traditional encumbrances, would seem too airy to help us negotiate the paradoxes of globalisation. Bernstein's prescription might be summed up with a phrase used by Wittgenstein in a different, but not unanalogous context: "Back to the rough ground!" (Wittgenstein, 1958, sec. 107). Of course, the claim is not that we resume the exact posture of the scholastics. The ethical horizons of those who are subject to the forces of globalisation are *not* constrained by a shared set of authoritative texts, as was the case in medieval Europe. There is no promise of resolution in a traditionalism that is alternatively called originalism, antiquarianism, romanticism, and reactionism. Instead, Bernstein would have us face the hard truth that our various social orders are anchored, not just in positivistic enactment (although that is not untrue), but in a cornucopia of seemingly incompatible traditions. And those traditions need to be taken seriously if there is any chance that we will find a relatively peaceful way of resolving the jurisdictional disputes that come with globalisation. This is, arguably, part of the force of historian Jaroslav Pelikan's claim—so often cited by Harold Berman—to the effect that "Tradition is the living faith of the dead, traditionalism is the dead faith of the living" (1986, p. 65). If our various national institutional arrangements remain at least partially anchored in the living faith*s* of the dead, then the university can remain significant as one of many houses of observance within which such faiths continue to endure.

References

Arendt, H. (2018). *The human condition*. University of Chicago Press.

Baker, L. (2007). *The metaphysics of everyday life: An essay in practical realism* (1st ed.). Cambridge University Press.

Berman, H. J. (1983). *Law and revolution: The formation of the Western legal tradition* (Reprint edition). Harvard University Press.

Berman, H. J. (2006). *Law and revolution, II: The impact of the Protestant reformations on the Western legal tradition*. Belknap Press: An Imprint of Harvard University Press.

Bernstein, R. (1998). The retrieval of the democratic ethos. In M. Rosenfeld & A. Arato (Eds.), *Habermas on law and democracy: Critical exchanges* (pp. 287–305). University of California Press.

Blackstone, W. (1872). *Commentaries on the laws of England: In four books*. Callaghan.

Bull, H. (1977). *The anarchical society: A study of order in world politics*. Columbia University Press. http://archive.org/details/anarchicalsociet0000bull

Chalmers, D. (2013, May 20). *Why isn't there more progress in philosophy?* Moral Sciences Club. https://www.sms.cam.ac.uk/media/1484158

Ebels-Duggan, K. (2015). Autonomy as Intellectual Virtue. In H. Brighouse & M. McPherson (Eds.), *The aims of higher education: Problems of morality and justice* (Illustrated edition, pp. 74–90). University of Chicago Press.

Epstein, B. (2014). How many kinds of glue hold the social world together? In M. Gallotti & J. Michael (Eds.), *Perspectives on social ontology and social cognition* (pp. 41–56). Springer.

Epstein, B. (2015). *The ant trap: Rebuilding the foundations of the social sciences*. Oxford University Press.

Epstein, B. (2016). A framework for social ontology. Philosophy of the Social Sciences, 46(2), 147–167. https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1177/0048393115613494.

Gadamer, H.-G. (1992). *Truth and method*. Crossroad.

Gruenbaum, E. (2005). Socio-cultural dynamics of female genital cutting: Research findings, gaps, and directions. *Culture, Health & Sexuality, 7*(5), 429–441.

Habermas, J. (1998). *Between facts and norms: Contributions to a discourse theory of law and democracy*. MIT Press. http://archive.org/details/betweenfactsnorm00jrge

Hale, S. M. (1971). *The history of the common law in England*. University of Chicago Press.

Hart, H. L. A. (2012). *The concept of law*. Oxford University Press.

Held, D. (1997). Democracy and globalization. *Global Governance: A Review of Multilateralism and International Organizations, 3*(3), 251–267.

Herzog, T. (2019). *A short history of European law: The last two and a half millennia*. Harvard University Press.

Holdsworth, S. W. S. (1924). *A history of English law*. Little.

Lowe, R., & Yasuhara, Y. (2013). The origins of higher learning: Time for a new historiography? *History of Universities, 27*(1), 1–19.

Maiese, M., & Hanna, R. (2019). *The mind-body politic*. Palgrave Macmillan.

Nakosteen, M. K. (1964). *History of Islamic origins of Western education*. University of Colorado Press.

Pelikan, J. (1986). *The vindication of tradition: The 1983 Jefferson lecture in the humanities* (Reprint edition). Yale University Press.

Peters, M. A. (2019). Ancient centers of higher learning: A bias in the comparative history of the university? *Educational Philosophy and Theory, 51*(11), 1063–1072. https://doi.org/10.1080/00131857.2018.1553490

Radding, C. (1997). Individuals confront tradition: Scholars in eleventh- and twelfth-century Europe. *The European Legacy, 2*(8), 1313–1324. https://doi.org/10.1080/10848779708579852

Rust, V. (2006). Foreign influences in educational reform. In H. Ertl (Ed.), *Cross-national attraction in education: Accounts from England and Germany* (pp. 23–30). Symposium Books.

Rust, J. (2018). Traditional action and traditional authority. *Max Weber Studies, 18*(2), 159–185. https://doi.org/doi.org/10.15543/MWS/2018/2/3

Rust, J. (2021). Max Weber and social ontology. *Philosophy of the Social Sciences.* https://doi.org/10.1177/0048393120986244

Rust, J., & Smallpage, S. (2020). Clarity, value conflict, and academic politics: Weber's "science as a vocation" a hundred years later. *Social Epistemology Review and Reply Collective, 9*(6), 66–76.

Verger, J. (1991). Patterns. In H. de Ridder-Symoens (Ed.), A history of the University in Europe: Volume 1: Universities in the Middle Ages (Vol. 1, pp. 35–74). Cambridge University Press. https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511599507.004.

Weber, M. (1920a). *Economy and society; an outline of interpretive sociology*. University of California Press.

Weber, M. (1920b). *Economy and society v.1* (K. Tribe, Trans.). Harvard University Press.

Weber, M. (2004). Science as a vocation. In D. S. Owen, T. Strong, & R. Livingstone (Eds.), *The vocation lectures*. Hackett Publishing.

Wittgenstein, L. (1958). *Philosophical investigations*. Prentice-Hall, Inc.

Chapter 5
Globalization, the State, and Cultural Identity: Negotiating Minority Rights in Expansion and Quality Assurance in Public University in Kenya

Edith Mukudi Omwami

Abstract The United Nations 2015 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) paid attention to issues of inclusivity and quality dimension of development as well as reaffirmation of governmental responsibility in the delivery of public services, including the provision of an inclusive and equitable quality education for all. The chapter argues that Kenya presents an interesting case study of a realization of minority rights claim to public infrastructure and a subsequent contradictory outcome arising from governmental implementation of globally aligned policy framing in higher education reform. The current analysis explores the discourse in articulation for minority rights in expansion of higher education infrastructure in Kenya as drawn from legislative debate around education and the subsequent enactment of reforms and interventions that seem to roll back gains in expansion of rights to public resource.

Keywords Globalisation · Human rights · Higher education · Higher education reforms · Inclusive education · Minority rights · Kenya · Social justice · Sustainable development goals

Globalization, the State, and Cultural Identity: Negotiating Minority Rights in Expansion and Quality Assurance in Public University in Kenya: Introduction

Globalization has mostly been understood as a homogenizing phenomenon in political, social and economic spheres of world nations (Zajda, 2021). It assumes a universal alignment in the character of nations and a systematic functioning of political,

E. M. Omwami (✉)
Education Department, UCLA, Los Angeles, CA, USA
e-mail: omwami@gseis.ucla.edu

J. Zajda, W. J. Jacob (eds.), *Discourses of Globalisation and Higher Education Reforms*, Globalisation, Comparative Education and Policy Research 27,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-83136-3_5

economic, and social structures through a standardized and global network of exchanges. The initial such alignment is evident in the formation of the first world-wide intergovernmental organization in the League of Nations in 1919 following the end of the World War I primarily to maintain world peace, and later succeeded by the United Nations in 1945 (Kingsley, 1919; Egerton, 1974; Ridgley, 1997). Nation-states subscribe to global norms that allow for membership in world society as evidenced in the tendency towards a global convergence in administration, policy, and practices in higher education and as more succinctly illustrated in the context of the rise of neoliberalism in the 1990s (Holland, 2010; Porta et al., 2020; Zajda, 2020c). This would be a marked departure from what would have been a national development focused higher education development models until the end of the 1980s (Välimaa, 2004; Johnson & Hirt, 2011; Jayasuriya, 2015). While economic globalization is assumed to render powerless the intervention of the nation state (Clayton, 2004), the experience of the European Union under globalization demonstrates particularity with respect to national response to liberalism (O'Hara & Biesecker, 2003). Besides, there are adaptations to local conditions that are often not reflective of the globally constituted ideals (Anderson-Levitt, 2003; Zajda, 2020b).

Rather than conceive globalization as a static representation of a particular ideology, this analysis takes globalization as the process of enactment of globally defined norms that are also subject to collective interpretation and reinterpretation through agreements across time and space. As such, changing ideologies that define the social, political and economic experiences of populations will be advanced as global norms to be implemented by nations in local context at any given time and space. The 1990s, for example, saw a shift from the Keynesian State-welfare model towards neoliberalism as the World Bank promoted unfettered free-market economics in global development (Zajda, 2020c). Such was the case with respect to governance and finance of public higher education at the global level as private cost of education became institutionalized (Lockheed, 1990; Penrose, 1998; World Bank, 1994; World Bank, 1995).

The assent to the United Nations 2000 Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) declarations heralded a shift towards a more democratized political process and a fragmentation of the hierarchy of state authority and neo-patrimonialism with a focus on minority rights (United Nations, 2000). Until 2000, the World Bank had fully enforced neoliberal agenda of private sector led development and government divestiture from public service delivery and government led enterprises. As early as 1998, the World Bank had begun to contemplate the integration of human rights in development intervention (Zajda, 2020a). It also signalled a return to the centering of the nation-state in the delivery of public services within the World Bank and other development institutions, including the delivery of education services (World Bank, 1998; Palacio, 2006).

The United Nations 2015 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) paid attention to issues of inclusivity and quality dimension of development as well as reaffirmation of governmental responsibility in the delivery of public services, including the provision of an inclusive and equitable quality education for all (United Nations, 2015). The UNESCO 2015 Incheon Declaration agenda for an inclusive and equitable quality education for all was more specific in articulating a commitment to an equitable and increased access to quality post-secondary education with specific attention to quality assurance (UNESCO, 2015). While global development agenda tended to frame Europe and North America as regions where citizens experienced optimal quality of life, the SDGs have acknowledged the need to address the plight of economically marginalized and ethnic minorities in these geographic spaces and commitment to reducing inequality within and across countries (United Nations, 2015). This shift to global universalization of rights of all populations allows for shared experiences of global accountability around international norms.

The debate regarding issues of inclusivity and marginalization of minority groups in Kenya has been ongoing since independence. However, the current analysis captures the reality of the post-2000 development delivery of public higher education infrastructure in the context of devolved governance that is subsequently followed by a shift towards centralization in the deployment of public resources. The analysis reveals the contradictions in actualization of the expansion of minority rights as the neopatrimonial state functions to maintain global relevance and local responsiveness.

Towards Mitigated-Keynesianism in Global Development

Ideological shift towards Mitigated-Keynesianism and devolved neopatrimonialism has come to characterise the post- 2010 era. This is an outcome of the global consensus on the rights of citizens in the context of the MDGs that allowed for the spread of global democratization, the embrace of the centrality of governments in the delivery of basic rights, and the promotion of minority rights in national development (United Nations, 2000). This period represents a clear departure from the neoliberalism advance of the 1990s that served to curb the authority of the states, weakening the status of the nation state, through mandated austerity (Young, 2004; Zajda, 2020c). In spite of the promise of expanded political participation through multiparty democracies that followed the demise of the Soviet Union, centralization of power by the ethnic elite and a rise in economic inequality came to shape the 1990s decade (Pearce, 2000). Further, the neopatrimonial dictatorships engaged in creatively constructing a future that protected and prolonged their existence (Geddes, 1999). Much of the agency was through creating ethnic alliances with little regard to specific economic and political policies, resulting in a patronage politics in which only those in power disproportionately benefitted from government (Shah, 2015). Nevertheless, the convergence of the global democratization and neoliberal agenda created a weak link in the regimes control over their subjects in ways that accorded space for continued civil society protest in events that later shaped the global economic policies and shifting political ideology with implications for local enactment of global norms that have dominated the post- 2000 era (O'Brien et al., 2000; Wilkinson, 2000; Juris, 2008).

With the adoption of the United Nations (UN) 2000 Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), the UN member nations had signalled a radical shift in development discourse towards accommodating government intervention in the delivery of social services and the express consideration of minority rights in a participatory democracy environment. The MDGS re-established the authority of the government as central to the delivery of social services and the centrality of claims access to national development resources for previously excluded ethnic minorities (United Nations, 2000). Until then, minority ethnic regions remained peripheral with respect to accessing public resources as they were inconsequential to electoral outcomes and the survival of the patrimonial autocratic state (Ghai, 2012). Although neoliberalism persisted in the first decade of the new millennium, the government found a way create legitimating reward systems within the environment of the newly democratized electoral outcomes and enabled neopatrimonialism to thrive (Marcus, 2010). Further, much of the development in this period happened without the benefit of constitutional reforms.

Constitution promulgated in 2010 guaranteed citizen rights to participatory democracy and to a life of dignity for Kenyans (Republic of Kenya, 2010a). As a result, a new direction in politics- a reality in which synchronous democratization of the electoral process and the spoils of public resources- resulted in the creation of a devolved neo-patrimonial state. The provision of the devolved government fractured hierarchies of authority by democratizing institutional patronage structures in a significant departure from the historically centralized clientelist state. The emergent democratization process empowered minority and marginalized ethnicities in ways that had not been anticipated in previous regimes. It is in this environment that minority claim to a right to public higher education infrastructure that secures them global membership as host to university institutions, an artefact of modernism.

Economic policy has traditionally dominated the functioning of the world nations, and this was the case for postcolonial nations that became integrated into global capitalism in the post-World War II era. Keynesianism informed development initiatives in public policy until the 1990 when neoliberalism went global governments heavily divested from delivery of education services. While the 2000 MDGs reasserted the authority of government, it concurrent embrace of minority claims served to undermined both neoliberalism and the centralized autocratic state. The subsequent promulgation of the 2010 Constitution and the United Nations, 2015 SDGs reinstated a new Mitigated-Keynesian developmental and devolved neo-patrimonial state while at the same time requiring a consideration of quality in delivery of services (United Nations, 2015). In other words, the direct influence over governmental policy by citizens continued to derive from clientelism to the extent that those communities in the periphery demanded conditional inclusivity (Lindberg and Morrison, 2008). In the end, the persistence of globally directed agency continues to define the nature of development in ways that yield often contradictory outcomes even as state intervention responds to minority ethnic claims.

Methods and Sources

This analysis employs qualitative and historical methods in examining the claims by marginalized and minority ethnic groups for the deployment of public resources in a shifting economic and political ideological space. It specifically examines the thesis that post-2010 exponential expansion of public university infrastructure in the Kenyan nation state is attributable to the change in global economic ideology towards a redistributive agenda and a weakening of the strong presidency under a devolved governance. However, there is a subsequent purge in operations of campuses that reaffirms the authority of the state in response to the need to align higher education with global norms regarding standards and quality.

The analysis draws on publicly available official government sources, published scholarly works, and official government reports. The official *Parliamentary Hansard Reports* archives, *The Kenya Gazette Notices*, and *The Kenya Legal Notices* of the Kenya National Assembly capture the primary source political discourse regarding the delivery of university education in Kenya. The primary sources for the material for the discourse analysis is the policy debate contributions of the members of the Kenya National Assembly, drawn from different regions and representing interest of different ethnic groups and minority interest. The national assembly is responsible for formulation of policies and laws related to infrastructure development with assent of the presidency in the current devolved governance structure.

The management of public resources deployed in the delivery of education services through institutions and departments is under the supervision and authority of publicly authorized parastatals that serve as agencies of the state with appointees under influence of the political class. In the context of higher education in Kenya, the Commission for University Education (CUE) is charged with the responsibility of overseeing the development and management of university education. This relationship has implications for the establishment, authorization and charter of higher education institutions (Omwami, 2018).

The analysis considers both the rhetoric and discourse surrounding the expansion of public university infrastructure and the closure of campuses that are assessed as not viable from a quality perspective. The contributions and proclamations of the members of the Kenya National Assembly constitute the evidence towards the enactment of a rights-based development agenda in university infrastructure expansion in the post-2010 era. However, the legitimacy of the education institutions that are established and potential for continuity is judged by the parliamentary authorized agency, the Commission for University Education (CUE) that sets standards and regulations and is responsible for accreditation of universities and programs.

Document analysis show governmental decision to allow expansion of public university sector infrastructure to regions represented by ethnic minorities is a response to minority claims to public resources in an increasingly more democratic environment. Further, the realization of such claims demonstrates the reality of a localised ethnic-based patronage and minority elite-representation empowerment afforded under the post-2010 constitution changes. Nevertheless, the outcome of the intervention is mediated by a neoliberal economic environment in which government is simultaneously responsive to globally structured economic norms. Further, the influence of the centralized state power emerges in the follow-up period as a purge in decentralized infrastructure and outposts are rationalized in response to global goals regarding quality of education services. In effect, a nation state that is accountable to international constituency asserts power and influence of local institutional structures as implements globally defined norms in policy framing in higher education reform.

Global Liberalism and Provincial Limits on Minority Claims

Even as government prioritised higher education development following independence in 1963, fiscal constraint compromised expansion of public university infrastructure to all regions of the country from the beginning (UNESCO, 1962). The University of Nairobi (UoN) begun as the Royal Technical College (RTC), a constituent college of the University of East Africa and was only upgraded to university status in 1970, with recognition of Kenyatta Teachers College as a constituent college of the University of Nairobi in the same year (Republic of Kenya, 1971; Republic of Kenya, 2000). Minority ethnic groups contested the establishment of Kenyatta University College, with most feeling the Kikuyu ethnic leadership discriminated against other Kenyan tribes by concentrating all public university infrastructure in Central region (Central Intelligence Agency, 2007). Contributing to the motion on the establishment of Kenyatta University as a constituent college of the University of Nairobi, Member of Parliament Brown Tsuma (Western Province) said:

> We hear of constituent colleges; why can the minister not look at Kenyans as Kenyans not as a section of Kenya? We have many times said here that we want constituent colleges to that of the University of Nairobi so that we have one at Maseno for West Kenya; we have one in Mombasa for the Coast and then Kenyatta College for the other part, and probably one in the Eastern Province for the people there. Why do we have to be told that the only constituent college of Nairobi University should be Kenyatta College when we had said that we should have another one somewhere else…. (Republic of Kenya 1971, 211–212).

The assertive power of the neopatrimonial state authority was evident in the authoritative proclamation of Member of Parliament Taita Towett who then served as Minister for Education. Taita Towett retorted that:

> [H]is Excellency mentioned, in his speech, that we are going to establish Kenyatta College to become a constituent college of the University of Nairobi. Yes, the President said 'Formally establish Kenyatta College.' I would like to say that Kenyatta College is legally established, and [what] we all are going to do is to formally establish it (Republic of Kenya, 1971, 734).

The neo-patrimonial autocracy won the day with the upgrading of Kenyatta Teachers College to a constituent college of the University of Nairobi, located in Central Province on land formerly owned by then President Jomo Kenyatta. Not surprising, there was growing debate on rationalising investment in the education sector, with new thinking about application of *rate-of-return* to public resource allocation. The more important hurdle to the goal of expanding university infrastructure was that African economies had begun to face potential stagnation and decline from 1970 that was exacerbated by the global oil crises (O'Brien, 2000). Proponents of a state-led development strategy, in line with Keynesian economics model that accommodated redistributive economics envisioned a public resource allocation strategy that considered demand-driven, manpower-planning, and *rate-of-return* approaches to be complimentary rather than discrete alternatives (Webster, 1970).

The oil crises that set in motion economic decline into the 1980s ushered in a greater concern with efficient deployment of capital in advancing economic and a new focus on social rates-of-return to public resource allocation. This marked a global shift from Keynesian welfare-statist to neoliberal monetarism, with implications for public funding for higher education that would continue to inform policy investment choices into the 1990s (Omwami, 2012). The World Bank and IMF mandated fiscal austerity requiring the adoption of the Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs) from the mid-1980s limited governmental capacity to expand university infrastructure (Banya and Elu, 2001). As demand for university education in Kenya grew, expansion was only possible through the upgrading of existing non-university infrastructure. It is only possible through the upgrading of two of the existing premier non-university infrastructure that the Kenya government was able to establish three public universities by the end of 1980s. Moi University main campus established at Kesses township near Eldoret in 1984 was the only new facility to be built since independence, and the second public university chartered in Kenya.

It is important to note that the desire to align the national economy towards a science and technology orientation as a means to combat growing unemployment and in line with the International Labour Organization (ILO) was influential in the determination of the establishment of Moi University (Republic of Kenya, 1987). Eldoret remains the *de facto* capital of the former Rift Valley Province backyard of the second president of Kenya, Daniel arap Moi. The choice of Eldoret as the location for the new university campus and the naming of the new institution after the President should, therefore, be interpreted as a personal reward the autocratic regime makes to assert own authority with respect to public resource allocation. The sycophantic nature of the power relations amongst the political class was evident in the contribution on the debate for the Moi University Bill. For example, William Morogo arap Saina (Rift Valley) asserted that:

> … As a Member of Parliament for Eldoret North in Uasin Gishu District where the site of the new university is located, I must first of all, congratulate His Excellency the President and the Government for considering and establishing this second university at this time.... The University itself, Mr. Speaker, Sir, bears the name of the Head of State, the Hon. Daniel Toroitich arap Moi, and that is why it is called 'The Moi University' (Republic of Kenya, 1987).

The growth of university infrastructure was a measure of political expediency by the government of the day seeking legitimacy in response to growing demand for university education (Hughes and Mwiria, 1990). The strategy of annexing non-university infrastructure was a matter of political expediency by a government that was to make do with whatever resources it had under its control. The establishment of the third public university was possible through the upgrading of Kenyatta University College to become Kenyatta University in 1985. The establishment of Egerton University in 1988 was also possible through the upgrading of Egerton University College of the University of Nairobi to university status. The politics of regional and ethnic privileged claims in the distribution of university infrastructure had been part of the parliamentary discourse in the lead up to the authorization for the establishment of Moi University. Contributing to the motion debating the establishment of Moi University in 1984, Bethwel Mareka Gecaga (Central Province) stated that:

> … I have always thought myself that if time were ripe to establish a second university, it should be sited in the Rift Valley Province, or in the Western Province, or in the Coast Province. Now those of us who have some experience in university administration know that to start a university from scratch is an extremely expensive business. Is there not another alternative? There is, I suggest, an alternative, and that is Egerton College. Egerton College has ample land; it has [all] the infrastructure. I would suggest that while waiting to start a new university at Eldoret, let the Egerton College be upgraded to either a university college of the University of Nairobi- or a university in its own right ... (Republic of Kenya, 1984).

The continuing clamour for ethnic representation in the supply of university education infrastructure was evident in the follow-up debates seeking the establishment of other universities and campuses of the existing public universities. Voicing concern that other regions be considered in the spread of such infrastructure, Eliud Matu Wamae (Central Province) captured both the need for developing capacity to meet demand for university education as well in his 1985 statement that:

> Sir, having looked at the availability of opportunities in the university, I would like to advise the Minister that now that we have two universities in Nairobi, and Moi University in Eldoret, we should fairly soon have Egerton being elevated to university status. The second area to look at is Lake Victoria area, where a university should be established. We should look at Mount Kenya area, where we should have a 'Mountain University' and also at the Coast area, where we have a 'marine university' or 'coastal university'. These universities should be distributed in different parts of the country so that we have certain studies suitable to those areas being carried out (Republic of Kenya, 1985).

The predetermined sponsorship agency of the neopatrimonial state is also evident in the 1985 parliamentary contribution of Joseph Konzolo Munyao (Eastern Province) statement that, 'I am also happy because the other day His Excellency the President promised that Egerton College is going to become another agricultural university next year. So next year, Kenyans will be proud to count a minimum of five universities' (Republic of Kenya, 1985). The 1994 upgrading of Jomo Kenyatta College of Agriculture and Technology to Jomo Kenyatta University of Agriculture and Technology established the fifth public university. Contributing to the Bill seeking the establishment of the Jomo Kenyatta University of Agriculture and Technology, John Joseph Kamotho (Central Province) said, 'Jomo Kenyatta College of Agriculture and Technology has all the prerequisites, all the basic infrastructure required to upgrade it to a full-fledged university' (Republic of Kenya, 1994a).

The neopatrimonial state entered the twenty-first century with a strong centralized political and bureaucratic system. While expansion in university infrastructure can be attributable to a government seeking political legitimation in response growing demand for university education, the regional sites for the universities were certainly a product of competitive-clientelism environment (Abdulai and Hickey, 2016). Two public universities are located in the ethnic regions represented by occupants of the presidential office at the time of their establishment. The fifth university to be established also retained the name of the founding president and is located in Central Province. Both SAPs conditionalities and the 1990s neoliberalism advance limited the extent to which governments could draw on public resources to develop new university infrastructure. It is therefore not surprising that annexation of non-university post-secondary institutions was the only avenue for the realization of public university expansion.

Devolving Neo-patrimonial Authority in Public Resource Allocation

The ratification of the United Nations 2000 MDGs heralded a shift towards a more democratized political process and a fragmentation of the hierarchy of authority of the neopatrimonial state. In acknowledging minority rights protection and their right to equal participation in economic, political and social agenda, the government expanded freedoms for the broader participation of all citizens. While the 1990s multi-partyism era had expanded political participation, the perpetuation of marginalization of voices from the ethnic minority regions continued through the influence of the strong presidency, political patronage, and rent-seeking along with the dominance of the ethnic cleavages (Kwatemba, 2008). Previously supressed oppositional politics gained grounds as multiple parties begun to challenge the centralized government. Consolidation of the 15 political parties under the umbrella of the National Rainbow Coalition (NARC) subsequently ended the 39 years grip of the Kenya African National Union (KANU) in the historic 27th December 2002 election (Kadima and Owuor, 2006).

The dispersion of the authoritative influence of the presidency became more evident with the contest of the ‘Oranges’ and ‘Bananas’ constitution referendum campaign in 2005. Then President Mwai Kibaki backed the ‘Banana Yes Team’ that was pitted against Raila Odinga’s ‘Orange No Team’ in the battle over the adoption of a new constitution. In fracturing the hierarchy of authority, the governance reform resolving the contested 2007 election may be the final straw that broke the camel’s back in as far as diluting the authority of the presidency in the Kenyan autocratic state. The promulgation of the new constitution in 2010 furthered the fragmentation of the centralized authority by providing for the creation of county governments along ethnic and regional contours through the (Republic of Kenya, 2010a). It opened up space for claims from the margins and continued demand for the delivery of public university infrastructure from ethnic minority regions that had begun in the lead up to 2010. Contribution to the Minister of Education appropriation motion in 2005, members of parliament from minority ethnic groups called for establishment of university infrastructure in their regions. The members of parliament heard that (Republic of Kenya, 2005a):

> Kerrow (North Eastern Province): If they really want to avoid resentment we have seen in our people, they have to provide resources equally and demonstrate that by action… We also need to send our children to universities. Why do you talk of starting a university in Nyeri when a whole province like Coast and North Eastern do not even have institutions of higher learning?
>
> Khalwale (Western Province): Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, allow me to say something about Western College. We have been waiting for the last two years for it to become a fully-fledged university. I wish to request the technocrats here, and the Minister, to move with speed so that the university charter is enacted to enable the Western College to become a fully-fledged university.
>
> Balala (Coast Province): That instead of converting the Mombasa Polytechnic into a university that would offer only degree programmes… The Minister is aware that those of us who come from the Coast Province have been marginalised for some time and we do not have a university… The Minister could make a commitment; even today, but at least in the next financial year, to set aside money that will be used to create a fully-fledged university in the Coast Province.

The National Assembly tabled a parliamentary motion to establish a university in Mombasa in 1994. However, the high cost implication of expansion of public university infrastructure in an environment of austerity hindered the desire to establish a public university in the port city. The conflicting position regarding support for ethnic aspirations and the challenge of public finance of university education was evident the observation made that 'starting a university right from the scratch costs a lot of money' and that any further expansion would have to explore 'the need of upgrading certain colleges' (Republic of Kenya, 1994b). Further insight as to the challenge of public sector finance in expansion of university sector in the acknowledgement that 'taking over middle-level colleges does not solve the problem' even though the need to expand university infrastructure would require the government to consider available resources in thinking about upgrading existing facilities in ways that do not undermine non-university higher education (Republic of Kenya, 2005b).

Seeking to sustain legitimacy and allegiance amongst the periphery regions and minority ethnicities, President Mwai Kibaki responded to their demand for equal access to university infrastructure by upgrading non-university infrastructure. In a 2006 affirmation to the Western Province political constituency, Parliament debated and approved the establishment of Western University of Science and Technology and the renaming of the institution to Masinde Muliro University of Science and Technology (MMUST), to be operational from 2007 (Republic of Kenya, 2006a, b). Because the significant Luhya ethnic voting block was crucial in getting President Mwai Kibaki elected in 2002 and yet overwhelmingly voted against the 2005 constitution change referenda, the establishment of MMUST fits well within the dominant thinking regarding allocation of public resources under competitive clientelism.

Upgrading existing middle-level colleges to constituent college status presented a politically expedient solution in presidential proclamation and the official gazettement of status as the establishing of a public university infrastructure would have required an act of parliament (Republic of Kenya, 2007a). It is not surprising that President Mwai Kibaki would follow-up with the establishment of an additional six constituent colleges under legal notices by upgrading existing non-university institutions in 2007 (Republic of Kenya, 2007b). He rewarded his ancestral backyard of Nyeri by upgrading Kimathi Institute of Technology to become Kimathi University College of Technology as a constituent college of Jomo Kenyatta University of Agriculture and Technology in 2007 (Kenya National Assembly, 2007c). In 2007, President Mwai Kibaki acknowledged the clamour for university infrastructure by the Coastal region by upgraded The Mombasa Polytechnic to constituent college of the Jomo Kenyatta University of Agriculture and Technology and also upgrading The Kenya Polytechnic in Nairobi to become a constituent college of the University of Nairobi (Kenya National Assembly, 2007a, b).

The award of a second constituent university college with the upgrading of Kilifi Agricultural Training Institute to become Pwani University College in 2007 recognizes the growing influence of the Coastal region (Kenya National Assembly, 2007d). The upgrading of Chuka Polytechnic to become Chuka University College reflects the canvassing political elite from the Meru community, a minority ethnic group of the larger Gikuyu-Embu-Meru-Association (GEMA) Block, (Kenya National Assembly, 2007e). President Mwai Kibaki also rewarded the Kisii community, a minority ethnic group from the perennial opposition Luo dominated Nyanza region, with the upgrading of Kisii Campus of Egerton University to a constituent university college status (Kenya National Assembly, 2007f). The influence of the ethnic minorities in the politics of the autocratic state had been cemented by the end of the first decade of the new Millennium. Much of the infrastructure that were established were contingent to the authority of the presidency and lacked outright autonomy as they were mostly constituent colleges of the existing public universities.

Affirmative Redistribution of Public University Infrastructure

The 2010 promulgation of the new constitution gave more credence to the articulation of ethnic aspirations for public university development as the new layer of county government established under the devolution offered space for self-governance and a change from the often oppressive strong presidency of the autocratic state (Republic of Kenya, 2010b). The promulgation of the new constitution on the 26th August 2010 created a devolved government comprising of 47 counties in additional to the national government (Republic of Kenya, 2010f) and guaranteed a right to self-governance, protection and promotion of interests of minority and marginalized groups, including the guarantee of equitable sharing of national and local resources (Republic of Kenya, 2010a). However, it was inevitable that the neoliberal agenda of the World Bank would shape governmental response to ethnic minority claim to the delivery of public services. As a result, the government consideration of expansion of public university sector did not involve significant public resource outlay in infrastructure development. What emerged is a shift towards Mitigated-Keynesianism and an affirmative redistributive developmental state that accommodated expansion in public university infrastructure development.

Provision of university education opportunities was a priority area for the parliamentary representatives concerned about expanded access and affordability of university education. However, negative effect of annexation of non-university infrastructure and the continued offering of privately funded enrolment at public universities was also of concern to the legislature (Republic of Kenya, 2010g). Nevertheless, minority ethnic communities continued to call for consideration in the hosting of university infrastructure and other artefacts of modernization. Commenting in support of the community in Samburu East, David Njuguna noted that, ‘it is important that a university must also be established in that area so that it can also benefit the way other areas have benefited’ (Republic of Kenya, 2010h).

Addressing ethnic minority rights as provided for under the MDGs in an environment that is still dominated by a neoliberalism is an exercise in ideological contradictions. It is therefore not surprising that much of the expansion in university infrastructure in the post-2010 era was also driven by annexation and conversion through upgrading of existing post-secondary institutions. The development in resource allocation was mostly characterised by the upgrading of the existing university colleges to university status and a concurrent expansion in establishment of competing campuses of public universities across the regions.

Attention to minority claims devolved to clannism as minority claims begun to be articulated at the level of within ethnic group difference. What emerges is a flurry of the employ of the legal notices by President Mwai Kibaki in the award of the university infrastructure from 2010 to clans and ethnic communities in an effort at political legitimation of the national state apparatus. This could also be seen as a further strategic electioneering decision aimed at clan level fragmentation in periphery counties that would serve the interest of the central government. Some of the changes in the status of the institutional infrastructure were a superfluous gesture of appeasement in competitive politics. Such is the case of the upgrading of the Chepkoilel University Campus of the Moi University to become a university college of the same university through a legal notice within a week of the constitution referendum vote (Kenya National Assembly, 2010a). Similarly, Karatina Campus of the Moi University was upgraded to become a university college of the same university within 2 months of the promulgation of the constitution (Kenya National Assembly, 2010b). President Mwai Kibaki issued an additional nine legal notices (Kenya National Assembly 2011a, b, c, d, e, f, g, h, i) establishing the following university colleges in 2011: The Embu University College (University of Nairobi), The Rongo University College (Moi University), The Kirinyaga University College (The Jomo Kenyatta University of Agriculture and Technology), Kibabii University

College (Masinde Muliro University of Science and Technology), Garissa University College (Moi University), Murang'a University College (The Jomo Kenyatta University of Agriculture and Technology), Machakos University College (Kenyatta University), Taita Taveta University College (The Jomo Kenyatta University of Agriculture and Technology), and the Co-operative University College of Kenya (The Jomo Kenyatta University of Agriculture and Technology).

The Taita Taveta University College and the Co-operative University College of Kenya had previously been designated as campuses of the Jomo Kenyatta University of Agriculture and Technology. The other seven university colleges were similarly established through the annexation of existing non-university institutions (including Embu Agricultural Staff Training, Rongo- Moi Institute of Technology, Kirinyaga Technical Institute, Kibabii Teachers' Training College, Garissa Teachers Training College, Murang'a College of Technology, and Machakos Technical Training Institute). With the exception of the Co-operative University College situated in Nairobi, the new infrastructure was established in regions and districts that had not been host to a university infrastructure.

Reaffirming Quality Assurance in Public University

As early as February of 2012, Members of Parliament expressed concerned over exclusion of a large population of students who qualified for admission to public universities and the continued expansion of the privately funded (self-sponsored) programs in public universities. A motion was tabled to require that 75% of any cohort of students who qualified should be admitted to public universities in order to improve access and eliminate of social inequality (Republic of Kenya, 2012a, b). Contributing to the debate and in support of the motion, the views of members of parliament included:

> Peter Mwathi, Limuru (Constituency, Central Kenya): … we are supporting the millions of Kenyans who do not have money to pay for parallel programmes; and that most of them who are living from hand to mouth will, therefore, be able to access university education.
>
> James Maina Kamau (Kandara Constituency, Central Province): … 75 per cent is not asking for too much. We are talking about 2015 and not even 2011. I thank the Assistant Minister for the answer he has given. Again, I am not talking about everybody. I am talking about only those who qualify. You will notice that many students qualify but they cannot be admitted to universities. You will notice that the parallel programmes are giving our people a lot of problems. They are actually a preserve of the rich.

There were more direct calls by minority constituencies to have a university established in each and every county in order to educate people within the counties for long term economic growth. Other members of parliament still felt that university infrastructure be devolved to constituency level (Republic of Kenya, 2012c; Omwami, 2018), in effect advocating for clan rights within ethnicities to be recognized in the allocation of university education infrastructure beyond hosting affiliated campuses and colleges. A bill to establish an act of parliament streamlining the development of university education was introduced to Parliament in September of 2012 in a proposal that also handed over the responsibility for university infrastructure development to the Commission for University Education (CUE) and succeeding the Commission for Higher Education (CHE) that had been in place since 1985 (Republic of Kenya, 2012d; Commission for University Education, 2014a; Republic of Kenya, 2012e). The first order business for the new commission was the upgrading of Kimathi University College of Technology and its renaming to Dedan Kimathi University of Technology to university status in 2012 (Republic of Kenya, 2012f). A 2014 amendment of the universities act clarified the specific interest of counties by mandating the CUE to provide for the establishment of universities in counties where no such facilities existed as soon as it is ratified (Republic of Kenya, 2014).

The Commission having certified the accreditation, the Minister for Higher Education, Science and technology issued Charters to universities that came into existence from 2013. Subsequently, a total of 14 charters were awarded to new universities through upgrading of constituent colleges of various public universities. With the exception of the Technical University of Kenya, the Technical University of Mombasa, and the Multimedia University of Kenya, the other universities demonstrated a further fragmentation of ethnic entities to constituency level and the growing influence of ethnic minority politics in the new redistributive economic order. The county level claims in new university infrastructure included: Tharaka-Nithi (Chuka University), Meru (Meru University of Science and Technology), Kericho (University of Kabianga), Kilifi (Pwani University), Laikipia (Laikipia University), Siaya (Jaramogi Oginga Odinga University of Science and Technology), Narok (Maasai Mara University), Uasin Gishu (University of Eldoret), Karatina (Karatina University), Kitui (South Eastern Kenya University), and Kisii (Kisii University). Nine more public universities were accredited 2015 and 2017, including Kibabii University, Kirinyaga University, Machakos University, Murang'a University of Technology, Rongo University, Taita Taveta University, The Co-operative University of Kenya, University of Embu, and Garissa University (Commission for University Education, 2014b). Over the years, the number of universities continued to grow, partly driven by expansion in the public university sector growth in satellite campuses (Republic of Kenya, 2016).

While the central government was responsive to the minority ethnic demand for university infrastructure, it nevertheless retained control over both the funding structure and the adherence to programmatic concerns in higher education. The central government remains the primary source of funding for the institutions, with implications for both infrastructure quality and curricula delivery related capacity concerns. The central government also maintains control over regulation and quality assurance in the higher education sector, with ability to determine operational status of the institutions and their satellite campuses. In this regard, the authority of the state was enforced by the Commission for University Education (CUE) in the regulation of university education put in place from 2014 (Republic of Kenya, 2014).

The Commission for University Education reaffirmed its responsible to be the responsible regulator and custodian in the delivery of a sustainable university education that is aligned with the SDG goal of an inclusive and equitable quality education (Commission for University Education, 2018). One of the areas where the influence of the State has been evident is in the regulation of quality and standards in public university sector. No sooner had the new universities been established did they begin to open satellite campuses within and outside of their regions. The financial viability of the new universities was subject to free-market principles in the global neoliberal economy, requiring them to engage in entrepreneurial activities to generate revenue that would supplement the limited support from central government. The results were an obvious compromise in quality of education in pursuit of financial viability for the new public higher education environment. As early as 2007, there were questions raised regarding the quality of education offered at satellite campuses of the universities. Commenting on the parliamentary debate on university education, Dr. Mwiria (Assistant Minister for Education) would not that (Republic of Kenya, 2007c):

> It is true that there are questions about the extent to which you can be sure about the quality of those institutions. We hope that once the Senate has approved them, and it has done everything possible to see that the institutions have, at least, the minimum facilities to offer a particular course, they should ensure that those students do their final programmes with the university.

Some public universities were found to be in breach of governance principles regarding admission standards that guarantee quality in university education as they pursued revenue generation from fee paying students. This practice was to continue with new universities and university colleges establishing satellite campuses in order to make up for operational revenue shortfalls. In 2016, a total of seven university colleges were granted charters to operate as full-fledged universities (Republic of Kenya, 2016). The contravention of the admission standards was evident in the outcome of the quality audit of the university programs (Munene, 2016; Oduor, 2017). Adverse actions taken by the universities accreditation agency included closure of campuses that were found to be in violation of university accreditation standards. For example, the Commission closed 10 of the 13 satellite campuses of Kisii University in January of 2016, requiring the relocation of students to accredited campuses within 90 days of closure of impacted campuses (Wanzala, 2016).

Several other universities had their campuses closed for failure to comply with university accreditation standards established to align with and meet global norms for postsecondary education and those facing low enrolment (Republic of Kenya, 2019, 2020), even as the crisis of quality declined was occasioned by the central government decision not to adequately fund the public universities in their desire to deliver quality education (Kisii University, 2019). Further, revocation of degrees awarded has also been one of the measures taken to enforce program commitment to admission and degree standards across universities and their constituent campuses. Such was the case that saw the revocation of degrees awarded to graduate students at Kisii University, the suspension of graduate degrees awarded to students at Jomo Kenyatta University of Agriculture and Technology more recently, and the suspension of the all PhD programs at their respective satellite campuses on account of contravention of quality guarantee in curriculum dispensation (Wanzala, 2016; Kenya Citizen TV, 2019). What is evident is that the influence of the national government has become central in determining the status and future of the higher education sector. Greater control in national treasury funding for university sector and regulatory control over curriculum and standards will serve to align the sector with international global norms even as the funding allocation falls below the required baseline by (Commission for Higher Education, 2019).

Overview of Politics in Changing Ideological Space

This analysis sought to demonstrate a shift in economic ideology towards mitigated Keynesianism with an attendant weakening of the neopatrimonial autocracy in the post-2010 era in Kenya. While the new millennium ushered in a return to the ideals of the immediate post- World War II (WWII) redistributive era, persisting neoliberal economic practices hindered any significant investment in public sector infrastructure. It is not therefore surprising that expansion in university infrastructure was only realized through annexation of non-university infrastructure. While the World Bank and the IMF supported modernization in Africa following independence, the global economic crises of the 1970s led the global financial institutions to impose austerity throughout the 1980s. Governments were further mandated to divest from delivery of public services and focus instead in promoting private sector participation through the 1990s.

The spirit of shared growth and development coming out of the end of the WWII and decolonization allowed Kenya to expand her university infrastructure between 1970 and 2000. With the exception of the Moi University, all the expansion in university infrastructure was achieved through cannibalism of non-university infrastructure. Only one public university was established in the 1990s, with much of the expansion in this period happening in the private sector led by religious affiliated organizations. The adoption of the UN 2000 MDGs challenged the authority of the neopatrimonial autocracy with respect to control of state resources. The expanded democratization of the political process resulted in fragmentation of hierarchies of authority allowing for previously excluded minority ethnic regions to make claims on public resource allocation (see also Zajda & Majhanovich, 2021). The promulgation of the new constitution further weakened the strong state by providing for devolved governance systems. It is within the framing of the direct claim to equal representation and equal access to development resources that we see an exponential growth in public university infrastructure. However, expansion was only possible through an adaptation of Mitigated-Keynesianism as neoliberal forces beyond the boarders continued to bound government expenditure.

The presidency attempted to regulate the expansion of the university infrastructure through rewarding the dominant ethnic groups with upgrading of non-university infrastructure. This authority was superseded by the enactment of a Commission of University Education through parliament following the promulgation of the new constitution. Because the centre of authority shifted from the presidency to the counties and county governments, minority ethnic claims were fulfilled with the award of university charters to most of the institutions that held public university college status. The new emerging space for contest over public resource allocation is the constituencies that tend to mirror clan and sub-ethnic identities.

The Kenya national government has assumed the responsibility of ensuring quality education in the context of the SDGs. This is evident in the authority of the Commission for University Education (CUE) enforcement of quality assurance and standards that align university education with global norms even as the government seeks to foster inclusiveness. Much of the emerging influence of the nation state is captured in the CUE authority over structure and quality of education services and in the funding of the public university sector that remains largely dependent on the Treasury (Commission for University Education, 2019). Nevertheless, the focus on quality has not yielded significant gains in public sector resource allocation. The Mitigated-Keynesianism model of public finance has meant that public sector revenue source continues to fall below the optimal requirements for the institutional needs (Republic of Kenya, 2017). In spite of any such development, it is clear that access to public university infrastructure has expanded as a result of negotiated minority rights within expanded democratic spaces coming out of the MDGs and the implementation of the more inclusive declarations under the SDGs.

Conclusion

As demonstrated above, the debate regarding issues of inclusivity and marginalization of minority groups in Kenya has been ongoing since independence. However, the current analysis captures the reality of the post-2000 development delivery of public higher education infrastructure in the context of devolved governance, and subsequently followed by a shift towards centralization in the deployment of public resources. The analysis reveals the contradictions in actualization of the expansion of minority rights as the neo-patrimonial state functions to maintain global relevance and local responsiveness. The chapter contributes to the literature on the contemporary global concerns over the possibilities and limits governmental delivery of equality, diversity and inclusion education reform agenda.

References

Abdulai, A.-G., & Hickey, S. (2016). The politics of development under competitive Clientelism: Insights from Ghana's education sector. *African Affairs, 115*, 44–72.

Anderson-Levitt, K. M. (2003). A world culture of schooling? In K. M. Anderson-Levitt (Ed.), *Local meanings, global schooling: Anthropology and world culture theory*. Palgrave Macmillan.

Banya, K., & Elu, J. (2001). The World Bank and financing higher education in Sub-Saharan Africa. *Higher Education, 42*(1), 1–34.

Central Intelligence Agency. (2007). *Growing challenges to the Old Guard in Kenya, 27 August 1970 Memorandum*. CIA Office of National Estimates.

Clayton, T. (2004). Competing conceptions of globalization revisited: Relocating the tension between world and systems analysis and globalization analysis. *Comparative Education Review, 48*(3), 274–294.

Commission for University Education. (2014a). *Commission for University Education 2014–2018 strategic plan*. Commission for University Education.

Commission for University Education. (2014b). *Universities authorized to operate in Kenya, 2014*. Commission for University Education.

Commission for University Education. (2016). *Public advisory on campus and qualifications*. Commission for University Education.

Commission for University Education. (2018). *2017–2018 university statistics report – Approved Kenya university education*. Commission for University Education.

Commission for University Education. (2019). *University statistics (2017/2018)*. Commission for University Education.

Egerton, G. (1974). The Lloyd George government and the creation of the league of nations. *The American Historical Review, 79*(2), 419–444.

Geddes, B. (1999). What do we know about democratization after twenty years? *Annual Review of Political Science, 2*, 115–144.

Ghai, Y. P. (2012). State, ethnicity and economy in Africa. In H. Hino, J. Lonsdale, G. Ranis, & F. Stewart (Eds.), *Ethnic diversity and economic instability in Africa: Interdisciplinary perspectives* (pp. 129–168). Cambridge University Press.

Holland, D. (2010). Waves of educational model production: The case of higher education institutionalization in Malawi, 1964–2004. *Comparative Education Review, 54*(2), 199–222.

Hughes, R., & Mwiria, K. (1990). An essay on the implication of university expansion in Kenya. *Higher Education, 19*, 215–237.

Jayasuriya, K. (2015). Transforming the public university: Market citizenship and higher education regulatory projects. In M. Thornton (Ed.), *Through a glass darkly: The social sciences look at the neoliberal university* (pp. 89–102). ANU Press.

Johnson, A., & Hirt, J. (2011). Reshaping academic capitalism to meet development priorities: The case of public universities in Kenya. *Higher Education, 61*(4), 483–499.

Juris, J. S. (2008). Performing politics: Image, embodiment, and affective solidarity during anticorporate globalization protests. *Ethnography, 9*, 61–97.

Kadima, D., & Owuor, F. (2006). The national rainbow coalition: Achievements and challenges of building and sustaining a broad-based political party coalition in Kenya. In D. Kadima (Ed.), *The politics of party coalition in Africa* (pp. 179–221). Konrad Adenauer Foundation.

Kenya Citizen TV. (2019). *C.U.E. Suspends JKUAT PhDs, July 30, 2019*. Citizen TV.

Kenya National Assembly. (2007a). *Legal Notice No. 160, 27 August 2007: The Mombasa Polytechnic University College Order, 2007*. Kenya National Assembly.

Kenya National Assembly. (2007b). *Legal Notice No. 159, 27 August 2007: The Kenya Polytechnic University College Order, 2007*. Kenya National Assembly.

Kenya National Assembly. (2007c). *Legal Notice No. 162, 27 August 2007: Kimathi University College of Technology Order, 2007*. Kenya National Assembly.

Kenya National Assembly. (2007d). *Legal Notice No. 164, 27 August 2007: Pwani University College Order, 2007*. Kenya National Assembly.

Kenya National Assembly. (2007e). *Legal Notice No. 161, 27 August 2007: The Chuka University College Order, 2007*. Kenya National Assembly.

Kenya National Assembly. (2007f). *Legal Notice No. 163, 27 August 2007: Kisii University College Order, 2007*. Kenya National Assembly.

Kenya National Assembly. (2010a). *Legal Notice No. 125, 13 August 2010: The Chepkoilel University College Order, 2010*. Kenya National Assembly.

Kenya National Assembly. (2010b). *Legal Notice No. 163, 1 October 2010: Karatina University College Order, 2010*. Kenya National Assembly.

Kenya National Assembly. (2011a). *Legal Notice No. 65, 17 June 2011: Embu University College Order, 2011*. Kenya National Assembly.

Kenya National Assembly. (2011b). *Legal Notice No.70, 17 June 2011: Rongo University College Order, 2011*. Kenya National Assembly.
Kenya National Assembly. (2011c). *Legal Notice No. 108, 26 August 2011: Kirinyaga University College Order, 2011*. Kenya National Assembly.
Kenya National Assembly. (2011d). *Legal Notice No. 115, 9 September 2011: Kibabii University College Order, 2011*. Kenya National Assembly.
Kenya National Assembly. (2011e). *Legal Notice No. 116, 9 September 2011: Garissa University College Order, 2011*. Kenya National Assembly.
Kenya National Assembly. (2011f). *Legal Notice No. 129, 16th September, 2011: Muranga University College Order, 2011*. Kenya National Assembly.
Kenya National Assembly. (2011g). *Legal Notice No. 130, 16 September 2011: Machakos University College Order, 2011*. Kenya National Assembly.
Kenya National Assembly. (2011h). *Legal Notice No. 156, 18 October 2011: Taita Taveta University College Order, 2011*. Kenya National Assembly.
Kenya National Assembly. (2011i). *Legal Notice No.161, 4 November 2011: Co-operative University College Order, 2011*. Kenya National Assembly.
Kingsley, D. (1919). The proposed league of nations. *The Phi Beta Kappa Key, 3*(11), 509–522.
Kisii University. (2019). *Kisii University strategic plan: 2019–2024*. Kisii University.
Kwatemba, S. W. (2008). Ethnicity and political pluralism in Kenya. *Journal of African Elections, 7*, 77–112.
Lindberg, S. I., & Morrison, M. K. C. (2008). Are African voters really ethnic or Clientistic? Survey evidence from Ghana. *Political Science Quarterly, 123*, 95–122.
Lockheed, M. E. (1990). *Primary education: A World Bank policy paper*. The World Bank.
Marcus, R. R. (2010). Marc the Medici? The failure of a new form of neopatrimonial rule in Madagascar. *Political Science Quarterly, 125*, 111–131.
Munene, I. I. (2016). University branch campuses in Kenya. *International Higher Education, 86*, 22–23.
O'Brien, R., Goetz, A. M., Scholte, J. A., & Williams, M. (2000). *Contesting global governance: Multilateral economic institutions and global social movements*. Cambridge University Press.
Oduor, A. (2017). Admissions: How Universities Breach Rules to generate More Income. *The Standard Newspaper, February 25th, 2017*. Standard Media Newspaper.
O'Hara, S., & Biesecker, A. (2003). Globalization: Homogenization or newfound diversity? *Review of Social Economy, 61*(3), 281–294.
Omwami, E. M. (2012). Balancing crises and opportunities in higher education in Africa: A historical perspective. *Comparative and International Higher Education, 4*, 4–5.
Omwami, E. M. (2018). *Devolution and public university infrastructure development in Kenya: A post-2000 rights-based development agenda*. In J. Zajda (Ed.), *Globalisation and education reforms* (Globalisation, comparative education and policy research) (Vol. 19). Springer.
Palacio, A. (2006). The way forward: Human rights and the World Bank. *Development Outreach: Human Rights and Development, 8*(2), 35–37.
Pearce, J. (2000). Development, NGOs, and civil society: The debate and its future. In J. Pearce (Ed.), *Development, NGOs, and civil society* (pp. 15–43). Oxfam.
Penrose, P. (1998). *Cost-sharing in education- public finance, school and household perspectives* (Research Paper No. 27). Department for International Development (DfID).
Porta, D., Cini, L., & Guzmán-Concha, C. (2020). Higher education policies. In *Contesting higher education: The student movements against neoliberal universities* (pp. 65–96). Bristol University Press.
Republic of Kenya. (1971). *Kenya National Assembly Official Record (Hansard) Feb 23 – Apr 2, 1971*. Kenya National Assembly.
Republic of Kenya. (1984). *Kenya National Assembly Official Record (Hansard) 20 March – 24 May 1984*. Kenya National Assembly.
Republic of Kenya. (1985). *Kenya National Assembly Official Record (Hansard) 11 June – 3 October 1985*. Kenya National Assembly.

Republic of Kenya. (1987). *Kenya National Assembly Official Record (Hansard) 9 June- 30 July 1987*. Kenya National Assembly.
Republic of Kenya. (1994a). *Kenya National Assembly Official Record (Hansard) 1 November 1994*. Kenya National Assembly.
Republic of Kenya. (1994b). *Kenya National Assembly Official Record (Hansard) 16 November 1994*. Kenya National Assembly.
Republic of Kenya. (2000). *Kenya National Assembly Official Record (Hansard) 14 November 2000*. Kenya National Assembly.
Republic of Kenya. (2005a). *Kenya National Assembly Official Record (Hansard) 19 October 2005*. Kenya National Assembly.
Republic of Kenya. (2005b). *Kenya National Assembly Official Record (Hansard) 12 April 2005*. Kenya National Assembly.
Republic of Kenya. (2006a). *Kenya National Assembly Official Record (Hansard) 7 November 2006*. Kenya National Assembly.
Republic of Kenya. (2006b). *Kenya National Assembly Official Record (Hansard) 15 November 2006*. Kenya National Assembly.
Republic of Kenya. (2007a). *Kenya National Assembly Official Record (Hansard) 15 August 2007*. Kenya National Assembly.
Republic of Kenya. (2007b). *The Kenya Gazette Vol. CIX-No. 60 Nairobi, 31 August 2007*. The Government Printer.
Republic of Kenya. (2007c). *Kenya National Assembly Official Record (Hansard) 28 June 2007*. Kenya National Assembly.
Republic of Kenya. (2010a). *The constitution of Kenya, 2010*. National Council for Law Reporting.
Republic of Kenya. (2010b). *Kenya National Assembly Official Record (Hansard) 23 February 2010*. Kenya National Assembly.
Republic of Kenya. (2010f). *Legal Notice 133/2010: The New Constitution of Kenya Promulgation*. Kenya National Assembly.
Republic of Kenya. (2010g). *Kenya National Assembly Official Record (Hansard) 9 March 2010*. Kenya National Assembly.
Republic of Kenya. (2010h). *Kenya National Assembly Official Record (Hansard) 18 August 2010*. Kenya National Assembly.
Republic of Kenya. (2012a). *Kenya National Assembly Official Record (Hansard) 15 February 2012*. Kenya National Assembly.
Republic of Kenya. (2012b). *Kenya National Assembly Official Record (Hansard) 21 February 2012*. Kenya National Assembly.
Republic of Kenya. (2012c). *Kenya National Assembly Official Record (Hansard) 29 February 2012*. Kenya National Assembly.
Republic of Kenya. (2012d). *The University Act, 2012: Kenya Gazette Supplement No. 121 (Bills No. 55), 24 September 2012*. The Government Printer.
Republic of Kenya. (2012e). *The University Act, 2012: Kenya Gazette Supplement No. 192 (Acts No. 42), 13 December 2012*. The Government Printer.
Republic of Kenya. (2012f). *Legal Notice No. 33 – The Public Finance Management Act (No. 18 of 2012): Kenya Gazette Supplement No. 31, 20th March 2015 (Legislative Supplement No. 16)*. The Government Printer.
Republic of Kenya. (2014). *The Universities Regulations, 2014, Kenya gazette Supplement No. 86 (Legislative Supplement No. 31), Legal Notice No. 76, 12 June 2014*. The Government Printer.
Republic of Kenya. (2016). *Economic survey*. Kenya National Bureau of Statistics.
Republic of Kenya. (2017). *Education sector report: Medium term expenditure framework 2020/21–2022/23*. National Treasury and Planning.
Republic of Kenya. (2019). *Economic survey*. Kenya National Bureau of Statistics.
Republic of Kenya. (2020). *Economic survey*. Kenya National Bureau of Statistics.
Ridgley, G. (1997). The covenant of the league of nations. *The British Library Journal, 23*(1), 41–46.

Shah, S. (2015). Free and fair? Citizens' assessment of the 2013 general election in Kenya. *Review of Political Economy, 42*(143), 44–61.

UNESCO. (2015). *Education 2030. Incheon declaration and framework for action*. UNESCO.

United Nations. (2000). *Millennium development goals resolution adopted by the general assembly – A/RES/55/2*. United Nations.

United Nations. (2015). *Transforming our world: The 2030 agenda for sustainable development (A/RES/70/1)*. United Nations.

Välimaa, J. (2004). Nationalisation, localisation and globalisation in Finnish Higher Education. *Higher Education, 48*(1), 27–54.

Wanzala, O. (2016, January 19). Why CUE has ordered closure of 10 Kisii University Campuses. *Nation Newspaper*. Nation Media.

Webster, M. M. (1970). *Three approaches to educational planning: A review and appraisal of the demand-for-places, manpower-requirements, and rate-of-return approaches to educational planning*. Syracuse University, Center for Development Education.

Wilkinson, R. (2000). The contours of courtship: The WTO and civil society. In R. Wilkinson & S. Hughes (Eds.), *Global governance: Critical perspectives* (pp. 193–200). Routledge.

World Bank. (1994). *Higher education: The lessons of experience*. The World Bank.

World Bank. (1995). *World development report 1995: Workers in an integrating world*. Oxford University Press.

World Bank. (1998). *Development and human rights: The role of the World Bank*. The World Bank.

Young, C. (2004). The end of the post-colonial state in Africa? Reflections on changing African political dynamics. *African Affairs, 103*, 23–49.

Zajda, J. (Ed.). (2020a). *Human rights education globally*. Springer.

Zajda, J. (Ed.). (2020b). *Globalisation, ideology and education reforms: Emerging paradigms*. Springer.

Zajda, J. (Ed.). (2020c). *Globalisation, ideology and neo-liberal higher education reform*. Springer.

Zajda, J. (Ed.). (2021). *3rd international handbook of globalisation, education and policy research*. Springer.

Zajda, J., & Majhanovich, S. (Eds.). (2021). *Globalisation, cultural identity and nation-building: The changing paradigms*. Springer.

Chapter 6
Globalization and Internationalization of Higher Education Reform in Japan: Pre and Post Covid-19

Aki Yamada

Abstract This chapter examines how Japanese higher education has dealt with the Covid-19 pandemic and how students were affected. Japan has long sought to increase the internationalization of its higher education programs, prioritizing both sending and receiving internationally mobile students. The chapter also offers a review of current education trends in globalization and internationalization pre- and post-pandemic.

Keywords Covid-19 pandemic · Global economy · Globalization · Higher education programs internationalization · Internationally mobile students · Japan · Japanese higher education · Global economy

Globalization and Internationalization of Higher Education Reform in Japan: Introduction

The COVID-19 pandemic and the global response have dramatically impacted our daily lives, including important sectors such as higher education. It has exposed just how far globalization reaches and how we have come to rely upon global networks of trade and travel and take them for granted. Traditional social norms and higher education will be greatly impacted in the short term, with specific policy changes still being figured out and long-term impacts not yet known. Under these circumstances, institutions must investigate how to motivate both faculty and students and preserve the quality of education. Education systems are in crisis, adapting to new restrictions and changes in teaching due to the pandemic. In August 2020, the United Nations reported:

The original version of this chapter was revised: This chapter was inadvertently published with incorrect author's name "Gülşah, T." instead of "Taşçı, G." in the reference which has been updated now. The correction to this chapter is available at https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-83136-3_14

A. Yamada (✉)
Tamagawa University, Machida, Tokyo, Japan
e-mail: akiyamada124@lba.tamagawa.ac.jp

J. Zajda, W. J. Jacob (eds.), *Discourses of Globalisation and Higher Education Reforms*, Globalisation, Comparative Education and Policy Research 27,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-83136-3_6

> The COVID-19 pandemic has created the largest disruption of education systems in history, affecting nearly 1.6 billion learners in more than 190 countries and all continents. Closures of schools and other learning spaces have impacted 94 per cent of the world's student population, up to 99 per cent in low and lower-middle income countries (United Nations, 2020, p.2).

According to the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO, 2021), worldwide school closures peaked towards the beginning of the global pandemic in March and April 2020, affecting 1.4 billion students. However, even in April 2021, a full year later, 147 million students face school closures, and 750 million are still dealing with partial closures of some form. It is impossible to predict when the COVID-19 pandemic will end or how long each country's higher education systems will operate under new and unprecedented policy changes.

In response to rapid globalization, internationalization efforts have become highly important to national interests, and in turn, within the higher education sectors of many countries. Before the Covid-19 pandemic era, there were many components to the internationalization of higher education, including study abroad and exchange programs, the formation of education hubs and international branch campuses, and international research collaborations. Through international study abroad and conferences, students were able to gain international and intercultural experiences from actual interactions with people of diverse backgrounds. Most previous internationalization efforts relied upon the regular access of international migrations and universities providing international programs where students and faculty could interact face to face and gain firsthand experiences. However, with Covid-19, these previously fundamental aspects of internationalization have new barriers, and we must now confront a paradigm shift in the notion of internationalization within higher education. As the world has faced the Covid-19 pandemic era, university and national travel restrictions and bans have made it no longer possible or attractive for many students to study abroad. While higher education has been reforming to deal with the teaching of global competencies and international mindsets, now students are largely unable to do so through firsthand experiences. The pandemic presents a challenge to reconsider how education policies should respond to internationalization, provide quality international education that develops successful graduates while providing an atmosphere that fosters student engagement and satisfaction.

The effects of Covid-19 on higher education have become a critical topic for educational researchers all over the world seeking to draw conclusions from the dramatic and rapid response strategies we have seen. Many countries in East Asia have heavily invested in internationalization efforts at the higher education level. Countries like Malaysia, Singapore, and Hong Kong positioned themselves as regional education hubs, more affordable and accommodating local alternatives to studying in prestigious Western institutions. Unlike the United States, United Kingdom, Australia, and Canada, these Asian countries do not have mass Western appeal but still wish to attract Western students and faculty for internationalization purposes and attract talented individuals. We need to consider how such universities can mitigate or respond to the setbacks Covid-19 has caused to their efforts.

This research will examine how Japanese higher education has dealt with the Covid-19 pandemic and how students were affected. Japan has long sought to increase the internationalization of its higher education programs, prioritizing both sending and receiving internationally mobile students. For example, the Institute of International Education (IIE, 2020a) reports that Japan's inbound students had grown from 137,756 in 2013 to 228,403 in 2020, and outbound students doubled from 53,991 in 2013 to 115,146 in 2020. However, these internationalization gains are greatly threatened by the effects of the pandemic, creating a need to evaluate the state of higher education, internationalization efforts specifically, and possible responses. A review of current education trends in globalization and internationalization pre- and post-pandemic will provide context to these issues. While considering the Covid-19 pandemic and the pre- and post-pandemic trends within the internationalization on higher education, this chapter will investigate the following questions:

- In a knowledge-based society, where technology plays an essential and influential role, how much is the Covid-19 pandemic affecting education?
- How were internationalization efforts impacted in Japan during the pandemic?
- What is the future impact of Covid-19 on internationalization in Japanese higher education?

Internationalization of Higher Education

Knight (1994) provides a commonly accepted definition of internationalization in academia as:

> …the process of integrating an international dimension into the teaching/learning, research and service functions of a university or college. An international dimension means a perspective, activity or service which introduces or integrates an international/intercultural/global outlook into the major functions of an institution of higher education (p. 3).

Internationalization efforts go back to the roots of higher education, having emerged in twelfth century Europe based on an "exchange paradigm," where internationalization of higher education allowed knowledge and ideas to be freely shared amongst European countries for the mutual benefits of all parties (Altbach & Teichler, 2001). Within the internationalization in higher education, mutual exchange of knowledge of different cultures and exchange and appreciation of a foreign country's arts, history, and language were common beneficial outcomes. The rapid globalization of recent decades established global trade networks and a knowledge-based economy that led to significant human capital mobility in workers, educators, researchers, and students. More recently, universities have increasingly operated with market-driven intentions, attracting international students charged with increased tuitions, increasing prestige by recruiting top international talent, and working toward quantitative internationalization metrics that may increase their standings in world rankings. This trend includes institutions developing Massive Online Open Courses

(MOOCS), education hubs, and mutual exchange programs (Altbach & Engberg, 2014). In our modern globalized era, liberal education values have developed a desire to engage students in new global settings, exposing students to different cultures and lifestyles. Additionally, in the international knowledge-based society, such experiences are valued because national borders do not constrain the value of individuals, and students have relatively high degrees of mobility.

According to the UNESCO Institute for Statistics (2021), the globalization of higher education has steadily increased over time. Whereas in 2000, there were two million international students worldwide, that number has more than doubled to 5.5 million in 2020. The US National Science Board (2020) reports that international students account for 6% of total global enrollments in higher education but more significantly account for 26% of doctoral enrollments. With the modern commodification of education, degrees from prestigious foreign universities and the potential for pathways from higher education to job opportunities abroad serve as another powerful motivator. Simultaneously, the massification of higher education in newly developed countries provided students a path to better opportunities abroad. Increased educational opportunities led to a global "brain drain" phenomenon where countries' top talents are pulled to international opportunities in education and later the workplace. Some students are motivated by the potential for emigration and more lucrative job and lifestyle opportunities to be found abroad, while others can find field-specific expertise and knowledge that is not available in their homeland institutions. For example, IIE (2020b) evidence in the 2019/2020 academic year, the top senders of international students into the US included China 372,532 (34%), India 193,124 (18%), and South Korea 49,809 (4.6%). This brain drain of newly developing countries' talent has been an ongoing concern. For instance, Cao's (2008) analysis of the Chinese brain drain showed the return rate was as dismal as 49% for 10,742 Chinese students studying abroad in 1993. To counteract the brain drain from the global south to the north, responses like government-sponsored scholarships have also become a way to encourage students to learn abroad and then bring their knowledge and skills back to work for the public good in their homelands (Altbach & Engberg, 2014).

Educational Responses to Covid-19

When we consider the environment, we are surrounded by daily, technology plays a significant role and influences our lifestyles, work, education, and beyond. Even though higher education students and faculty may not currently be able to have first-hand international experiences, they are still globally connected through global media, communication, and economic networks. The problems of the pandemic provide a point to reflect on education methods and whether remote and digital education can potentially work with or reform the norms of education and internationalization. Considering these factors, society, especially the educational sector needed to quickly figure out solutions to at least maintain comparable levels of quality assurance during Covid-19, and connect students despite the need for social distance, quarantining, and travel limitations. In response, schools at all levels of education have turned to e-learning, using digital platforms to conduct instruction via the internet. This shift in education has produced mixed results, where younger students may suffer from a lack of structure and discipline traditionally provided by in-person instruction, but secondary and tertiary students were better suited to these methods. Even before the pandemic, eLearning studies like that of James et al. (2016) have shown it can be just as effective as traditional education and may offer additional benefits to student retention when mixed with limited in-person learning.

Globally, we are now witnessing the ongoing results of various forms of online education, and by focusing on these experiences, we can find ways to improve these new education methods. As societies increasingly become dependent on technology, issues related to inequality arise, as only those with easier access to technology will be able to cope and adapt. Advocates of remote and virtual learning see them as a potential boon for students in a world where Information and Communication Technology (ICT) skills and proficiency are increasingly necessary throughout most fields of study and work (Punie & Ala-Mutka, 2007). To encourage such proficiencies and leverage the portability and efficiency of digital platforms, many institutions have sought to integrate ICT use in their programs across the world. However, it is understood that ICT-based learning environments effectively further marginalize disadvantaged groups lacking home computers and internet access. Due to the alarming nature of the Covid-19 pandemic and lack of alternatives, such measures were put in place despite these concerns. One overwhelming similarity that global higher education faced is the dependency on technology, online, and distance learning. Taşçı (2021) pointed out that developed countries with established technological infrastructure can adapt and educate more students through online and distance learning; however, this generates increased inequality for those countries that do not meet those criteria.

While the Covid-19 pandemic is still underway, it is hard to speculate how damaging it will be for international student mobility worldwide. Baer & Martel (2020) report that in the Fall of 2020, there was a 16% decrease in total international students in US higher education. New enrollments are further impacted with a 43% drop, as most of those students were not physically in the United States at the onset of Covid-19, and many chose to defer enrollments. Additionally, with the move to remote learning, they found that 80% of enrollments were studying in the US, as opposed to 99% in Fall 2019. When looking specifically at new international student enrollments, the number of students choosing to be present in the United States dropped by 72%. Government-enforced travel restrictions and airline industry limitations made it impossible for some students to get home or return to the US. Clearly, the pandemic has made it extremely challenging for international students to study abroad. As we are seeing the expectations and norms of global student mobility upended, this could create lasting effects on the pre-existing standards of international studies.

While contrasting the difference of internationalization effects on higher education and students before and during Covid-19, we must think about what comes next. After the Covid-19 pandemic, many students were forced to cancel or postpone their studies abroad, with unclear prospects on when they might resume. A significant challenge is to see if it is possible to develop global competencies with new travel limitations. Even as various countries are lifting their states of emergency, it is still tricky to resume exchange programs, and higher education systems are still trying to adjust their responses to the pandemic. However, despite this ongoing situation, online teaching and communication are functioning, and these are essential elements that are keeping the higher education moving. As in-person first-hand experiences are challenging and risk-prone, we should seriously consider whether we can adopt alternate methods to educate for global competencies while maintaining the values associated with internationalization.

Demand for Global Competencies

Most students in higher education only gain expertise in one dominant academic subject chosen as their major field of study. However, it is still valuable to evaluate and solve problems from many dimensions by having the opportunity to discuss matters with collaborators from different fields, cultures, and countries while utilizing varied methodologies and languages. Moreover, with the shift towards a knowledge-based society, highly educated and skilled individuals who can dynamically work in a variety of situations are highly sought as human resources. Furthermore, with contemporary globalization, liberal education policies seek to install global competencies that will allow students to work and compete at the international level. This viewpoint is not only limited to foreign studies or language fields. Downey et al. (2006) posits that engineer can also gain non-technical benefits from understanding problem solving from multiple viewpoints and gain greater leadership and collaboration potential. With this trend in mind, education institutions are increasingly trying to prepare students with more than expertise in a single area of study and further to prepare them to apply their skills in practical problem-solving settings.

Today we are technologically connected and less subject to geographical distance as a barrier to travel and communication than ever before. Advances in transportation and telecommunication allow us to gain access to information and goods from around the world with ease. Modern interests, problems, and research now often span multiple countries and regions, so liberal higher education policies have advocated preparing students with global competencies: the knowledge and skills to work applicable to this globalized context. Reimers (2009) states this as, “Schools and universities around the world are not adequately preparing ordinary citizens to understand the nature of global challenges, such as terrorism, climate change, human-environment interactions, world trade, demographic change, and global conflict.” We should consider that we are constantly exposed to concepts and ideas connected to global issues, even at the local level. From this perspective, students should be mindful of such pervasive effects of globalization and understand modern global challenges.

Globally competent students should be able to understand multicultural values and view problems from multiple perspectives. To paraphrase Reimers (2009, p. 23), three points of global competencies are:

1. Being able to embrace cultural differences and possess an international understanding to contextualize those differences.
2. Develop the ability to speak, understand, and think in foreign languages.
3. Gain deep knowledge and understanding of world history, geography, and processes of globalization, and the ability to think critically and creatively about complex global issues.

The Covid-19 pandemic itself provides perhaps the most relevant examples of how global issues affect our everyday lives. The pandemic's widespread areas of effect included immigration, education, international trade and supply chains, nationalism, and racism, to name a few. This situation highlights how global understanding is advantageous from a societal perspective. For example, Gover et al. (2020) document the rise in nationalism, xenophobia, and wide-ranging anti-Asian hate within the United States in response to Covid-19. Rhetoric from former US President Trump and other White House staffers frequently referred to Covid-19 as the "China Virus," "Wuhan Virus," and "Kung Flu," inciting fears and anger from the highest institutional levels. Amidst this crisis, educators should be considering how global understanding can help foster productive attitudes and responses to global problems. Educating students for global competencies can help us produce global citizens and reduce discrimination and hate crimes towards specific regions, ethnicities, and cultural heritage backgrounds. Frequently we overlook global connections to local issues because they are abstract and require deeper investigation and insight. However, the pandemic illustrates that there is a growing need to enhance cultural literacy and global awareness.

Before Covid-19, students primarily obtained the skills associated with global competencies through in-person interactions: learning foreign languages, studying abroad, or meeting international students and faculty within one's homeland. Learning a new language, learning to communicate and work with different types of people, and learning about a new culture or geographic area are intrinsically tied to firsthand experiences. Of course, it is possible to learn such things simply by reading texts or the experiences of others, but there is much to be said about the lack of authenticity and engagement lost through conceptual learning. As a result, global competencies often relate to experience-based learning. Three key benefits of international experience-based learning include:

1. Students gain knowledge and a deeper understanding of the humanistic aspects of culture and history and new world awareness and perspectives.
2. Firsthand experiences aid students in considering issues affecting people in objective and critical manners.
3. Opportunities to develop relationships and the ability to communicate and collaborate with people of diverse cultural and educational backgrounds.

Experiential education, inquiry learning, project-based learning, and intercultural knowledge and skills are indispensable to connect interdisciplinary knowledge to the real world. Study abroad programs and working in internationalized settings are also conducive to these three processes. First, these needs can be satisfied by gaining international knowledge such as foreign language ability or participating in cultural studies in one's homeland. Secondly, students can deepen these experiences firsthand by studying abroad, feeling, interacting, and developing new perspectives and abilities from their experiences. Studies like Kurt et al. (2013) evidence that short-term study abroad does significantly increase global awareness, while Murphy et al. (2014) further evidence long-term positive impacts upon global engagement.

Internationalization Within Japanese Higher Education

More specifically, from the Japanese context, global competencies are viewed as "next-generation" skills that prepare students for the evolving modern workforce. Japanese education is looking at the types of skills that students should obtain to develop well-rounded skill sets in writing, reading, speaking, intercultural and English competency, research and problem-solving abilities, and civic engagement. In the current knowledge-based society era, we expect that citizens' education contributes to society, and by being well educated; hopefully, they have the tools to play a role in innovation, entrepreneurship, social change. Such skills are not limited to understanding foreign languages, but to communicate and collaborate with people of diverse backgrounds and approach knowledge from multiple or wider global perspectives. A key point of Japan's Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science, and Technology (MEXT) policies is that students can operate and lead in international environments. This point entails strong communication skills, leadership, and being able to collaborate with people from diverse backgrounds. Such backgrounds are not limited to culture or nationality but include different fields of study and ways of thinking. By gaining hands-on experience such as studying abroad and organization-based activities, students can develop research, analysis, and problem-solving skills and promote independent learning.

Japanese higher education has long been experimenting with producing "global human resources" through its educational institutions. Mendenhall et al. (2009) point out that in the business sector, Japanese companies have been successful in establishing an international presence through branch offices and distribution. Still, the development of leaders able to operate at the global level has lagged. They point out that the global competencies needed for successful management abroad are hard to develop on-demand while temporarily abroad. Thus, there would be more successful internationalization at home and overseas if education systems could develop these skills much earlier. Up until the COVID-19 pandemic, globalization of economies and the education sector had been on a largely consistently increasing trend for decades, and Japan's education reform largely focused on this shift. Within the last two decades, MEXT has recognized and prioritized the strong need for enhanced internationalization and international presence of Japanese graduates on the world stage post-graduation (MEXT, 2011). Furthermore, these efforts sought to supplement Japan's dwindling workforce by recruiting talented foreigners via academic networks. This international viewpoint was also based upon the emergence of the global knowledge-based society era.

In discussing Japan's efforts to increase internationalization through incoming international students, we must note that it has many disadvantages. In 2020 the top destinations for international students in higher education were largely English-speaking countries. According to IIE (2020c), the United States hosted 1,075,496 students (20% of international students worldwide), United Kingdom 551,495 (10%), Canada 503,270 (9%), China (9%), Australia 463,643 (8%). Japan ranked 9th with 228,403 students, totaling 4% of all international enrollments. The United States and United Kingdom possess a strong advantage for enrollments due to several factors, including their long-established prestigious universities, well-developed economies that could offer future employment opportunities, and their native language being the modern lingua franca of international education, research, and business. English is the most spoken language globally, followed closely by Mandarin, so the major hurdle of language acquisition is removed significantly reduced for international transfers between English-speaking countries. At the same time, due to globalization, countries like Japan must emphasize efforts to enroll international students, increase the quantity and quality of foreign language speaking skills, and consider English instruction for incoming and outgoing students. Given the prioritization of English language ability, one might assume a significant number of students are recruited or attracted from English-speaking countries, but this is not the case in Japan. According to Japan's Student Services Organization (JASSO, 2020), in 2019, 93.6 of Japan's recorded 312,214 inbound international students came from Asia, top sending countries including China, Vietnam, Nepal, and the Republic of Korea. However, looking at Japan's 2018 115,146 outbound students, only 39.4% of Japanese students study abroad in Asia, 26% in North America, and 20.9% in Europe. Despite the massive percentage of inbound students from Asia, internationalization efforts to attract talent and develop global competencies focus on the relationships between key Western countries. Such policies reflect the importance of English language ability from the perspective of Japanese governance.

Globally, universities have prioritized competition in worldwide university rankings, and Japan sought to upgrade select prestigious universities to become competitive among the world's top 100 rankings. A large part of this effort targets internationalization as a means to raise university standings. Yoshida (2016) points out that the linkage between world-rankings and campus internationalization is slightly tenuous from a policy perspective. However, in Japan the two matters have become linked through the view that lack of internationalization has held a role in Japan's decline in global competitiveness. Dating back to 2009, MEXT initiated the "Global 30" project, which symbolized the government's determination to deal with globalization and student mobility. In this program, 13 core Japanese higher education institutions sought to increase incoming and outgoing international students, create English instruction programs to attract students from abroad, and establish global university networks. In 2014 the Global 30 program ended and was replaced by the "Top Global University Project," which is projected to continue till 2023. Under this program, 13 top-tier "Type A" universities were selected to boost their international ranking to the top 100 in the world. 24 "Type B" universities were chosen to promote increased innovation towards the internationalization of Japanese society. Notably, all institutions among the A and B tracks all adhere to program goals, 10 of 16 goals dealing specifically with internationalization, ranging from recruitment of international students and faculty, sending more students abroad, enrollment, instruction, and training in foreign languages, and other measures to lowering barriers to incoming and outgoing study abroad programs (MEXT, 2017a). Quantifiable measures included having 300,000 international students studying in Japan by 2020 and having its 10 Type-A universities in the top 100 world rankings by 2023.

Other notable internationalization projects include the Inter-University Exchange Program (Re-Inventing Japan Project," established in 2012 to set up university exchange programs with quality assured programs and credit transfers among Chinese, Korean, and ASEAN universities. This program was designed to help promote the Japanese language, culture, and multicultural understanding among exchange students. At an institutional level, this policy helps strengthen the Japanese global profile within the education sector and facilitate meaningful international exchange with established means for maintaining quality assurance (MEXT, 2017b). Another funding program, the "Project for Promotion of Global Human Resource Development," was started in 2012 and later was renamed the "Go Global Japan Project." This project also focused on internationalization, seeking to prepare students to work and lead in international affairs and counteract the "inward-looking" attitudes of young Japanese, who were perceived to be content to remain insulted from foreign affairs. This program, which ended in 2016, primarily sought to increase the number of Japanese students going abroad and their capabilities to act globally by improving English language and communication skills, measured through standardized tests like the TOEFL and TOEIC tests. Before Covid-19, these projects and programs exemplified the reform towards significantly internationalized universities in Japan, but these previous efforts cannot function as before in the current pandemic.

Internationalization Efforts After COVID-19

Covid-19 greatly impacted Japanese higher education as a whole. MEXT (2020a, p.17) notes that 86% of universities postponed Spring 2020 classes. Furthermore, only 16.2% of universities continued with full in-person instruction, 60.1% doing blended in-person and remote learning, and 23.8% doing full remote learning. Universities surveyed in Fall, 2020 reported 80.1% planning for hybrid instruction and 19.3% moving to face-to-face instruction (MEXT, 2020b). This rapid shift toward remote learning was a critical response to the pandemic, and MEXT (2020a) allocated 93 million USD towards these efforts. However, the pandemic also significantly affected incoming international students. Due to strict restrictions banning most international travel to Japan, universities accepted almost no new international students for immediate studies. Unlike many countries, Japan's strict travel bans for most incoming foreigners were still in place as of June 2021. As a result, incoming international students have had to postpone the start of their studies, risk losing scholarships, or rely entirely on remote attendance from their home countries. For outgoing residents, international study is still possible because they can return to Japan as needed, but they are still subject to restrictions that may be in place by their host countries and education institutions.

Japanese higher education internationalization efforts have placed significant emphasis on incoming and outgoing study abroad numbers. However, it is still unclear if programs based on international movement and in-person interactions will realistically work in the same face-to-face manner in the coming years. Therefore, it is most natural that we would at least temporarily seek a new model of international education as a solution to adapt to the COVID-19 pandemic era and possibly continue beyond if feasible.

Gathering Information from Students(Methodology)

Before Covid-19, most students in Japan were able to travel freely locally, transnationally, and globally, but after the Covid-19, it became nearly impossible to travel abroad. Likewise, global competency skills could be developed by taking courses related to internationalization, diversity, but fundamentally, the process of obtaining such skills was assumed to be intrinsically tied to the possibility of traveling internationally. By looking at the comparative data on how students view global competencies, what they think about internationalization, and what skills they were able to develop before and after Covid-19, we can see how student identities have changed during the pandemic timeframe. Specific skills such as intercultural understanding, global awareness, and critical thinking applied to international topics are challenging to obtain through studying in traditional Japanese universities lacking a significantly internationalized atmosphere. As Japanese higher education has been struggling with internationalization for some time and remains a largely insular society compared to other countries, it makes sense to consider it on its own here.

In 2020, I participated in a research project funded by the JSPS (Japan Society for the Promotion of Science) that conducted surveys to assess how university students obtain skills under the umbrella of modern global competencies. Our team conducted an international comparative study across university undergraduate and graduate students studying in four countries, the United States, South Korea, Taiwan, and Japan, to ask what kind of global competencies and educational experiences students acquired through education before and after Covid-19. The purpose of the survey was to shed light on the views on global competencies from the students' perspectives rather than institutional supply and demand. Thus, we designed the questionnaire to gather background information on general student experiences as well as international and interdisciplinary knowledge and skills. In Japan, we conducted this survey between September and November 2020, with 1030 students responding from Japan, 2683 undergraduate students, and 613 graduate students in total from all countries. Though this survey had participants from several countries for comparative analysis, this paper only focuses on examining the Japanese student data. Appendix Fig. 6.A1 provides the statement of purpose for this research, described in greater detail.

Survey Analysis

Survey responses were gauged on a 1–4 scale for the frequency of various activities or agreement with statements. On this scale, 1 is equivalent to "Not at all," and 4 being "Very much" or "Strongly Agree," depending on the context of an item. Fig. 6.1 and Appendix Tables 6.A1 and 6.A2 show the survey questionnaire results. The survey results sought to reveal what kinds of global competencies students developed and how those learnings occurred, whether from university or graduate school experience, through courses, daily life, field experiences, or studying abroad. Table 6.A1 shows the frequency of various activities before Covid-19 to try to gauge how they fit into the overall scheme of students' education programs. It is not surprising that scores indicate relatively few students tutored international students (1.34), attended a conference abroad (1.3), or worked on projects with international faculty (1.33). It is worth noting that relatively few students even discussed global issues (1.58), scoring even less frequently than students who took a course utilizing advanced IT equipment and tools (1.63). Comparing these results to more common activities like taking a Social Science course (2.62), we can understand that even prior to Covid-19, exposure to international activities and studies was not typical for students in Japanese universities.

One part of our survey was designed to give insight into how the school closures and remote learning policies at most Japanese higher education institutions have affected students, measured by their own perceptions. This comparison of learning outcomes pre and post Covid-10 is shown in Table 6.A2. Not surprisingly, students responded that they felt their learning outcomes were worse after the start of Covid-19 across the board. To categorize this data, the most negatively impacted learning outcomes had to deal with actual interactions and the ability to work with people of different cultural backgrounds and utilizing other languages. For example, three negatively impacted areas of internationalization included:

- Working with people of different cultural backgrounds (−0.42).
- Approaching different cultures with an open mindset (−0.38)
- Having a broad perspective on the world (−0.29).

Less impacted subjects dealt with traditional skills that students can acquire through top-down instruction, reading, textbook learning, and memorization. For example, Covid-19 hardly impacted student-assessed knowledge of STEM (−0.05) and Information Sciences (−0.05) fields, while it moderately impacted Humanities (−0.15) and Social Sciences (−0.16). These results show that the travel and education restrictions put into place in response to Covid-19 did have an outsized impact on areas of interest contributing to developing students' global competencies.

Below, Fig. 6.1 shows survey results that pertain to student interests in international subjects and activities, comparing pre and post COVID-19. Simple comparison of this question pre- and post-coronavirus is precluded by the fact that different scales were adopted: respondents were provided with a four-point scale for the question relating to interest and motivation pre-coronavirus, and a five-point scale for post-coronavirus. Therefore, it is impossible to compare the results of response between pre and post COVID-19 in a same scale. Accordingly, Table 6.A2 is provided to show

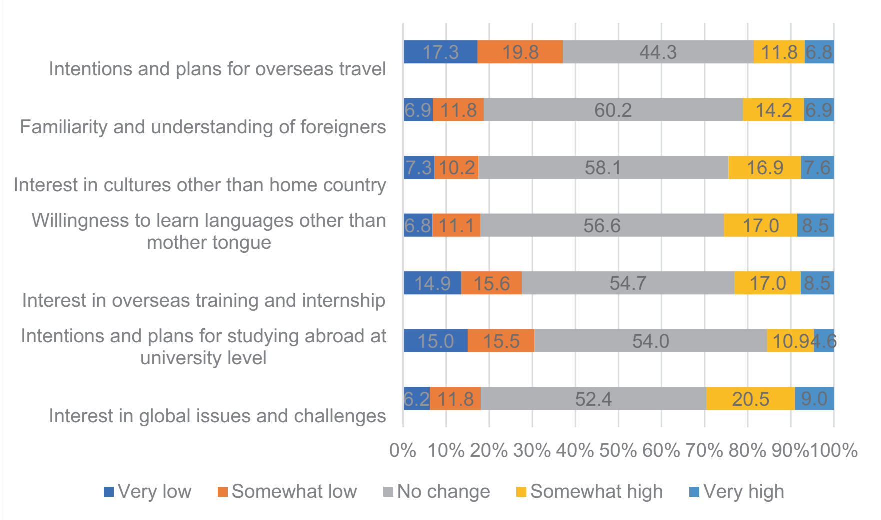


Fig. 6.1 Intentions and/or interest with respect to different countries and cultures pre-COVID-19 and post COVID-19

the distribution of responses in relation to each item post-coronavirus. There was no overwhelming increase or decrease in interest and motivation in global matters post-coronavirus, as reflected in the "high" and "low" scores, and "no change" accounted for approximately half of responses. It can be inferred that the issue of whether classes are carried out online or face-to-face does not have a particular impact on interest and motivation concerning global matters for Japanese students. Students can deal with the situation, and we must establish the different way for promoting intentions and /or interest with respect to different countries and cultures in the COVID era.

These results lead us to speculate the new normal way in the COVID-19 era. Having faced strict lockdown measures at home and abroad, students are acutely aware of the great difficulty in simply traveling domestically, let alone abroad. Such inability to travel may be fueling anticipation and a greater desire to explore once governments and institutions left travel restrictions. However, seeing the global interconnectedness of the pandemic through media, social networking, and having more opportunities to access information through technology, students could still gain interest in global issues.

New Opportunities for Internationalization

Under the pandemic circumstances, Japan's internationalization efforts cannot offer students immersive first-hand learning experiences. Instead, most international student participation for new students is based on remote learning, which has many downsides. For instance, such students cannot easily access campus resources, interact with their classmates outside of remote classes, and time zone differences can significantly burden students' daily lives. Furthermore, globally there has been an unfortunate spike in stigmatization and blame placed on foreigners for spreading Covid-19 cases. Amidst these factors and because even Japanese domestic university students are still heavily impacted by safety measures relating to face-to-face instruction, it would perhaps be too optimistic to predict an imminent return to normalcy in international study abroad.

One important aspect of internationalization efforts is to keep in mind that relatively few students are internationally mobile. According to JASSO (2020), in 2018, only 115,146 Japanese students went abroad. There are significant barriers to going abroad, gaining proficiency in a foreign language, financial concerns, and potential conflicts between foreign academic cycles and Japanese education and job recruiting norms. Thus, while the accepted gold standard for developing global competencies is through immersion and study abroad, the pandemic provides us an opportunity to rethink this. One option to explore is the continued expansion into Collaborative Online International Learning (COIL) programs. In the COIL paradigm, faculty and students from different countries interact remotely in a shared online classroom. As remote video conference learning gained greater adoption and degree of acceptance because of Covid-19 at the domestic instruction level, it is possible to expand on COIL programs in a similar manner. In Japan, recently developed COIL programs have been running at several universities, including Sophia University, Ochanomizu University, and the University of Shizuoka (Sophia University, 2018). Though less involved than in-person study abroad, COIL programs still require significant planning and joint curriculum coordination between international partners.

Perhaps the most feasible alternative for internationalization during the pandemic is one that has the last barriers and reliance on international mobility. The concept of "Internationalization at Home" (IaH) was developed in the early 2000s to teach intercultural skills and global competencies purely at the domestic level. Beelen & Jones (2015) propose a new definition, "Internationalization at Home is the purposeful integration of international and intercultural dimensions into the formal and informal curriculum for all students within domestic learning environments" (p. 69). This concept moves the focus from international student mobility towards systemic education changes that can provide meaningful intercultural learning across the curriculum. For instance, this can include courses directed at global themes, working with faculty with international backgrounds, and holding campus events such as talks or workshops from international guests. A movement towards formal instruction in international topics can also help address concerns that Japan's internationalization relies heavily on informal campus internationalization. Such informal implementations of internationalization depend on domestic and international students interacting on their own. However, without being structurally built into educational programs, these interactions may not even occur or create meaningful change. Beelen & Jones (2015) point out that though global student mobility is generally very low, not even accounting for the pandemic, the incorporation of faculty who have such experiences or come from abroad can be a significant boon for IaH efforts. IaH programs do not require international students, but their presence, a diverse, multicultural student body, and local culture-based groups may be helpful. In this regard, Japan is at a disadvantage, as it is largely a homogeneous country compared to diverse, multicultural countries like the United States. As our survey results evidenced, there is already a shift towards more significant interest in international travel and topics. However, there are too many obstacles currently to accommodate further developing international study abroad efforts. This disconnect makes IaH an attractive and feasible alternative, despite its departure from the current standards of campus and student internationalization efforts.

Conclusion

While the global economy and societal needs have prioritized STEM field education in recent years, students still need to gain global competencies and learn other languages and cultural backgrounds to help bridge peoples and countries in a globalized knowledge-based society. Before Covid-19, students from newly developed countries used opportunities to study abroad to obtain degrees from prestigious western institutions and potentially find work opportunities abroad. Modern higher education prepares students to compete in a global market and provides opportunities to gain knowledge and a broader perspective applicable towards critical thinking and multi-layered problem-solving. Higher education systems globally are trying to determine how they can allow their local students to obtain global competency skills and be exposed to international understanding and literacy through distance and online learning. Reimers (2009) explains how global ties and confrontations between countries were becoming increasingly common before the pandemic, necessitating global competencies for conflict resolution. In this context, higher education is an appropriate place for students to learn how to deal with the increasing effects of globalization obtain global literacy and understanding.

By understanding the historical trends and meaning of internationalization in Japanese higher education and comparing the reality post-Covid-19, we can see many challenges education systems need to address. From the data collected from Japanese students enrolled in university or graduate school, we saw evidence that despite Covid-19, which made it extremely challenging for international studies, students are even more interested in international issues than pre-Covid-19. Having more knowledge and information about current events happening worldwide, students observed and started to think more about international and global issues. So, while there is still student demand for international engagement, universities, programs, and educators must adapt how they develop global skill sets. Prior to Covid-19, global competencies were a major pillar of Japanese education reform, and they will likely continue to be after the pandemic is over. With restrictions from Covid-19 in place, it is unclear how soon international education will recover. Even if it does, it still raises an important question of whether educators can truly teach global competencies without in-person interactions. To an extent, remote experiences such as communicating over video chat are possible, but we need to further investigate new pedagogical methods like COIL and IaH. These challenges are not only seen in Japan but also worldwide. Some essential questions follow:

1. Can university education through overseas training and experience to acquire global competencies, built on the premise of free movement across national borders, continue to function in the COVID-19 era?
2. Can we shift the paradigm of internationalization via student mobility to other methods?
3. How can overseas training and hands-on learning previously based on firsthand experience be guaranteed to be effective through online or domestic only lessons?

Even as the pandemic hinders internationalization within education, there are new opportunities to explore alternate methods of developing global competencies. For example, COIL and IaH learning can engage a much greater number of students in internationalization and the development of global competencies than our previous reliance on international student mobility. However, such changes also come with potential disadvantages to the quality of student engagement and authenticity of first-person experiences. Further study is required as education programs continue to respond to developments in the Covid-19 pandemic.

Appendix

An International Comparative Survey

- A survey on the attainment of Global competencies and Educational Experiences for University and Graduate School Students under the COVID-19 pandemic

The growing impact of the knowledge economy across the globe has resulted in new demands for innovation within higher education. This is particularly true within the STEM fields of Science, Technology, Engineering and Mathematics. In countries such as the United States, Korea, Taiwan, and Japan, the increased emphasis on STEM field education from K-12 through university is clearly evident.

At the same time, in the United States, many higher education related organizations have proposed that higher education curriculum must incorporate 21st century competencies and values, which includes cultivating the communication skills and multicultural understanding needed to recognize and solve global challenges.

This international comparative survey of the United States, Korea, Taiwan and Japan operationally defines global competencies as the skills needed to discover and solve global challenges through meaningfully interaction and cooperation with persons from diverse backgrounds.

This survey asks for university and graduate school students in the United States, Korea, and Japan, what kind of global competencies and educational experiences were acquired through education before and after the COVID-19 pandemic. Next, it explores if there are any differences of the value and experiences concerning global competencies before and after the COVID-19 pandemic.

Collected data will be used for research purposes only. If there any questions that you do want to answer, please leave them blank.

Fig. 6.A1 Survey statement of purpose

Table 6.A1 Frequency of the following activities as a college/university or graduate student pre-COVID-19

Specific area of inquiry	Before COVID-19
Took humanities and arts courses	2.61
Took social science courses	2.62
Took STEM courses	2.17
Took information and data science courses	2.27
Took interdisciplinary courses	2.21
Discussed coursework with classmates	2.53
Studied with other classmates	2.85
Used information online for research and homework	3.04
Submitted course assignments online	2.95
Participated in an optional study or research group	2.02
Tutored an international student	1.34
Participated and presented in an academic conference in a foreign country	1.3
Conducted research with faculty in a foreign country	1.33
Discussed global topics	1.58
Discussed global topics with students of different cultural backgrounds	1.51
Led a project to completion	1.43
Took a course with advanced IT equipment and tools	1.63
Took problem-based learning courses	1.7
Took experimental courses	2.24
Took seminar courses	2.56
Took hands-on practical training courses	2.04

Note. Responses are on a scale of 1 (not at all) – 4 (very often)

Table 6.A2 Learning outcome differences pre-COVID-19 and post-COVID-19

Specific area of questioning	Before COVID-19	After COVID-19	Difference
Can thrive in different cultural environments	2.27	2.1	−0.17
Curious about foreign countries	2.54	2.26	−0.28
Can approach different cultures with an open mindset	2.66	2.28	−0.38
Can work with people of different cultural backgrounds	2.59	2.17	−0.42
Can befriend people of different cultural backgrounds	2.36	2.07	−0.29
Motivated to challenge the new and unknown	2.59	2.23	−0.36
Can attain goals working with people of different cultural backgrounds	2.37	2.1	−0.27
Can positively engage in matters concerning foreign countries	2.31	2.09	−0.22
Can communicate with people of different cultural backgrounds	2.3	2.07	−0.23
Have a broad perspective on the world	2.51	2.22	−0.29
Have interest in topics related to global sustainable development goals	2.33	2.14	−0.19
Can present material in multiple languages	1.9	1.9	0

(continued)

Table 6.A2 (continued)

Specific area of questioning	Before COVID-19	After COVID-19	Difference
Can develop new perspectives and ideas based on previous studies and research	2.25	2.17	−0.08
Open to perspectives related to new fields and areas	2.46	2.23	−0.23
Can innovate using perspectives from new fields and areas	2.31	2.17	−0.14
Can overcome differences in opinions or positions	2.34	2.19	−0.15
Can think, judge, and act to the best of your ability based on principles	2.51	2.29	−0.22
Have special knowledge related to your area of expertise (your major field)	2.66	2.54	−0.12
Can apply special knowledge from your area of expertise (your major field)	2.49	2.38	−0.11
Have knowledge of humanities (philosophy, history, literature, psychology, etc.)	2.34	2.19	−0.15
Have knowledge of social sciences (political science, policy studies, law, economics, management, social sciences, etc.)	2.34	2.18	−0.16
Have knowledge of STEM (natural science, engineering, agriculture, life sciences	2.15	2.1	−0.05
Have knowledge of the information sciences (computer science, data science, etc.)	2.13	2.08	−0.05
Can use languages other than your mother tongue	2.08	1.95	−0.13

Note. Responses are on a scale of 1 (not at all) – 4 (strongly agree)

References

Altbach, P. G., & Engberg, D. (2014). Global student mobility: The changing landscape. *International Higher Education, 77*, 11–13.

Altbach, P. G., & Teichler, U. (2001). Internationalization and exchanges in a globalized university. *Journal of Studies in International Education, 5*(1), 5–25.

Baer, J., & Martel, M. (2020). Fall 2020 international student enrollment snapshot. *Institute of International Education*. https://www.iie.org/-/media/Files/Corporate/Open-Doors/Special-Reports/Fall-2020-Snapshot-Report%2D%2D-Full-Report.ashx

Beelen, J., & Jones, E. (2015). Redefining internationalization at home. In A. Curaj, L. Matei, R. Pricopie, J. Salmi, & P. Scott (Eds.), *The European higher education area: Between critical reflections and future policies* (pp. 59–72). Springer.

Cao, C. (2008). China's brain drain at the high end: Why government policies have failed to attract first-rate academics to return. *Asian Population Studies, 4*(3), 331–345.

Downey, G., Lucena, J., Moskal, B., Parkhurst, R., Bigly, T., Hays, C., Jesiek, B., Kelly, L., Miller, J., Ruff, S., Lehr, J., & Nichols-Belo, A. (2006). The globally competent engineer: Working effectively with people who define problems differently. *Journal of Engineering Education, 95*, 1–16.

Gover, A. R., Harper, S. B., & Langton, L. (2020). Anti-Asian hate crime during the COVID-19 pandemic: Exploring the reproduction of inequality. *American Journal of Criminal Justice: AJCJ, 1–21*. https://doi.org/10.1007/s12103-020-09545-1

Institute of International Education. (2020a). Project atlas: Japan. https://www.iie.org/Research-and-Insights/Project-Atlas/Explore-Data/Japan

Institute of International Education. (2020b). Top 25 places of origin of international students 2000/01–2019/20. *Open Doors Report on International Educational Exchange*.

Institute of International Education. (2020c). *Project atlas 2020 release: A quick look at global mobility trends*. https://iie.widen.net/s/rfw2c7rrbd/project-atlas-infographics-2020

James, S., Swan, K., & Daston, C. (2016). Retention, progression and the taking of online courses. *Online Learning, 20*(2), 75–96.

Japan Student Services Organization. (2020). JASSO outline 2020-2021. https://www.jasso.go.jp/en/about/organization/__icsFiles/afieldfile/2020/09/03/e2020_a4_0727s_3.pdf

Knight, J. (1994). *Internationalization: Elements and checkpoints* (Research monograph) (Vol. 7). Canadian Bureau for International Education. Retrieved from https://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/ED549823.pdf

Kurt, M. R., Olitsky, N. H., & Geis, P. (2013). Assessing global awareness over short-term study abroad sequence: A factor analysis. *Frontiers: The Interdisciplinary Journal of Study Abroad, 23*, 22–41.

Mendenhall, M. E., Oddou, G. R., Stevens, M. J., Bird, A., Osland, J., & Furuya, N. (2009). Developing global competencies in Japanese managers: Research, process, and recommendations. *Journal of Strategic Management Studies, 1*(2), 57–67.

Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science, and Technology, Japan (MEXT). (2011). *Promoting Universities' Activity with Asia and the United States, etc.* https://www.mext.go.jp/en/policy/education/highered/title02/detail02/sdetail02/sdetail02/1374096.htm

Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science, and Technology, Japan (MEXT). (2017a). *Top Global University Project (2014–2023)*. https://tgu.mext.go.jp/en/downloads/pdf/sgu.pdf

Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science, and Technology, Japan (MEXT). (2017b). *Inter-University Exchange Program (Re-inventing Japan)*. https://www.mext.go.jp/en/policy/education/highered/title02/detail02/sdetail02/sdetail02/__icsFiles/afieldfile/2017/09/13/1395539_001.pdf

Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science, and Technology, Japan (MEXT). (2020a). Education in Japan beyond the crisis of COVID-19. https://www.mext.go.jp/en/content/20200904_mxt_kouhou01-000008961_1.pdf

Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science, and Technology, Japan (MEXT). (2020b). Survey on the implementation policy of the second semester classes at universities, etc. https://www.mext.go.jp/content/20200915_mxt_kouhou01-000004520_1.pdf

Murphy, D., Sahakyan, N., Yong-Yi, D., & Magnan, S. S. (2014). The impact of study abroad on the global engagement of university graduates. *Frontiers: The Interdisciplinary Journal of Study Abroad, 24*, 1–24.

National Science Board. (2020). *Science & engineering Indicators*. https://ncses.nsf.gov/pubs/nsb20197/international-s-e-higher-education

Punie, Y., & Ala-Mutka, K. (2007). Future learning spaces: New ways of learning and new digital skills to learn. *Digital Kompetanse, 2*, 210–225.

Reimers, M. F. (2009). Global competency educating the world. *Harvard International Review, 30*(4), 24–27.

Sophia University. (2018). Collaborative online international learning. https://www.sophia.ac.jp/eng/global/u9gsah000001zvgc-att/web.pdf

Taşçı, G. (2021). The impact of Covid-19 on higher education: Rethinking internationalization behind the iceberg. *International Journal of Curriculum and Instruction, 13*(1), 522–536. http://ijci.wcci-international.org/index.php/IJCI/article/view/579/268

United Nationals Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization. (2021). *School closures caused by Coronavirus (Covid-19)*. https://en.unesco.org/covid19/educationresponse

United Nations. (2020, August 1). *Policy Brief: Education during COVID-19 and beyond*. Retrieved from https://www.un.org/development/desa/dspd/wp-content/uploads/sites/22/2020/0

United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization Institute for Statistics. (2021). National monitoring: outbound internationally mobile students by host region. Retrieved from http://data.uis.unesco.org/

Yoshida, A. (2016). *Internationalization at universities–true or false: The emptiness of "global HR development"*. Discuss Japan-Japan Policy Forum 30. Retrieved from http://www.japanpolicyfo-rum.jp/archives/society/pt20160331064546.html

Chapter 7
Global Higher Education Technology Trends and Opportunities in a Post-COVID-19 Context

Xi Wang and Shangmou Xu

Abstract The Covid-19 pandemic has drastically impacted the instruction and research in higher education globally as most higher education institutes (HEIs) are forced to shift to distance teaching, learning and research. This chapter examines the common practices and challenges of higher education technology that emerged during Covid-19 around the globe, with a focus on three geographic regions: North America, Asia, and Africa. Within each region, we provide insights into the impact of Covid-19 pandemic on higher education systems and how education technologies are applied to facilitate learning and research. An examination of how unequal access to digital infrastructures and high-quality teaching, learning, and research resources may contribute to the long-lasting educational inequality experienced by marginalized groups is also discussed. Future opportunities and suggestions based on national and sub-national contexts are provided in the discussion and conclusion section.

Keywords COVID-19 · Globalisation · Digital transformation · Education technology · Higher education · Online learning

Global Higher Education Technology Trends and Opportunities in a Post-COVID-19 Context: Introduction

Higher Education has been significantly disrupted by the COVID-19 pandemic around the globe, with millions of students learning online. In April 2020, universities and other tertiary education institutions remained closed in 175 countries, which affected more than 220 million post-secondary students worldwide (UNESCO, 2021). Many countries have transformed the delivery of knowledge in various

X. Wang (✉) · S. Xu
University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, PA, USA
e-mail: shx23@pitt.edu

J. Zajda, W. J. Jacob (eds.), *Discourses of Globalisation and Higher Education Reforms*, Globalisation, Comparative Education and Policy Research 27,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-83136-3_7

eLearning platforms to ensure the learning can continue, which also solved the problem of face-to-face teaching in the classrooms during the pandemic. Since then, distance courses, distance meetings, distance students support services, and distance graduation ceremonies became the new norm. The COVID-19 pandemic is accelerating the digital transformation in higher education in history.

In response to the significant demand, many online learning platforms have offered free access to learners. For example, Coursera – one of the largest massive open online classes (MOOCs) platforms in the world, has given free catalog access for 3800 courses to their university partners, which resulted in the enrollment increased from 1.6 million to 10.3 million, a 640% higher from mid-March to mid-April than during the same period last year (Impey, 2020). Moreover, many governments also issued policies, initiatives, and provided funding to support this online transformation in higher education.

There are, however, challenges associated with this large digital transformation in higher education such as unstable internet, insufficient digital access devices, little training to both teachers and students to effectively use eLearning platforms, and the unmatched traditional curriculum and assessment with the new online learning context. These challenges are seen across countries and between developed and underdeveloped areas within countries. How are countries responding to the large digital transformation in higher education? What are some lessons learned from the experiences of teachers and students that can be used to cope with the new norm?

Below sections examine the common policies, practices, and challenges of higher education technology that merged during COVID-19 around the globe, with a focus on three geographic regions: Africa, Asian, and North America. Within each region, we explore some government initiatives to support the transformation of distance learning. We also examine teachers and students' teaching and learning experiences during this large shift to online learning. In the end, we discuss some common challenges of digital transformation across the countries and provide suggestions on how this rapid move to online learning can become an integral component of higher education that future learning would benefit from. In this chapter, "online learning", "distance learning" and "remote learning" are used interchangeably.

Higher Education Digital Transformation

Africa

Most African countries shifted to distance learning before mid-April 2020 in response to the Covid-19 pandemic outbreak. For example, the Ministry of Higher Education, Science and Innovation in South Africa implemented mitigation measures to cope with the impact of Covid-19 on higher education on March 17th, 2020 (The World Bank, 2020). The Ministry of Education in Kenya announced four primary platforms on March 23rd, 2020 to facilitate remote learning, including radio channels provided by Kenya Broadcasting Corporation (KBC), education TV channels provided by Kenya Institute for Curriculum Development (KICD), YouTube channels, and electronic resources hosted by Kenya Education Cloud (UNESCO, 2020). Similarly, the Rwanda Education Board (REB) implemented hybrid distance learning experiences to support students at different educational levels, such as broadcasting channels, YouTube channels and online learning platforms on April 4th, 2020.

The total duration of school closures varied from country to country (UNESCO, 2021), from approximately 15 weeks (e.g., Benin, Côte d'Ivoire, Niger, Mali, Sierra Leone, and United Republic of Tanzania) to over 40 weeks (e.g., Angola, Ghana, Mozambique, Libya, and Uganda) As of June 20th, 2021, there are six African countries that haven't been fully open, including Morocco, Libya, Congo, Uganda, South Africa, and Madagascar.

Egypt

On March 15th, 2020, the Egyptian government announced school closure on all educational levels. As of June 20th, 2021, the total duration of school closure is 20 weeks, with over 2.9 million post-secondary students affected (UNESCO, 2021). At K-12 level, the Ministry of Education and Technical Education (MOETE) implemented several distance learning practices at the beginning of school closure, including conducting TV educational programming, granting access to Egyptian Knowledge Bank (EKB), and building digital platforms for communication. Later on, at post-secondary level, the Egyptian Ministry of Higher Education and Scientific Research announced national guidelines for urging the application of distance learning at Higher Education Institutions (Bozkurt et al., 2020; El & Refaat, 2021). The EKB was also available for college students and instructors, but no digital platform was designed in particular for post-secondary education (The World Bank, 2020).

Some private universities (e.g., American University in Cairo, AUC) implemented school closure before the official nationwide school closure day, and prepared in advance (e.g., faculty training) to carry out distance learning (Bozkurt et al., 2020). In Egyptian private universities, various Learning Management System, such as Moodle, Blackboard, or Microsoft Class Notes were used (Crawford et al., 2020). Synchronous meetings software (e.g., Zoom or MS Team) and live online classes were more predominant in private universities (Crawford et al., 2020). Public Universities were debating between synchronous meetings and asynchronous meetings (Crawford et al. 2020) mainly due to the issue of availability of hardware and internet connection (Ewiss, 2020). Many public universities opted for sharing video/audio recording through open or free platforms such as university public page or YouTube (Bozkurt et al., 2020; Crawford et al., 2020).

South Africa

On March 17th, 2020, the Ministry of Higher Education, Science and Innovation of South Africa announced post-secondary school closure and mitigation measures from March 18th, 2020 to April 15th, 2020 (Crawford et al., 2020). As of June 20th, 2021, the total duration of school closures in South Africa is 37 weeks, with over 1.1 million post-secondary students affected by school closure (UNESCO, 2021). Within the statement made by the Minister of Higher Education, Science and Innovation, they emphasized that digital and online teaching and learning methodologies was "particularly important" for supporting a range of academic programmes at a later stage (Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology- Japan (MEXT), 2020).

Most universities rapidly moved to distance learning. Various online learning platforms, including WhatsApp, Blackboard, or YouTube, have been used for instructors to share video recordings alongside other learning materials (Landa et al., 2021). Many universities also applied Learning Management Systems (LMS), and Course Management Systems, such as Moodle or Sakai, to administrate the learning process and create extra learning activities for students (Bozkurt et al., 2020; Landa et al., 2021).

As mentioned in many empirical studies and reports (e.g., Bozkurt et al., 2020; Landa et al., 2021; Mpungose, 2020; van Schalkwyk, 2021), students from South African rural area weren't given "enough attention" during Covid-19 pandemic, mainly due to lack of power, internet connection, and other hardware. At the government level, the Minister of Higher Education announced that students founded by National Student Financial Aid Schemes (NSFAS) would receive a free laptop. Landa et al. (2021) also reported that one university adopted a special blended approach which involved "physical delivery of learning material" to students in rural areas where distance learning was impossible due to various reasons.

Nigeria

On March 19th, 2020, the Federal Ministry of Education of Nigeria announced public school closure at all educational levels and advised private schools to implement similar mitigation measures beginning on March 23rd, 2020 (Olojede et al., 2020). As of June 20th, 2021, the total duration of school closure in Nigeria is 24 weeks, with approximately 1.5 million post-secondary students affected (UNESCO, 2021).

The majority of universities provided students with pre-recorded videos with supplementary learning material (Ebohon et al., 2021). Videos and other learning materials were shared through Learning Management Systems (LMS), such as university distance learning platform, Canvas, Edmodo, or Google classroom, or through communication tools, including e-mails Telegram, or WhatsApp groups

(Ebohon et al., 2021; Ojo et al., 2021). According to a representative sample survey study conducted by Ojo et al. (2021), the most popular distance learning tools/platforms adopted by Nigerian universities were Telegram (68%), University distance learning platform (40%), and Zoom (23%).

As observed by several empirical studies and reports (e.g., Adeoye et al., 2020; Olojede et al., 2020; Osamudiamen et al., 2021; Obiakor & Adeniran, 2020), private universities were better-prepared for and experienced more rapid transition to distance learning. Adeoye et al. (2020) argued that the set back of Nigerian public universities' distance learning was due to large student population, lack of capability of e-learning and remote teaching pedagogy knowledge, and short of infrastructure.

Asia

As of June 20th, 2021, there are still 19 countries employing school closures globally, which affected more than 156 million post-secondary students. Several Asia countries' schools are still closed including Turkey, Iraq, Jordan, Saudi Arabia, Myanmar, Cambodia, Philippines, and Democratic People's Republic of Korea (UNESCO, 2021).

China

The Ministry of Education (MOE) of the PRC implemented the "Guiding Opinions on the Organization and Management of Online Teaching in Higher Education Institutions During Covid-19 Pandemic" on February 4th, 2020, making the shift to online learning in all HEIs. Based on the MOE of PRC's data, as of May 8th, 2020, there were 1454 HEIs transforming to online teaching. There were 1.03 million teachers opening and offering a total of 1.07 million online courses. Around 17.75 million university students were involved in the online learning process. Besides these large numbers of teachers, students, and courses, the online course subjects also cover the widest subjects range including science, engineering, agriculture, medicine, economics, management, law, literature, history, philosophy, art, and education. (MOE, PRC, 2020).

In March 2020, Xiamen University Center for Teaching and Learning Development, on behalf of the Chinese Network of Internal Quality Assurance Agencies in Higher Education (CIQA), conducted a national survey on university teachers and students' online teaching and learning experience. The survey results were based on 187 HEIs including 5433 questionnaires from teachers and 118,191 questionnaires from students (CIQA, 2020a).

According to this survey results, 44% of the students had taken online courses before, more than half (56%) of the students had never had any experience on online learning. However, during the pandemic, there were 97% of the students involved in online learning. Only 3% of the students hadn't been involved in online learning during this time. This large number shifting also reflects the large-scale transformation to online learning in Chinese higher education during the pandemic time.

Regarding to the frequency use of the different types online learning modes based on a 5-point Likert scale (i.e., 5 represents the most used, and 1 means never used), live lessons were among the most used teaching and learning mode (3.64), following by online guidance and discussion (3.62), texts and videos (3.36), and students' self-study with teachers' materials (3.30). The least used online learning modes were pre-recorded lessons (3.02) and MOOCs (2.87).

Based on the survey result to 5433 university teachers (CIQA, 2020b), during the pandemic, each course utilized 1–10 different eLearning platforms, with an average of 2.16 platforms each course. The frequency uses of the eLearning platforms from the most use to the least use are: Xuexitong (http://apps.chaoxing.com) (10.84%), Chinese University MOOCs (icourse163.org) (9.28%), WeChat (8.36%), Tencent classroom (7.43%), QQ live (7.43%), Tencent meeting (7.33%), Dingding App (6.36%), Rain Classroom(Yuketang) (4.41%), ZOOM (3.05%), Zhihuishu (2.97%), Changke (1.88%) and ilab-x.com (0.18%). Other eLearning platforms account for 30.18%.

When looking at the challenges associated with students' online learning, the top five challenges that students faced during online learning were: (1) low internet speed and stability (3.64), (2) eLearning platforms is unstable, and its function is incomprehensive (3.58), (3) Some content knowledge is not suitable for moving online to learn (3.56), (4) no enough technical support, and (5) no enough online curriculum support and lack of educational resources (3.27) (CIQA, 2020a).

Indonesia

According to a world bank report, over 530,000 schools have been closed during the COVID-19 pandemic in Indonesia, affecting 68 million students from pre-primary through the tertiary levels. There was an increased demand for online learning and the expansion of effective EdTech platforms (Yarrow et al., 2002). The government designated seven e-learning platforms to enable students to continue learning at home. These platforms include (1) Zenius Education (providing open access to over 80,000 learning videos); (2) Rumah Belajar Kemendikbud (learning house with digital learning materials, digital classes, and virtual laboratories); (3) G Suite Education (help students and teachers in areas with limited internet access to conduct remote classes); (4) Microsoft Teams; (5) Quipper School (offering digital materials and exam preparation); (6) Ruangguru (providing live teaching sessions and teacher training); and (7) Sekolahmu (providing online and off-line digital learning programs) (ADB, 2021).

Pramana et al. (2020) conducted a research to 40 universities in Indonesia with 200 participants and the results showed that during the COVID-19 pandemic, there were 16 virtual learning platforms/tools were used by these universities to conduct four types of distance learning including: virtual meeting, online class, media sharing networks, and messenger. Among all the 16 virtual learning platforms/tools, the WhatsApp ranked the most used by lecturers and students (25.5%), followed by zoom meeting (22%), Google Classroom (14.5%), Google Meets (14%), Email (9%), E-learning (6%), YouTube (2%) and other virtual learning platforms such as Video Call, Webex, Microsoft Teams, Padlet, Facebook group, Blog, Edmodo, Moodle, and Schoology.

However, these EdTech platforms are not accessible to all learners in Indonesia due to unequal access to technology and Internet connectivity. Many students in rural areas lack Internet connectivity and the devices needed to use EdTech tools (Yarrow et al., 2002). The top 3 challenges identified by the 200 university teachers in Pramana et al.'s (2020) study were: (1) unstable signal, (2) limited data quota, and (3) Passive students. Likewise, the World Bank Report (Yarrow et al., 2002) cited a survey conducted by the Ministry of Education and Culture's (MoEC) of Indonesia and found that of those 1067 randomly selected teachers and 988 school principals in Indonesia, a majority of teachers (67%) reported difficulties in operating digital devices. 40.5% of teachers reported that students' limited access to supporting devices as the main challenges of learning from home. Furthermore, there is also a strong need for teacher professional development in terms of cultivating teachers to effectively deliver knowledge in a distance learning environment.

Japan

Based on Japan's Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology's (MEXT) report in 2020, among those 1046 responded HEIs, around 86.9% of universities have postponed their regular classes of spring semester in 2020. Almost all other 115 universities that have not postponed classes transformed to distance learning. As of July 1, all universities have started their spring classes, 16.2% of the universities have started in-person classes, and the other 83.8% of the universities are conducting distance learning in some way (MEXT, 2020).

MEXT has allocated 95 million USD in the government supplementary budget to support the advancement of technical infrastructure that will enable universities to conduct digital education. Furthermore, MEXT has also modified the previous policy regarding to the maximum credits that can be acquired through online classes for graduation (MEXT, 2020). Kang (2021) noted that during the pandemic, distance learning has become a new norm in higher education in Japan. He argued that except for some private universities who are located in suburbs and have the lowest budgets, most HEIs managed distance learning well. However, there are also several challenges and concerns associated with distance learning such as unstable internet connection and teachers' experience to engage students in the online learning environment when distance learning becomes a new norm.

North America

As of June 20th, 2021, schools in most North American countries remain partially or fully closed due to Covid-19 pandemic. Mexico, for example, is currently implementing school closure with a total duration of school closure of 53 weeks. Other countries that currently implement school closure include Honduras and Panama.

United States

On March 13th, 2020, as the US president declared a national emergency, most higher education institutions in the US started to suspend in-person classes and transit to distance learning. By the end of spring 2020, more than 1300 higher education institutions suspended in-person instructions (Smalley, 2021). According to the tracking data from the College Crisis Initiative, for Spring semester 2021, out of 1448 HEIs, 20.2% of HEIs implemented hybrid approach, 36.2% were primarily or fully back to in-person instruction, and 40.7% offered primarily or fully online instruction (need permission from C2i@davidson.edu). As of June 20th, 2021, the total duration of school closure is 56 weeks, with 19 million post-secondary students affected (UNESCO, 2021).

As described by Bozkurt et al. (2020), both synchronous and asynchronous approaches were adopted by US HEIs. The aim of the synchronous approach is to replicate "on-campus learning experience" (Bozkurt et al., 2020). Some instructors even prefer to use the original schedule to meet with students using a synchronous approach. The asynchronous approach implements Learning Management Systems (LMS), and Course Management Systems to share pre-recorded lecture videos, slides, and other learning materials.

According to a review study of 64 US Higher Education Institutions, the most widely-used video conference platform is Zoom (58 HEIs), followed by collaboration features of Blackboard, MS Teams, WebEx, and Google Hangouts (Chaka, 2020). Canvas is the most popular Learning Management Systems (LMS) platform (31 HEIs), followed by Blackboard, Panopto, and WebEx.

The most salient challenge of adopting distance learning in the US, as identified by several studies (e.g., Bozkurt et al., 2020; Jaggars et al., 2021), is the barrier of digital equity, including access to devices and high-speed internet, and digital compatibility. According to Jaggars et al. (2021), across all student groups, around 16–19% of US HEIs students reported to have technology (hardware and infrastructure) barriers. This percentage of having technology barriers is higher among students from low-SES families (20–30%), African American students (17–29%), and Hispanic students (23–28%). Students reported to have technology barriers are less likely to experience the same quality of learning compared to their counterparts. Other challenges identified by Bozkurt et al. (2020) and Kara (2021) are (1) loss of personal connection, (2) lack of consistency, and (3) lack of adequate preparation.

Mexico

On March 23th, 2020, the Secretariat of Public Education (SEP) declared an official statement of educational recess (Secretary of Public Education, 2020). Higher Education Institutions and schools then rapidly shifted to distance learning. On April 13th, 2020, the whole Mexican education system have transited to distance learning (Zapata-Garibay et al., 2021). As of June 20th, 2021, the school system of Mexico is still closed (UNESCO, 2021). The total duration of school closure is 53 weeks, with 4.4 million post-secondary students affected.

Mexico is known as having long-lasting experience in delivering education content through TV channels. Students (secondary students in particular) benefit from various TV platforms, such as Televisión Educativa, the national educational television network, during Covid-19 pandemic. Despite the rich experiences on distance learning through educational TV, the transition from face-to-face learning to distance learning through online platforms received critiques. At primary and secondary level, the Ministry of Public Education created an online platform called Aprende en Casa as a short-term response to the emergency need of distance learning (Bordon, 2020). Many have argued that unequal access to internet and other hardware may exacerbate inequality in achievement (e.g., Bordon, 2020; Cueto, 2020; Vázquez, 2020). At higher education, according to a survey study conducted by Lytle (2020), university students have various choices of online learning platforms, with Google Classroom, Zoom, and Educativa being the most popular choice. Several challenges of this transition to distance learning in Mexico higher education have been identified (e.g., Lytle, 2020; Zapata-Garibay et al., 2021). These include (1) lack of teacher preparation for distance learning, including pedagogical experience, and technological capacity; (2) lack of infrastructure and hardware devices; and (3) administrative pressure and financial challenges.

Challenges and Strategies

Technology Barriers

Various distance learning tools and platforms enabled remote learning, teaching, management, and communication during COVID-19 pandemic. However, concerns have been raised around inequality in accessibility, poor quality of learning material, instruction, and management, and inadequate preparation (Kara, 2021). This rapid transition from face-to-face to remote learning assumed that students were equipped with adequate resources and experienced a favorable learning environment, which was not the case in many countries. As observed by Amemado (2020), primary obstacles to distance learning in many African universities and institutions were lack of power and internet infrastructure, continuous connectivity issues, and high cost of internet data bundles. For example, Adeoye et al. (2020) mentioned that

Irregular power supply in some Nigeria rural areas caused difficulty in powering fundamental education devices such as smartphones and laptops. The internet services are expensive and have poor connectivity which make it difficult for both students and lecturers to maintain reliable remote learning. This lack of internet infrastructure also happened in many Asian countries.

To address these concerns and challenges and facilitate equal access to distance learning for most students, many countries have adopted various strategies (The World Bank, 2020). First of all, universities and institutes established partnerships with the government to negotiate with internet service providers for reduced-price or free internet access, new infrastructure, or free access to other services including educational platforms. For instance, in Liberia, Orange Liberia (telecom operator) waived data fee to access online learning materials for students and instructors. In Nigeria, Airtel offered 500mb free data for every student to access educational platform, School-on-Air Programme. In Rwanda, the Rwanda Education Board negotiated with local internal companies to waive internet connection fee for students to access the e-learning portals. In South Africa, the internet operator provided zero-rate education-related website access service for all students. In Japan, the top three internet providers eliminate additional charge for data plans for 25 or under (Fraser, 2020).

Some other countries worked on infrastructure or personal devices. Kenya, for example, deployed Google's Loon Balloons over Kenyan airspace to provide 4G base stations. This is the result of cooperation between the Kenya Civil Aviation Authority (KCAA) and Telkom Kenya. Each balloon can offer 4G internet connection for an 80 km diameter area. In Egypt, the Ministry of Education and Technical Education (MOETE) made an arrangement with the Ministry of Communication and IT to distribute free mobile SIM cards for all students. In China, Telecom cooperated with other high-tech companies to strengthen the internet infrastructure for free (UNESCO, 2020).

The second strategy to address resource limitation is to ensure the access to basic learning material and fundamental educational activities. For example, in Liberia, their distance learning initiative, Rising on Air, applied SMS to delivery lessons and safety instructions. This platform also delivered radio lessons. It's important to note that hard copies, such as printable worksheets, were available, but not mandatory to complete distance learning. In South Sudan where the infrastructure was not capable of supporting mass distance learning, their strategy was to use online platforms to maintain basic educational management.

The third strategy was to build bilateral or multilateral cooperation. For example, Liberia and Sierra Leone built a new distance learning platform, Rising on Air, to deliver learning materials via SMS and radio. In Tunisia, The Tunisia-based Arab League Educational, Cultural and Scientific Organization (ALECSO) established a new e-learning initiative to ensure distance learning. This initiative also benefits Ten North African and 12 Arab countries.

Readiness and Quality Assurance in Distance Learning

In response to rapid transition to distance learning, both post-secondary students and instructors experience lack of readiness for completing distance learning (Ali, 2020; Cai & King, 2020; Kara, 2021; Landa et al., 2021; Mpungose, 2020; Ngwacho, 2020; Times Higher Education, 2020). For HEIs instructors, challenges have been identified around lack of technology literacy (e.g., Cai & King, 2020) and online teaching pedagogy (e.g., Bozkurt et al., 2020). Cai and King (2020) argued that one important barrier of online teaching for college instructors was lack of knowledge about technology (e.g., choosing the appropriate tools). Dill et al. (2020) mentioned that many HEIs instructors had no experience in online teaching nor related training.

On the other hand, online teaching pedagogy is often ignored by many HEIs instructors. As noted by Bozkurt et al. (2020), one college lecturer from South Africa described her experience of shifting to online teaching as replicating lectures from face-to-face classrooms to online platforms. Bozkurt et al. (2020) argued that this approach seemed to be "modus operandi" for many universities. Both Mohamedbhai (2020) and Times Higher Education (2020) reported that many college instructors were unable to understand pedagogical skills and conceptual framework of online teaching and strategize their online class. Times Higher Education (2020) also reported that many instructors exhibited a reduction in teaching quality. Post-secondary students also suffer from a general lack of technology knowledge, engagement and motivation, social norms and interactions, and hardware devices (Kara, 2021; Landa et al., 2021; Mpungose, 2020; Ngwacho, 2020).

One common strategy of improving teacher preparation and quality of online teaching, as mentioned in many literature (e.g., El & Refaat, 2021; Kara 2021), is to build technology competency through various approaches for both novice and veteran instructors. This may include HEIs-initiated training, workshops, on-going services, and supports (El & Refaat, 2021), government-monitored guidance and services (Ngwacho, 2020), and training programs supported by international associations (Kara, 2021). Mpungose (2020) found that students' online learning style was influenced by previous learning experiences (i.e., face-to-face learning), as they tended to seek traditional resources to enhance online learning. Based on this analysis, Mpungose (2020) argued that a blended learning approach should be considered to meet the needs of students. Kara (2021) argued that a blended learning approach might be the "new battlefront" in the era of post-covid.

Conclusion

This chapter provides a comparative overview of how different countries have transferred higher education to online learning in responding to the COVID-19 pandemic. Though exploring the three regions in the world (i.e., Africa, Asia, and North America), we saw that most of the governments in many countries have quickly conducted various initiatives and practices to support the transformation of distance learning such as the application of various online learning platforms, HEIs and government corporations, and on-going support from companies and associations. With this sudden shift from classrooms around the globe, however, there are also many challenges associated including technology barriers, inequality in accessibilities, and issues of instructors'/students' technology literacy. We suggest that building technology competence, investigating infrastructure, and blended learning approaches can become an integral component of higher education that future learning would benefit from.

References

Adeoye, I. A. A., Adanikin, F., & Adanikin, A. (2020). COVID-19 and E-learning: Nigeria tertiary education system experience. *International Journal of Research and Innovation in Applied Science, 5*(5) Retrieved from https://www.rsisinternational.org/journals/ijrias/DigitalLibrary/Vol.5&Issue5/28-31.pdf

Ali, W. (2020). Online and remote learning in higher education institutes: A necessity in light of COVID-19 pandemic. *Higher Education Studies, 10*(3), 16–25. https://doi.org/10.5539/hes.v10n3p16

Amemado, D. A. (2020). COVID-19: An unexpected and unusual driver to online education. *International Higher Education, 102*, 12–14.

Asian Development Bank (ADB). (2021). *COVID-19 and education in Asia and the Pacific guidance note*. Retrieved from: https://www.adb.org/sites/default/files/institutional-document/672491/covid-19-education-asia-pacific-guidance-note.pdf

Bordón, A. M. (2020). Distance learning exacerbates inequality in Mexico. *Slate*. Accessed from: https://slate.com/technology/2020/12/aprende-en-casa-mexico-educational-inequality.html

Bozkurt, A., Insung Jung, B., Xiao, I., Vladimirschi, J., Schuwer, V., Gennady Egorov, R., & G. & Lambert, S. (2020). A global outlook to the interruption of education due to COVID-19 pandemic: Navigating in a time of uncertainty and crisis. *Asian Journal of Distance Education, 15*(1), 1–126.

Cai, H. & King, I. (2020, December 8–11). Education Technology for Online Learning in times of crisis. *2020 IEEE International Conference on Teaching, Assessment, and Learning for Engineering (TALE)*, Online.

Chaka, C. (2020). *Higher education institutions and the use of online instruction and online tools and resources during the COVID-19 outbreak – An online review of selected US and SA's universities*. Research Square. https://doi.org/10.21203/rs.3.rs-61482/v1

Chinese Network of Internal Quality Assurance Agencies in Higher Education (CIQA). (2020a). *Survey report on online learning of university students during the Covid-19 pandemic*. Center for Teaching and Learning Development, Xiamen University, CIQA. Accessed from: http://ciqa.xmu.edu.cn/cn/article/1092

Chinese Network of Internal Quality Assurance Agencies in Higher Education (CIQA). (2020b). *Survey report on online teaching of university faculty members during the Covid-19 pandemic*. Center for Teaching and Learning Development, Xiamen University, CIQA. Accessed from: http://ciqa.xmu.edu.cn/cn/article/1091

Crawford, J., et al. (2020). COVID-19: 20 countries' higher education intra-period digital pedagogy responses. *Journal of Applied Learning & Teaching, 3*(1), 1–20. https://doi.org/10.37074/jalt.2020.3.1.7

Cueto, A. (2020). *Mexico turns to television and radio for remote learning*. Observer. Accessed from: https://www.texasobserver.org/mexico-remote-learning/

Dill, E. et al. (2020). As coronavirus spreads, the decision to move classes online is the first step. *What comes next?*. The Chronicle of Higher Education. Accessed from: https://www.chronicle.com/article/as-coronavirus-spreads-the-decision-to-move-classes-online-is-the-first-step-what-comes-next/

El, S. & Refaat, G. (2021). How did the COVID-19 pandemic affect higher education learning experience? An Empirical Investigation of Learners' Academic Performance at a University in a Developing Country. *Advances in Human-Computer Interaction*. https://doi.org/10.1155/2021/6649524.

Ewiss, M. A. Z. (2020). Empowering the Egyptian's education in the era of Covid-19. *Quest Journals Journal of Research in Humanities and Social Science, 8*(11), 43–56.

Fraser, J. (2020). *The impact of Covid-19 on education inequality in Japan.* Center for Strategic and International Studies. Accessed from: https://www.csis.org/blogs/new-perspectives-asia/impact-covid-19-education-inequality-japan

Impey, C. (2020). *Massive online open courses see exponential growth during COVID-19 pandemic*. The Conversation. Accessed from: https://theconversation.com/massive-online-open-courses-see-exponential-growth-during-covid-19-pandemic-141859

Jaggars, S. et al. (2021). *The digital divide among college students: Lessons learned from the COVID-19 emergency transition*. Midwestern Higher Education Compact. Accessed from: https://www.mhec.org/sites/default/files/resources/2021The_Digital_Divide_among_Coll

Kang, B. (2021, February 9). How the COVID-19 pandemic is reshaping the education service. *The future of service post-COVID-19 pandemic, volume 1: Rapid adoption of digital service technology* (pp. 15–36). https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-33-4126-5_2

Kara, A. (2021). Covid-19 pandemic and possible trends for the future of higher education: A review. *Journal of Education and Educational Development, 8*(1) https://doi.org/10.22555/joeed.v8i1.183

Landa, N., Zhou, S., & Newlin, M. (2021). Education in emergencies: Lessons from COVID-19 in South Africa. *International Review of Education, 67*(2), 1–17.

Lytle, R. (2020). *How COVID-19 has impacted higher education in Mexico, Colombia and Peru.* EY Parthenon. Accessed from: https://www.ey.com/en_us/strategy/how-covid-19-has-impacted-higher-education-in-mexico-colombia-and-peru

Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology- Japan (MEXT). (2020). *Education in Japan beyond the crisis of COVID-19-Leave no one behind*. Retrieved from: https://www.mext.go.jp/en/content/20200904_mxt_kouhou01-000008961_1.pdf

Ministry of Education of Peoples Republic of China (MOE, PRC) (2020). *Introducing the relevant situation of online education in higher education, secondary education, and primary education during the pandemic and next step plan*. MOE Press Conference. Accessed from: http://www.moe.gov.cn/fbh/live/2020/51987/mtbd/202005/t20200518_455656.html

Mohamedbhai, G. (2020). COVID-19: What consequences for higher education in Africa. *International Higher Education, 102*, 20–32.

Mpungose, C. B. (2020). Emergent transition from face-to-face to online learning in a South African University in the context of the coronavirus pandemic. *Humanities and Social Sciences Communications, 7*(1), 1–9. https://doi.org/10.1057/s41599-020-00603-x

Ngwacho, A. G. (2020). COVID-19 pandemic impact on Kenyan education sector: Learner challenges and mitigations. *Journal of Research Innovation and Implications in Education, 4*(2), 128–139.

Obiakor, T., & Adeniran, A. (2020). *COVID-19: Risk-control measures threaten to deepen Nigeria's education crisis*. Centre for the Study of Economies of Africa (CSEA). Retrieved from: http://cseaafrica.org/covid-19-riskcontrol-measures-threatens-to-deepen-nigerias-education-crisis/

Ojo, J. I., et al. (2021). COVID-19 pandemic: Nigerian university lecturers' response to virtual orientation. *Cogent Arts & Humanities, 8*(1), 1932041. https://doi.org/10.1080/23311983.2021.1932041

Olojede, A. I., et al. (2020). *Education technology in the COVID-19 response in Nigeria*. EdTech Hub. Retrieved from from: https://edtechhub.org

Osamudiamen, E. et al. (2021). Evaluating the impact of COVID-19 pandemic lockdown on education in Nigeria: Insights from teachers and students on virtual/online learning. *Bulletin of the National Research Centre, 45*(1), 1–11. https://doi.org/10.1186/s42269-021-00538

Pramana, C. et al. (2020). *Virtual learning during the COVID-19 pandemic, a disruptive technology in higher education in Indonesia*. SSRN. Accessed from: https://doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.3777691

Secretary of Public Education. (2020). Joint communiqué No. 3 Health and SEP present prevention measures for the national education sector due to COVID-19. Accessed from: https://www.gob.mx/sep/es/articulos/comunicado-conjunto-no-3-presentan-salud-y-sep-medidas-de-prevencion-para-el-sector-educativo-nacional-por-covid-19?idiom=es

Smalley, A. (2021). Higher Education Responses to Coronavirus (COVID-19). *National conference of state legislatures.* Accessed from: https://www.ncsl.org/research/education/higher-education-responses-to-coronavirus-covid-19.aspx

The World Bank. (2020). *How countries are using Edtech (including online learning, radio, television, texting) to support access to remote learning during the COVID-19 pandemic*. Accessed from: https://www.worldbank.org/en/topic/edutech/brief/how-countries-are-using-edtech-to-support-remote-learning-during-the-covid-19-pandemic

Times Higher Education (THE). (2020). How Asia-Pacific must adapt its digital transformation. *Times Higher Education World University Rankings*. Accessed from: https://www.timeshighereducation.com/hub/blackboard/p/how-asia-pacific-must-adapt-its-digital-transformation

UNESCO. (2020). *National learning platforms and tools*. Accessed from: https://en.unesco.org/covid19/educationresponse/nationalresponses

UNESCO. (2021). Global monitoring of school closures caused by COVID-19. Accessed from: https://en.unesco.org/covid19/educationresponse#schoolclosures

van Schalkwyk, F. (2021). Reflections on the public university sector and the covid-19 pandemic in South Africa. *Studies in Higher Education, 46*(1), 44–58.

Vázquez, M. (2020). Mexico's COVID-19 distance education program compels a re-think of the country's future of education. Brookings. Retrieved from: https://www.brookings.edu/blog/education-plusdevelopment/2020/04/21/mexicos-covid-19-distance-education-program-compels-a-re-think-of-the-countrys-futureof-education/

Yarrow, N., et al. (2002). *Estimates of COVID-19 impacts on earing and earning in Indonesia: How to turn the tide*. Jakarta: World Bank. Retrieved from: https://documents1.worldbank.org/curated/en/184651597383628008/pdf/Main-Report.pdf

Zapata-Garibay, R., et al. (2021). Higher education teaching practices experience in Mexico, During the emergency remote teaching implementation due to COVID-19. *Frontiers in Education, 6*, 43. https://doi.org/10.3389/feduc.2021.628158

Chapter 8
Neoliberal Reforms in Higher Education: Trends, Manifestations and Implications

F. M. Chipindi and Harrison Daka

Abstract This chapter analyses the spread of neoliberal reforms in higher education, with a primary focus on an empirically specific locale in Zambia, a Sub-Saharan African economy. We argue that neoliberal discourses, introduced into mainstream national policy on higher education in Zambia from the early 1990s have profound effects on the character of higher education in general. The reforms have occasioned significant levels of regulation or control over the actors within higher education by using words that frame and constrain, behaviour leading to the emergence of kinds of individuals who are then rendered governable (Bansel & Davies, 2010). The reforms include cutting public expenditures for social services, which include reducing government support to education and healthcare, as well as a trend toward greater participation by private actors in public life, and in higher education provision and finance (Giroux HA, Harvard Educ Rev 72:425–463, 2002; Harvey 2005; Olssen M, Peters MA, J Educ Policy 20:313–345, 2005; Zajda J, Rust V, Globalisation and comparative education. Springer, Dordrecht, 2021). Ultimately, there has been an institutionalisation of entrepreneurial and managerial modes of organising higher educational institutions, stimulated and advanced by promoting business-like relations between the institutions and industry, commerce, and government.

Keywords Higher education · Neoliberal reforms · Strategic management principles · Sub-Saharan African economy · Zambia

F. M. Chipindi · H. Daka (✉)
University of Zambia, Lusaka, Zambia
e-mail: ferdinand.chipindi@unza.zm; harrison.daka@unza.zm

J. Zajda, W. J. Jacob (eds.), *Discourses of Globalisation and Higher Education Reforms*, Globalisation, Comparative Education and Policy Research 27,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-83136-3_8

Neoliberal Reforms in Higher Education: Trends, Manifestations and Implications: Introduction

Neoliberalism as a political-economic theory was first postulated in the 1940s through the theories of individual choice, monetarism, and public choice. The theory was then popularised in the 1970s and 1980s by Ronald Reagan and Margaret Thatcher. Finally, the influence of neoliberalism was spread around the world through several means, including the International Financial Institutions (IFIs), and most notably through the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank (WB). In the section that follows each of the related concepts that underpin neoliberalism shall be discussed (Zajda, 2020). Since these early beginnings, neoliberalism has spread rapidly to many countries (Zajda & Majhanovich, 2021). As it has spread, its influences began to manifest themselves in Higher Education Institutions (HEIs) in Europe, America, Asia, and Africa. It became common for universities to adopt entrepreneurial models of knowledge production, research, teaching and community service. As a result, some universities, formerly in the United State (US) and Europe and now increasingly in the Global South, have not only developed profitmaking activities but have also become business corporations. According to Ball (2013), some significant universities in the US and Europe are heavily involved in the education business and qualify to be called business corporations because of their marketisation.

Although the effects of neoliberalism on education have been the subject of a robust body of research, insufficient attention has been paid to how the discourses of neoliberalism have been experienced in the global south. This chapter contributes to the advancement of scholarship on neoliberal discourses in education by analysing its manifest effects on the policy agenda of the flagship higher education institution in Zambia, the University of Zambia (henceforth, UNZA). We discuss some of the discourses associated with mainstream neoliberal thought. We then look at the manifestations of the reforms pursued in this part of Sub-Saharan Africa. The reforms are part of a set of globally circulating ideas transmitted through established institutions such as the International Monetary Funds (IMF) and the World Bank (WB). As the discourses circulate, they get contextualised in different spaces. Local actors re-configure them to local realities, meanings, and contexts (Dean, 2012). We conclude the paper by highlighting the implications of the neoliberal reforms.

Neoliberalism and the Primacy of the *Market*

Neoliberalism is centred around the primacy of the free market Zajda & Rust, 2021). The market, it is assumed, is the best regulator and distributor of both resources and opportunities. Therefore, the state does not impose restrictions on free/private enterprise. This happens in the form of privatisation, which means to sell state-owned enterprises, goods, and services to private investors (including public education services). For Zambia, this came into being in 1991 with the introduction of Multi Partism and change of policies even in the education system. There is also the elimination of the concept of "public goods" or "community" which means the individual has the core responsibility to manage his own life (Ross & Gibson, 2007, p. 3). This opened up many private learning institutions in Zambia and citizens had the choice of where to take their children. Instead, the market takes a more significant role in public life (Clay, 2008). This is effected by cutting public expenditures for social services, which include reducing government support to education and healthcare, as well as a trend toward greater participation by private actors in public life, and in higher education provision and finance (Giroux, 2002; Harvey, 2005; Olssen & Peters, 2005; Zajda, 2021). During this very period in Zambia, there was also the concept of cost – sharing where parents were requested to pay a certain fee for the education of their children.

The Spread of Neoliberalism

There are two principal ways in which the neoliberal policy agenda has spread around the world of higher education. First, the neoliberal policy agenda is transported through international agencies, for instance, the World Bank, the IMF, and some agencies of the United Nations. Torres (2009) argues that calls for the liberalisation of trade in various services, including higher education, facilitate the importation of neoliberal agendas into the development policies of countries in the Global South, such as Zambia. For instance, Matheson (2000) contends that international organisations have been responsible for widespread privatisation of social services in the developing countries: "the World Trade Organisation (WTO) aims to liberalise the service sector further". The immediate impact would be the privatisation of some services that governments have so far provided. Governments would be obliged to sell off such services as housing, education, and water" (cited in Hill, 2007, p. 122). In the same line after 1991 in Zambia, apart from selling companies and mines, the government of Zambia sold a lot of parastatal houses to sitting tenants. The University of Zambia was not an exception, most of the houses for the institutions were sold to university employee. Ball (2013) also contends that liberalisation of education services led to the transfer of neoliberal policy and practice from the Global North to the Global South. This is in the way of 'best practices' such as strategic management and 'empirically tested' policy options such as fiscal management, which some universities in Europe and America offer solutions to education problems in developing countries.

The second way the neoliberal policy agenda has spread is that countries in the Global South are compelled to adopt neoliberal policy reforms because of the conditions for loans set forth by the IMF and the WB (Klein, 2007; Moyo, 2009). As a criterion for getting financial support from these international financial institutions (IFIs), developing countries, like Zambia, are left with no choice but to re-adjust their economies through Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs). These SAPs tend to spread neoliberal economic discourses such as privatisation, deregulation and free-market principles (Zajda & Rust, 2021). They require developing countries to adopt such strategies to obtain financial assistance from the IMF and the WB. As we have pointed out earlier, the entry of market-based discourses into mainstream educational policy in Zambia was predicated on the conditions set by IMF and the WB in the 1980s and early 1990s. The SAPs were reflected in the 1996 Educating our Future (EoF) policy document, which transformed the higher education sector in the country by institutionalising privatisation, deregulation, and marketisation in the sector.

Neoliberalism and Education in Zambia

In the light of the foregoing, Zambia began to pursue a series of structural adjustment programmes (SAPs). The country undertook these reforms with solid encouragement and supervision by the international monetary community, such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund. The SAPs aimed to reduce state control and expand private sector participation in economic and educational activities (Mama, 2006).

These policy reforms had a profound effect on educational policy. For instance, the country's national policy on education, *Educating our Future* (EoF) (Ministry of Education [MOE], 1996), called for deregulation of higher education. Furthermore, the policy sought to ensure that "the human, material, financial and other resources in the control of the private sector be channeled without hindrance into the education sector" (MoE, 1996, p. 4). With these critical proposals, the policy replaced the pre-1990 government-financed model of pre-1990 with a market-driven model, which enabled the proliferation of private establishments in education. In this model, universities were implored to possess a "greater spirit of competitiveness and better awareness and of the importance of marketing themselves more aggressively" (p. 102).

Accordingly, the universities, notably UNZA, began to adopt entrepreneurial models of knowledge production, research, teaching and community service. The quest for "non-government" sources of revenue began to reflect the value proposition of the institution. It has, since the 1990s, articulated elaborate revenue generation plans with solid emphases on none governmental sources of finance. For example, in its 2018–2022 strategic plan, UNZA seeks to reposition itself within the global knowledge economy by offering industry-relevant products such as graduates and research "outputs" (University of Zambia (UNZA), 2012, p. xii). At the height of structural adjustment, the institution has become "entrepreneurial and profit-motivated" (p. 102), as the policy framework sanctioned. These are stimulated and advanced by promoting business-like relations between the HEIs and industry, commerce, and government.

Trends and Manifestations

The proliferation of mechanisms has accompanied the entry of market logic into higher education to quantify the activities of academics and students. Scholars observe the rise of audit technologies. However, while such efforts at transparency can move from the top down, they can also move from the bottom up where transparency can result from demands by those on the bottom who want to see clearly what one has to do to move up the ladder. These reforms appear to have normalised and enshrined the quantification of academic life in the university. For instance, in 2019, UNZA rolled out a performance appraisal system for its academic and non-academic staff. Management used persuasive superlatives to justify the introduction of these tools of measurement. The system ascribes numerical values to various roles that are executed by academics. For example, an academic earns a score for publishing an article and gains another point for supervision of postgraduate students. The aggregate scores from all aspects determine whether the academic has satisfied the performance criteria. As noted earlier, the reforms were articulated in a language that appears to have foregrounded their superiority to any other means of appraising staff.

Scholars have described these behaviours as an audit culture. For instance, Shore and Wright (2000) assert that the idea of academic auditing practices was borrowed from its original associations with financial accounting in which the term implied scrutiny, examination and the passing of judgment. As the concept migrated from the business world into the academy, it changed to create new and compelling ways of thinking and acting about research, teaching, and knowledge production. In higher education, the concept of audit has come to be associated with such discourses as performance, quality assurance, accountability, effectiveness, peer review, and efficiency (Zajda, 2020). Audit culture, they argue, has become a means of producing new subjectivities, for instance, through how people within the academy relate to their workplace, the authority within the neoliberal university, each other, and, more importantly, to themselves.

The performance appraisal system was but one of the other audit technologies introduced by UNZA. The workload policy, introduced in 2020, and the academic promotion, were additional mechanisms that the university introduced. The workload policy provided for a threshold on the number of courses that each lecture was to teach. The system even prescribed punitive measures for faculty members who fell below the minimum amount of work. However, the lecturer's union fiercely opposed these introductions, denouncing the management to quantify non-numeric dimensions. These overtures had the potential to damage or erode the free spirit of scientific practice.

Conclusion

This chapter has analysed the spread and impact of neoliberalism on higher education in Zambia. We have traced how strategic management principles were transferred from private industry to the public education sector, ostensibly in pursuit of efficiency, effectiveness, and excellence. These business logics become central values for university functioning and restructuring.

References

Ball, S. J. (2013). *Global education inc: New policy networks and the neoliberal imaginary*. Routledge.

Bansel, P., & Davies, B. (2010). Through a love of what neoliberalism puts at risk. In J. Blackmore, M. Brennan, & L. Zipin (Eds.), *Re-positioning university governance and academic work* (pp. 133–145). Sense.

Clay, R. (2008). The corporatization of higher education: The intermingling of business and academic cultures brings both concerns and potential benefits to psychology. *American Psychological Association, 39*(11), 50. Retrieved from http://www.apa.org/monitor/2008/12/higher-ed.aspx

Dean, M. (2012). Rethinking neoliberalism. *Journal of Sociology, 50*(2), 150–163. https://doi.org/10.1177/1440783312442256

Giroux, H. A. (2002). Neoliberalism, corporate culture, and the promise of higher education: The university as a democratic public sphere. *Harvard Educational Review, 72*(4), 425–463. Retrieved from http://search.proquest.com.libproxy.rpi.edu/docview/212279730?accountid=28525

Harvey, D. (2005). *A brief history of neoliberalism*. OUP.

Hill, D. (2007). Educational perversion and global neoliberalism. In R. Ross & E. W. Gibson (Eds.), *Neoliberalism and education reform* (pp. 107–144). Hampton Press.

Klein, N. (2007). *Shock doctrine: The rise disaster capitalist*. Picador.

Mama, A. (2006). Towards academic freedom for Africa in the 21st century. *Journal of Higher Education in Africa, 4*(3), 1–35. Retrieved from http://ahero.uwc.ac.za/index.php?module=cshe&action=viewtitle&id=cshe_260

Matheson, P. (2000). *The imaginative world of the reformation*. T & T Clark.

Ministry of Education (MoE). (1996). *Educating our future: National policy on education*. Government Printers.

Moyo, D. (2009). Dead aid: Why aid is not working and how there is a better way for Africa. : Farrar, Strauss, Giroux.

Olssen, M., & Peters, M. A. (2005). Neoliberalism, higher education and the knowledge economy: From the free market to knowledge capitalism. *Journal of Education Policy, 20*(3), 313–345.

Ross, E. W., & Gibson, R. (2007). Introduction. In R. J. Gibson & E. W. Ross (Eds.), *Neoliberalism and education reform* (pp. 1–14). Hampton Press.

Shore, C., & Wright, S. (2000). Audit culture and anthropology: Neoliberalism in British higher education. *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, 6*(4), 721–722.

Torres, C. A. (2009). *Education and neoliberal globalization*. Routledge.

University of Zambia (UNZA). (2012). *Strategic plan: 2013–2017*. University of Zambia Press.

Zajda, J. (Ed.). (2020). *Globalisation, ideology and neo-liberal higher education reform*. Springer.

Zajda, J. (Ed.). (2021). *Third international handbook of globalisation and education policy research*. Springer. Retrieved from: https://link.springer.com/book/10.1007%2F978-3-030-66003-1

Zajda, J., & Majhanovich, S. (2021). *Discourses of globalisation, ideology, education and policy reforms*. Springer.

Zajda, J., & Rust, V. (2021). *Globalisation and comparative education*. Springer.

Chapter 9
Neoliberal Trends of Higher Education Reforms in China, Japan, and Korea: Catch-Up and Self-Reorientation

Jing Liu

Abstract This chapter reviews paradigm shifts of neoliberal higher education reforms in East Asia and maps out an emerging Self-Reorientation Model of Higher Education Reform in this region. To illustrate these paradigmatic shifts, this chapter, first, visualizes policy flows and practices of a Catch-up Model of Higher Education Reform in China, Japan, and South Korea in the past decades through a comprehensive literature review of policy documents and second-hand statistic data of higher education and social development in East Asian societies. It explores market-driven massification policies, competition-oriented internationalization of higher education, the World-Class University Movement, and their impacts on higher education institutions and societies in these three countries. Then, the chapter investigates emerging self-reorientation initiatives of East Asian higher education institutions aiming at reconstruction It concludes by discussing implications and challenges of the ongoing Self-Reorientation Model of Higher Education Reforms in East Asian countries.

Keywords Competition-oriented internationalization · East Asia · Global competition · Higher education · Higher education reforms · Neoliberalism · Neoliberal higher education reforms · South Korea · Self-reorientation model · World-class university movement

Neoliberal Trends of Higher Education Reforms in China, Japan, and Korea: Introduction

In the past three decades, the global society has been experiencing a rapid development of tertiary education. The world tertiary education has developed from an elite stage towards a more universal stage (Marginson, 2016; Zajda & Rust,

J. Liu (✉)
School of Education, Tohoku University, Sendai, Miyagi, Japan
e-mail: jing.liu.e8@tohoku.ac.jp

J. Zajda, W. J. Jacob (eds.), *Discourses of Globalisation and Higher Education Reforms*, Globalisation, Comparative Education and Policy Research 27,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-83136-3_9

2021). According the World Bank, between 1980 and 2019, the world gross enrolment ratio of tertiary education has risen from 12.4% to 38.8%. From the late 1990s, the expansion of participation in tertiary education accelerated (World Bank, 2019). With an emerging influence of neoliberal reforms through economic development and globalization, East Asian and Pacific countries have been experiencing an emerging demand for human resources which can contribute for keeping a rapid growth of a knowledge-based economy. Consequently, the rise of demand for human resources with knowledge and advanced skills generated an unprecedent growth of participation in higher education in East Asia and Pacific. In 1990, the gross enrolment ratio of tertiary education in East Asia & Pacific was 7.32%. This number rose to 47.65% in 2019 (World Bank, 2019). East Asia has the third largest zone of higher education in the world (Yang, 2017b). Although countries in East Asia have different histories and social contexts, higher education in these countries share the similar development strategies, such as massification of higher education, reform for improving efficiency and accountability of higher education institutions, internationalization of higher education, and enhancement of global competitiveness of universities (Shin et al., 2015). The neoliberal trends of higher education reform not only enlarged scale of higher education but also enhanced competitiveness of universities in this region (Zajda, 2020).. With initiatives of building world class universities taken by governments in this region, quality of education and academic output generated by universities in East Asia have been dramatically increased (Mok, 2013; Marginson, 2017; Huang & Marginson, 2018).

A catch-up mentality of higher education has enabled an unprecedented development of higher education in East Asia. On the other hand, scholars and policy makers have been discussing on what is the “East Asianeseness” of higher education reform. In other words, they showed their concern on how similar or how different is the model of higher education development in East Asia to/from the Western model (Marginson, 2011; Yang, 2011, 2015, 2017b). Moreover, in contrast to the argument of Asian universities are a copied version of Western universities without traditional values or practices, there is a rise of discussion indicating universities in East Asia are hybrids with various historical culture, traditions and social contextualization (Chan et al., 2017).

This chapter begins by reviewing policies and practices of a Catch-up Model of higher education in East Asia, including massification of higher education, reform of university governance, internationalization of higher education, and recent strategies of competition for world-class universities (Zajda, 2021). The chapter then provides a review of recent discussion about hybridizing process of East Asian universities and initiatives of reorienting “East Asianeseness” of higher education. The concluding section discusses implications and challenges of the ongoing Self-Reorientation Model of higher education reforms in East Asian countries.

Neoliberal Higher Education Reforms in China, Japan and Korea

Towards Universal Participation for Higher Education

To keep global competitiveness, East Asian countries have been expanding higher education scale and massifying enrollment of higher education since the 1990s. Moreover, neoliberal reforms in higher education in East Asia accelerated decentralization and private investment in higher education which is also sustained by a private duty to invest in education, grounded in Confucian values in these societies (Marginson, 2011).

In China, to accommodate needs from individuals and national development, since the late 1990s, the Chinese government has been taking initiatives of expanding its higher education and massifying the enrolment. In 1993, the central government released the *Mission outline of the development and reform of China's education* to encourage social forces and individual citizens to establish schools and universities (CCPCC, 1993). This strategy was further promoted by the *Law on Higher Education* in 1998 to promote decentralization and diversification of educational services (MOE, 1998). Higher education institutions are required to construct a new and modern management and governance system to improve quality, efficiency and autonomy of higher education institutions (MOE, 1998; Shi & Wu, 2018). And The government took massification of higher education as a means for stimulating economic growth. According to Fig. 9.1, between 2000 and 2019, the number of universities has been doubled. And as shown in Fig. 9.2, by 2019, gross enrolment ratio of higher education in China has developed into universal stage.

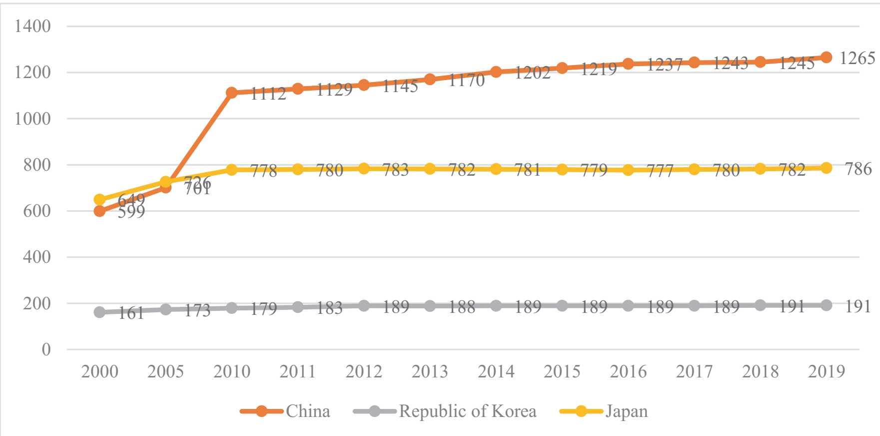


Fig. 9.1 Number of Universities in China, Republic of Korea and Japan (2000–2019). (Source: China Education Year Book 2000–2019, Japan Basic School Survey Report, 2019, and Ministry of Education, of the Republic of Korea (author edited))

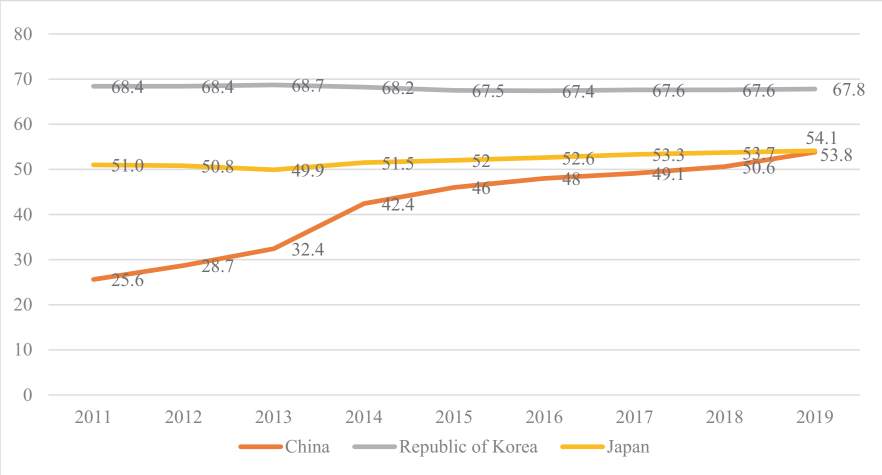


Fig. 9.2 Gross Enrolment Ratio to University. (Source: UNESCO, 2019; OECD, 2019; Japan Basic School Survey Report, 2019, author edited)

Moreover, the massification of higher education in China results not only from the rapid expansion of public universities but also from the unprecedented development of minban (private colleges) and transnational higher education institutions (Mok, 2021). There is a rapid expansion of minban education from the late 1990s right after the Chinese government took a liberal approach to construct minban education. In 1999, the number of minban (private) higher education institutions increased from 37 to 747 between 1999 and 2019 (Mok, 2021). Among universities, there were 434 minban higher education institutions and 9 transnational higher education institutions, which share 35.2% of the total number of universities of China in 2019.

Japan has already entered into massification stage of higher education in the midst of 1960s. And with a second massification in the 1990s, Japan's enrolment of universities and Junior Colleges almost achieved 50 percent level, constituting Trow's universal stage (Arimoto, 1997). This dramatic growth of higher education enrolment is mainly generated by the rapid development of private universities (Fukudome, 2019; Huang, 2012). In 2020, 615 out of 795 universities in Japan are private universities, which shares 77.4% of universities in Japan (MEXT, 2020). In Japan, to ensure quality and strengthen higher education institutions' autonomy, the government released the Deregulation of University Act in 1991. The reform gave universities freedom and autonomy to organize curriculum and generate fund through tuition (Amano, 2014; Morozumi, 2019). In line with a shift to a knowledge-based society in the late 1990s, the government emphasized a comprehensive reform that could enhance university education's role as "cultivating a problem-finding ability in learners." Entering the twenty-first Century, Japanese national universities were transformed into national university corporations (NUCs) in 2004 by implementing the National University Corporation Law. In the following years, the government continuously launched strategies and policies regarding promoting higher education through quality assurance, diversification of higher education to meet dynamic changes and enhancing research capacity to maintain Japan's higher education's international competitiveness. The School Education Law and National University Corporation Law were revised in 2014 in order to establish president's leadership of university and strengthen university governance (Yamada & Yamada, 2018). In 2017, with the amendment of the National University Cooperation Act, the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Sciences, and Technology launched Designated National University Corporation System to further improve education, enhance research activities and facilitate the creation of innovation selected universities. By 2019, the government nominated seven designated national university corporations.

In Korea, the rapid increase of higher education enrolment began to accelerate with the launch of government policy on expansion of private higher education institutions in the early 1990s (Shin, 2015). In early 2000, the Korea government started the incorporation and merger of national universities to improve efficiency, transparency and accountability of university management (Jung, 2018). In Korea, the rapid expansion of higher education started with the launch of Education Reform Plan for Establishing a New Education System (5.31 Education Reform Plan) in 1995 (Kim, 2021). Figure 9.1 shows number of universities in Korea has been gradually increasing since 2000. According to Ministry of Education of Korea, in 2019, 156 of out 191 universities are private universities.

Internationalization of Higher Education

East Asian countries have been acting as active players in promoting internationalization of higher education. Internationalization of China's higher education has been fully integrated to China's international development aid strategies (Mo & Liu, 2020; H. Wu, 2019). And this progress has accelerated since the full implementation of the Belt and Road Initiatives since 2015. These strategies have boosted a rapid increase of inbound of international students in Chinese universities. Figure 9.3 shows number of inbound international students steadily increased between 1999 and 2018. Figures 9.4 and 9.5 indicate the Chinese government has been providing an increasing number of government scholarships to international students, particularly those from Asia and African countries to study in China. And the government also fully utilized this process to upgrade quality control and quality assurance of their higher education institutions. In addition, the government has been promoting internationalization of higher education through multilateral cooperation platforms with universities alliances at regional and international level, such as China-Africa 20 + 20 Higher Education Cooperation Plan, and University Alliance of the New Silk Road (Mo & Liu, 2020; Niu & Liu, 2016). A most recent trend of internationalization of higher education is the internationalization of universities at provincial level to be involved in the Belt and Road Initiatives through exchange and

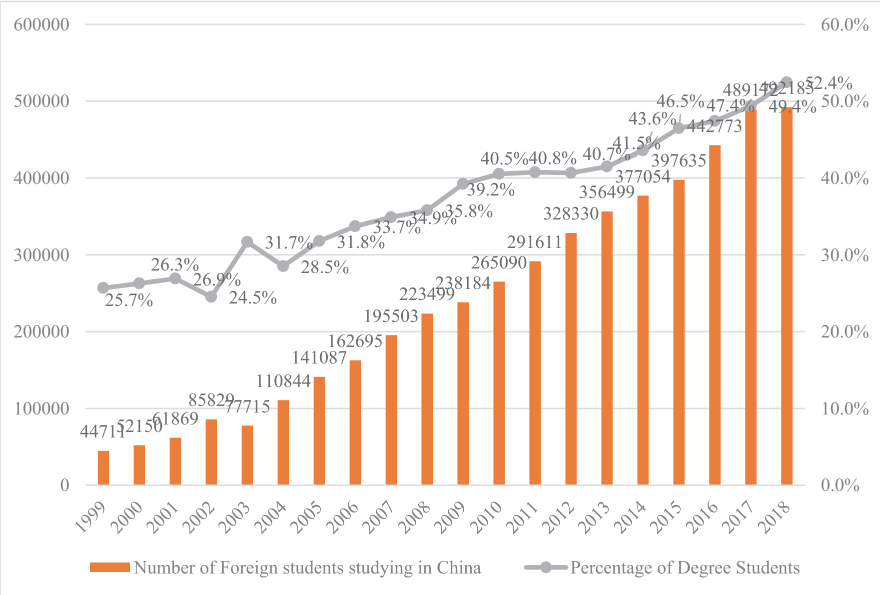


Fig. 9.3 Number of Foreign Students Studying in China (1999–2018). (Source: Ministry of Education, China)

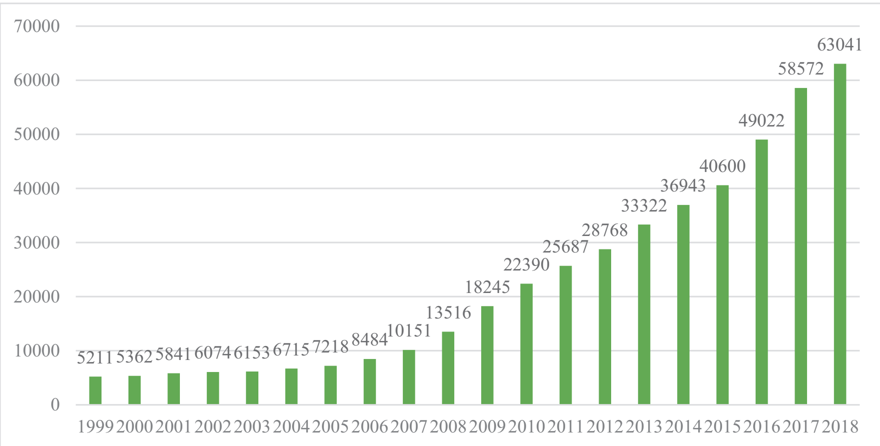


Fig. 9.4 Number of Foreign Students Who Received Government Scholarship (1999–2018). (Source: Ministry of Education, China (author edited))

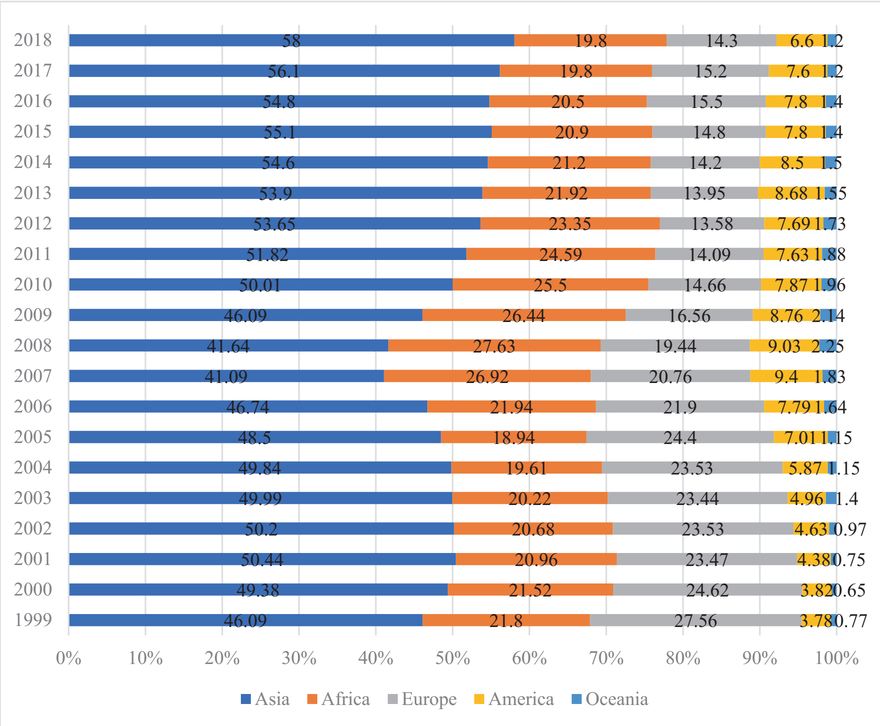


Fig. 9.5 Shares of International Students Receiving Government Scholarship by Continents. (Source: Ministry of Education, China (author edited))

collaboration with universities from countries along the Belt and Road. This new approach has potential to upgrade quality of higher education at provincial level.

Besides "inward-oriented" internationalization of higher education, there are three perspectives of "outward-oriented" internationalization of higher education. First, Confucius Institutes/classrooms, as a soft-power approach, aims at promoting Chinese culture exchange and Chinese language study through partnership between one Chinese higher education institute and one overseas higher education institute. By September 2020, there are 541 Confucius Institutes and 1170 Confucius Classrooms established in 162 countries and regions. On the other hand, Confucius institutes/classrooms have been facing serious criticism arguing the institutes/classrooms have become platform for China's foreign propagandist. And there are risks of sacrificing academic freedom in foreign universities by opening Confucius Institutes/classrooms (Wu, 2019). Second, by following the national strategy of "Going Out", some Chinese universities have established their overseas branch campuses in Malaysia, the UK, Japan and other developing countries in Asia and Africa.

In 2015, the Chinese government issued *the Overall Plan for Coordinately Advancing the Construction of World-Class Universities and First-Class Disciplines* to catch up the development of higher education in the global society, strengthen competitiveness of innovation and research, accelerate internationalization of the higher education in China (Liu et al., 2019; Song, 2018). This Double First-Class initiative can be considered the upgrade version of the Project 211 and Project 985 which were launched in the 1990s for building world-class universities. With policy support, China has made a remarkable progress in constructing world-class universities in terms of the global university ranking. As indicated in Table 9.1, there are seven universities from Chinese mainland ranked the top 200 of the Times Higher Education Ranking 2021. However, there are deep-rooted challenges of the construction of World-Class universities. First, there is an imbalance in recruiting Ph.D. degree holders graduated from prestigious world-class universities abroad and the recruitment market for those who graduated from domestic universities. The priority given to the graduates from foreign universities may discourage domestic students to study in Chinese universities. Second, the competition for becoming a world-class university may enlarge the gap between universities in different regions. Third, there have a trade-off to consider how to meet the indicators for reaching top positions in the international higher education rankings and how to construct "Chinese Characteristics" at these universities. Lastly, it is necessary to find a way to build a reasonable and fairer quality assurance and control on recruiting international students (Song, 2018).

Similar to China, internationalization of higher education in Japan is also a government-initiated process (Horie, 2002). In 1983, the Japanese government launched a plan to accept 100,000 international students to higher education institutions by the end of 2000. According to Fig. 9.6, this goal was achieved in 2003. The government, in 2008, introduced a new plan to accept 300, 000 international students by 2020. Figure 9.6 shows the target has been achieved in 2019. In 2020, among 279,597 international students studying in Japan, 95.7% of them are self-funded students. And 94.6% of them are from Asia.

In 2009, the Japanese government introduced 'Global 30 Project' to established university network for internationalization through boosting number of international students studied in japan as well as Japanese students studying abroad (Ishikawa, 2011). In 2011, the Japanese government started Inter-University Exchange project to promote international student exchange between universities in designated countries and regions and Japanese universities. In 2012, the

Table 9.1 Numbers of Higher Education Institutions Ranked Top 200 of THE Ranking in China, Japan and Korea

	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020	2021
China	6	3	2	2	3	2	4	7	7	7	7
Japan	5	5	5	5	5	2	2	2	2	2	2
Korea	4	3	4	4	4	4	4	4	5	6	7

Source: THE Ranking, 2011–2021

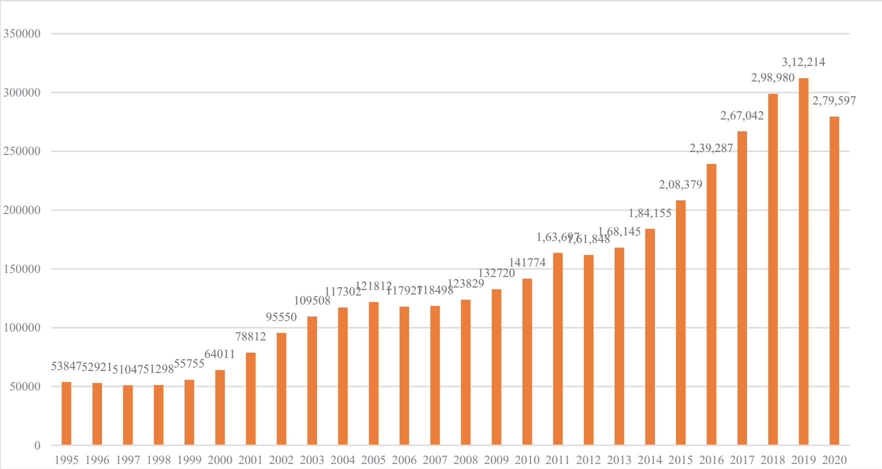


Fig. 9.6 Number of International Students Studying in Japan. (Source: Japan Student Services Organization (author edited)

government provided fund to support the Project for Promotion of Global Human Resource Development to foster young generation in Japan. In 2014, the Japanese government launched "Top Global University" project to distribute governmental funding for up to 10 years to improve global competitiveness of the selected 37 universities and push university reform for promoting internationalization (Yonezawa et al., 2017; Yukiko & Akiyoshi, 2015).

According to Ministry of Education, Korea, Since the 1990s, the government has been taking initiatives to promote international exchange. In 1995, there were 1983 international students in Korea. In 2019, number of international students studied in Korea is 160,000 from 190 countries (Green, 2015; Korea Ministry of Education, 2020). The Korea government provided Global Korea Scholarship to international students to study in Korea. Since 1967, 11,115 international students from 156 countries have already received the scholarship. In 2020, there were 3000 international students received the scholarship studying in 84 universities in Korea. Korean language education is serving as means of promoting understanding of Korean culture and society. By 2020, there were 152, 000 students in 1669 schools across 39 countries who are learning Korea.

The Korean government also introduced a series of projects promoting international exchange and strengthening capacity of universities in Korea. Brain Korea 21 (BK21) Project is a representative project in Korea to enhance the global competitiveness of higher education in Korea. On the one hand, it stimulated the construction of research-oriented universities in Korea. On the other hand, it encouraged researchers to publish more research outcomes in international journals (Park et al., 2015).

Self-Reorientation Initiatives of East Asian Higher Education Institution

The section above indicates there is a shared neoliberal trend of higher education reforms in East Asian countries, particularly in China, Japan and Korea since the 1980s. By introducing a catch-up model, combining marketization, the new public management, competition and Internationalization to universities in these countries, both quantity and quality of higher education have been steadily improved. Some East Asian universities even have been entering into the distinguished league of the world-class universities. However, there is an emerging concern that whether the current catch-up model of higher education is rather a process of Westernization or academic colonization (Chan et al., 2017). Echoing these, scholars also claim that the process of current higher education reforms in East Asia is rather a hybridizing process which integrates the Western values to their local and traditional values and institutions (Lo, 2016; Marginson, 2011). By entering into universal stage of higher education development, it is necessary for these East Asian countries to reconsider constructing higher education with East Asianeseness.

The discussion on Asian Model of higher education development has been under debates since the late 1980s. Altbach (1989) argues that Asian model of higher education is based on a series of variations on modern Western model. In contrast, Yang (2013) points out that there is a long history of higher learning in China. Although there is an integration of higher education development model between Western and Asian countries, the Western ideas still have not been fully indigenized. Rather, the Western concept has been adopted only for practicality of higher education in East Asia (Yang, 2017a, p. 29). In the past decades, higher education in East Asian has achieved unprecedented development in quantity and quality. And there is an increasing number of top universities in this region which have joined league of world-class universities. Nevertheless, the current statuses of the best universities in East Asia are still more imitative than creative (Yang, 2017b).

According to Shin (2015), higher education development in East Asia has been formulated by three forces, including the Western ideas of university model, unique cultural and educational tradition, and an economic-development driven higher education development strategy.

China's higher education is facing challenges in terms of balancing tensions and contradictions between the Western Normative model and protection of the national sovereignty and political power of the party-state (Mok, 2021). Modern universities in China have been based on Western values and supported by traditional culture of Chinese society. And research has already shown some top Chinese universities have been gradually integrating Chinese traditions with Western values to contribute to inter-civilizational dialogue (Yang, 2017a).

Moreover, with the rapid higher education development, the Chinese government started giving emphasis of "Connotative development" of higher education institutions after entering into universal stage of higher education. The concept provides a policy direction for China's higher education development to explore uniqueness of universities, recognize basic function of higher education institutions, promote institutional reform and innovation, and manifest China's social and cultural characteristics as core contents of higher education development in China (Cui et al., 2019; State Council of China, 2019).

Besides these, a Catch-up model enabled China to achieve building the World-class universities. Nevertheless, higher education institutions need to reconsider their strategies for internationalization. On the other hand, it is necessary for universities at provincial level to reconsider their advantages and purposes for internationalization. Moreover, universities in China need to transfer their utilitarian and ranking-driven mindset for internationalization. Putting the ideological perspective aside, they need to reconsider the value and mission of higher education rather than fully devote themselves in meeting the indicators for rankings and numbers of publication. Building a world-class with culture and value of "Chineseness" is crucial and necessary. Chinese higher education system needs to develop its own standards for world-class university in order to support both a global role for Chinese universities and cultural distinctiveness (Zha, 2016). More importantly, Chinese universities need to be more active in taking part in international dialogue and exchange. They could serve as an interpreter to tell and share Chinese development experience in fulfilling sustainability by using international discourses. In addition, China, together with countries with rapid expansion of higher education, needs to explore a more innovative approach to keep the pace of internationalization and collaboration in the era of post pandemic.

The modern university idea in Korea is hybridized by the German model, Japanese Model and the US model. Moreover, this idea is also embedded in the Confucian tradition and a demand for higher education development by the rapid economic development in Korea (Shin, 2015). There are many similarities between Korea higher education and the Western Model, including university governance, institutional structure, curriculum, and instructional and research methods. The biggest difference is cultural perspectives of higher education institutions (Jung, 2018). Also, Jung (2018) claims university culture in Korea is different from Western universities, such as emphasis on seniority, interpersonal relationships and collective well-being. She argued that foreign dependence is an obstacle to building socially contextualized knowledge and technologies and making Korea a research hub. Moreover, it is worthy investigating whether Asian value, such as collectivism, can generate more active teaching, learning and research collaboration.

In contrast to China and Korea, Japan's higher education also developed through influences of hybrid model including both East and West Model. Nevertheless, research shows Japanese higher education gives more emphasis on international competitiveness rather than collaboration or integration (Yonezawa et al., 2017). However, this competition-driven perception of higher education may accelerate stratification of higher education in Japan. Amano (2014) showed his concern on greater inequalities and an even more hierarchical higher education system based on "freedom and competition" approach adapted to current higher education reform in Japan.

Conclusion

Higher education in East Asia has made unprecedented progress over the past decades. By following neoliberal model and catch-up mentality of higher education reforms, China, Japan, and Korea, as the major countries in East Asia, have successfully expanded their higher education scale to enter into the stage of universalization of higher education. Through marketization, higher education in these countries absorbed diverse resources to build more higher education institutions to accommodate an emerging demand for highly educated and trained human resources to sustain their rapid economic growth as well as a rise of need for higher learning to satisfy individual well-being. Moreover, to face a knowledge-based economic and social development for Industry 4.0 and Society 5.0, higher education institutions in this region have been taking initiatives to keep their competitiveness in terms of internationalization, global higher education rankings, and innovations. Besides, the reform also brought decentralization, deregulation and autonomy to higher education institutions. It also strengthened research capability of these countries through the Global World-Class University Movement.

In contrast to the Catch-up mentality of higher education development, the chapter shows that there is an emerging debate on characteristics of higher education reforms in East Asia in recent years. Scholars and policy makers started to reconsider the similarities and differences between the Western Model and the uniqueness of higher education development model in East Asia. In other words, what exactly allowed higher education reforms in East Asia to make these achievements? Some traditional values and culture have been considered as barriers to higher education development in East Asia (Altbach, 1989; Jung, 2018; Yang, 2017a). Notwithstanding, literature review in this chapter indicates the balance between the Western value and the traditional value and culture (Confucianism) in East Asian societies is one of the keys to achieve catch-up in higher education development. As research has already shown an emerging unequal, imbalanced and stratified higher education based on the neoliberal reforms, it is a good timing for higher education in East Asia to reconsider their future strategy for higher education development through exploration of traditional value and culture of higher learning and integration of these to higher education reforms (Yang, 2020). It is difficult to conclude there is a specific model of higher education development in East Asia. Rather, the exploration of how East Asian countries integrated their diversities to the variations of East Asianeseness of higher education provides us with a much more meaningful perspective to understand the process of East Asian's higher education development and its global implications.

References

Altbach, P. G. (1989). Twisted roots: The Western impact on Asian higher education. *Higher Education, 18*(1), 9–29. https://doi.org/10.1007/BF00138959

Amano, I. (2014). *Globalization and higher education reforms in Japan: The obstacles to greater international competitiveness*. Retrieved from nippon.com: your doorway to Japan. http://www.nippon.com/en/in-depth/a02801

Arimoto, A. (1997). Massification of higher education and academic reforms in Japan. In *Academic reforms in the world: Situation and perspective in the massification stage of higher education* (pp. 21–48). Research Institute for Higher Education, Hiroshima University.

CCPCC. (1993). *The mission outline of the development and reform of China's education*. CCPCC.

Chan, S.-J., Lee, M. N. N., & Yang, R. (2017). The Hybrid University in East Asia: Searching for the new paradigm. *Studies in Higher Education, 42*(10), 1803–1808. https://doi.org/10.1080/03075079.2017.1376876

Cui, R., Xie, Z., & Shi, Z. (2019). Policy interpretation of the conotative development of higher education. *Tsinghua Journal of Education, 40*(6), 1–9.

Fukudome, H. (2019). Higher education in Japan: Its uniqueness and historical development. In Y. Kitamura, T. Omomo, & M. Katsuno (Eds.), *Education in Japan: A comprehensive analysis of education reforms and practices* (pp. 41–51). Springer Singapore.

Green, C. (2015). Internationalization, deregulation and the expansion of higher education in Korea: An historical overview. *International Journal of Higher Education, 4*(3), 1–13.

Horie, M. (2002). The internationalization of higher education in Japan in the 1990s: A reconsideration. *Higher Education, 43*(1), 65–84. https://doi.org/10.1023/A:1012920215615

Huang, F. (2012). Higher education from massification to universal access: A perspective from Japan. *Higher Education, 63*(2), 257–270.

Huang, F., & Marginson, S. (2018). Higher education research in the Asia-Pacific. *International Journal of Educational Development, 63*, 1–3. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijedudev.2017.10.008

Ishikawa, M. (2011). Redefining internationalization in higher education: Global 30 and the making of global universities in Japan. In *Reimagining Japanese education: Borders, transfers, circulations, and the comparative* (pp. 193–223). Oxford Symposium Books.

Jung, J. (2018). Higher education in Korea: Western influences, Asian values and indigenous processes. *Journal of Asian Public Policy, 11*(1), 1–13.

Kim, Y. (2021). The institutionalization of neoliberal ideas in the management and evaluation of higher education in Korea and Japan. *Research Institute for Higher Education Hiroshima University, 18*, 47–68.

Korea Ministry of Education. (2020). *Education in Korea* (Ministry of Education, Ed.). Korea Ministry of Education.

Liu, Q., Turner, D., & Jing, X. (2019). The "double first-class initiative" in China: Background, implementation, and potential problems. *Beijing International Review of Education, 1*(1), 92. https://doi.org/10.1163/25902547-00101009

Lo, W. Y. W. (2016). The concept of greater China in higher education: Adoptions, dynamics and implications. *Comparative Education, 52*(1), 26–43.

Marginson, S. (2011). Higher education in East Asia and Singapore: Rise of the Confucian model. *Higher Education, 61*(5), 587–611.

Marginson, S. (2016). Global stratification in higher education. In S. Slaughter & B. J. Taylor (Eds.), *Higher education, stratification, and workforce development: Competitive advantage in Europe, the US, and Canada* (pp. 13–34). Springer.

Marginson, S. (2017). The world-class multiversity: Global commonalities and national characteristics. *Frontiers of Education in China, 12*(2), 233–260. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11516-017-0018-1

MEXT. (2020). *Basic school survey report: Higher education institutions*. Retrieved from Tokyo.

Mo, Y., & Liu, B. (2020). History of internationliazation of China's higher education and its reform outlook. *Journal of Hebei Normal University (Educational Science), 22*(4), 85–93.
MOE. (1998). *Law on higher education of 1998. The action plan to vitalize education into 21st century*. Ministry of Education.
Mok, K. H. (2013). The quest for an entrepreneurial university in East Asia: Impact on academics and administrators in higher education. *Asia Pacific Education Review, 14*(1), 11–22. https://doi.org/10.1007/s12564-013-9249-x
Mok, K. H. (2021). Education market with the Chinese characteristics: The rise of minban and transnational higher education in China. *Higher Education Quarterly, n/a*(n/a). https://doi.org/10.1111/hequ.12323
Morozumi, A. (2019). Higher education reform: Focusing on National University Reform. In Y. Kitamura, T. Omomo, & M. Katsuno (Eds.), *Education in Japan: A comprehensive analysis of education reforms and practices* (pp. 197–209). Springer Singapore.
Niu, C., & Liu, J. (2016). Positioning China's aid to educational development in Africa: Past, present, and Post-2015. In *Post-education-Forall and sustainable development paradigm: Structural changes with diversifying actors and norms* (Vol. 29, pp. 269–299). Emerald Group Publishing Limited.
OECD. (2019). *Population with tertiary education*. Retrieved from: https://data.oecd.org/eduatt/population-withtertiary-education.htm
Park, H., Choi, J. Y., Yun, J. H., & Chae, J.-E. (2015). *Skills for work: The development and expansion of the higher education sector in the Republic of Korea*. Inter-American Development Bank.
Shi, X., & Wu, Z. (2018). Paradigm shift of higher education Goverance in China. In J. C. Shin (Ed.), *Higher education governance in East Asia: Transformations under neoliberalism* (pp. 55–72). Springer.
Shin, J. C. (2015). Higher education development in Korea: Accomplishments and challenges. In *mass higher education development in East Asia* (pp. 43-61): Springer.
Shin, J. C., Postiglione, G. A., & Huang, F. (Eds.). (2015). *Mass higher education development in East Asia: Strategy, quality, and challenges*. Springer.
Song, J. (2018). Creating world-class universities in China: Strategies and impacts at a renowned research university. *Higher Education, 75*(4), 729–742. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10734-017-0167-4
State Council of China. (2019). *China's educational modernization 2035*. State Council of China.
UNESCO. (2019). *Global flow of tertiary-level students*. Retrieved from: http://uis.unesco.org/en/uis-student-low
World Bank. (2019). *Higher Education*. Retrieved from: https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SE.TER.ENRR
Wu, H. (2019). Three dimensions of China's "outward-oriented" higher education internationalization. *Higher Education, 77*(1), 81–96. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10734-018-0262-1
Yamada, R., & Yamada, A. (2018). Higher education governance and institutional research: The emergence of a new role in the post-massification era in Japan. In *Massification of higher education in Asia* (pp. 129–147). Springer.
Yang, R. (2011). Self and the other in the Confucian cultural context: Implications of China's higher education development for comparative studies. *International Review of Education, 57*(3), 337–355. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11159-011-9208-x
Yang, R. (2013). Indigenizing the Western concept of university: The Chinese experience. *Asia Pacific Education Review, 14*(1), 85–92.
Yang, R. (2015). Reassessing China's higher education development: A focus on academic culture. *Asia Pacific Education Review, 16*(4), 527–535.
Yang, R. (2017a). The cultural mission of China's elite universities: Examples from Peking and Tsinghua. *Studies in Higher Education, 42*(10), 1825–1838.
Yang, R. (2017b). The cultural mission of premier universities in East Asia. *International higher education*(91), 29-30.

Yang, R. (2020). Political culture and higher education governance in Chinese societies: Some reflections. *Frontiers of Education in China, 15*(2), 187–221. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11516-020-0010-z

Yonezawa, A., Hoshino, A., & Shimauchi, S. (2017). Inter- and intra-regional dynamics on the idea of universities in East Asia: Perspectives from Japan. *Studies in Higher Education, 42*(10), 1839–1852. https://doi.org/10.1080/03075079.2017.1376875

Yukiko, S., & Akiyoshi, Y. (2015). Japan's "top global university" project. *International Higher Education, 0*(81). https://doi.org/10.6017/ihe.2015.81.8742

Zajda, J. (Ed.). (2020). *Globalisation, ideology and neo-liberal higher education reform*. Springer.

Zajda, J. (Ed.). (2021). *Third international handbook of globalisation and education policy research*. Springer.

Zajda, J., & Rust, V. (2021). *Globalisation and comparative education*. Springer.

Zha, Q. (2016). China calls for smarter standards for its world-class universities. *International Higher Education, 86*, 10–11. https://doi.org/10.6017/ihe.2016.86.9363

Chapter 10
Pursuing Neoliberal Performativity? Performance-Based Funding and Accountability in Higher Education in Ontario, Canada

Melanie Lawrence and Goli M. Rezai-Rashti

Abstract The this chapter offers a critical analysis of Performance-Based Funding in Ontario's higher education. Drawing on theories of critical policy analysis and neoliberal accountability, this chapter focuses on the Strategic Mandate Agreement (SMA) and the Performance-Based Funding (PBF) model for universities and colleges in Ontario. The chapter explores the rise of the market- driven neoliberal accountability that focuses on business model of organizational efficiency and concludes that these recent policies are fundamentally transforming Ontario's higher education at the expense of a more egalitarian system promoting social equity and critical citizenship.

Keywords Academic standards · Accountability · Governance · Globalisation · Higher education · Higher education policy · Ideology · Internationalization · Neoliberal ideology · Neo-liberal higher education Performance-Based Funding policy · Quality

Performance-Based Funding and Accountability in Higher Education in Ontario: Introduction

In recent decades, higher education institutions have been going through some major transformations (Brown, 2015; Ball, 2015; Dougherty & Natow, 2019; Zajda, 2021). Quality Assurance, the Strategic Mandate Agreement (SMA), and Performance-Based Funding (PBF) in higher education that predominantly is focused on accountability and performativity are changing the function of higher education to student employability, datafication, and work intensification. Shanahan

M. Lawrence (✉) · G. M. Rezai-Rashti
University of Western Ontario, London, Canada
e-mail: mmazier@uwo.ca; grezaira@uwo.ca

J. Zajda, W. J. Jacob (eds.), *Discourses of Globalisation and Higher Education Reforms*, Globalisation, Comparative Education and Policy Research 27,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-83136-3_10

(2009) in her critique of neoliberalism, states that accountability and performativity are a significant part of the Quality Assurance policy and are transforming our notions of learning and teaching in higher education. In this chapter we draw on theories of neoliberal accountability and critical policy analysis to make sense of the changes in Ontario's higher education. Critical policy scholars have long engaged in challenging the traditional positivist approaches to policy research and focused attention on the significance of policy analysis in uncovering and making visible the structural and processes that reproduce subordination and marginalization (Ball; 2003; Lingard, Martino, Rezai-Rashti & Sellar, 2016; Diem, Young, & Sampson, 2019; Zajda, 2020). We believe that SMA and Performance-Based Funding have been transforming the governance of higher education by emphasizing efficiency, datafication, competition and a focus on productivity and audit culture.

The Strategic Mandate Agreement is part of the broader Quality assurance policy proposed in 2012 under the then Liberal provincial government, and is an agreement between the government and 45 universities and colleges in Ontario. The SMA begins with a discussion paper, entitled *Strengthening Ontario's Centres of Creativity, Innovation and Knowledge: A discussion paper to make our university and college system stronger* (Ministry of Training, Colleges and Universities, 2012). The paper calls for the reformation of the modern university based on economic needs and greater public accountability in order to protect public funding of higher education (MTCU, 2012). The paper also briefly introduces the concept of PBF for higher education. In the paper the Ministry asserts, "As demonstrated in Budget 2012, PSE [Post Secondary Education] continues to be one of the government's highest priorities" (MTCU 2012, p.6). Further to this the document states, "Online learning, experiential learning, and the acceleration of knowledge creation and transfer are driving a major shift in our PSE education system" (MTCU, 2012, p.6).

Strengthening Ontario's Centres of Creativity, Innovation and Knowledge (2012), as a policy document, raises many interesting questions and proposals for changes in higher education in Ontario, questions such as quality assurance, accountability, credential options and supplements, credit transfer, and the role of the Bologna Process (BP) discussed below. However, several of the proposals become specifically significant to the economic shaping of the SMA and these are: Year–round programming, Quality teaching and learning outcomes, increasing use of the Collegiate Learning Assessment (CLA) or other similar standardized measures of assessment, and experiential and entrepreneurial learning.

Context: Quality Assurance & Accountability of Higher Education in Ontario

Quality assurance and accountability in higher education is a global phenomenon. External quality assurance protocols are widely used in higher education by most nations, including Canada, and increasingly so over the course of the past four decades. While most agree with the importance of quality assurance in higher education, its present widespread use has become synonymous with top-down methods of accountability and is posited to be an important part of economic development and the internationalization of higher education (Lingard et al., 2016; TEQSA, 2012; Weingarten & Dellar, 2010). Thus, considerable research continues regarding how 'quality' should be defined, how quality is to be achieved, and what measures to use that could best demonstrate 'quality' within the context of higher education (Ontario Universities Council on Quality Assurance (QC), 2010; ENQA, 2005; Weingarten and Dellar, 2010; HEQCO, 2015).

An increasing area of higher education research involves demonstrating quality through outcomes, often defined as graduation rates and employment rates upon graduation (Skolnik, 2010). With greater emphasis on the internationalization of higher education, many nations now have in place organizations to externally assess and advise on standards for quality assurance in higher education believing that such organizations afford a degree of non-partisanship when researching and providing such recommendations for reforms to government ministries and universities alike (HEQCO, 2010).

It is specifically to the discourse on the quality of higher education that Weingarten and Deller (2010) argue that for Ontario to improve its level of quality in higher education policies regarding differentiation between universities must be implemented and universities themselves should be held fiscally accountable for that level of quality as demonstrated through the commodification of research and the employability of its graduates. Thus, Weingarten and Deller (2010) suggest that the university should not view the idea of differentiation as constraining. Rather, the two authors posit that differentiation ought to be viewed as a method which "promotes institutional quality and system competitiveness" among other characteristics such as accountability" and "sustainability" (Weingarten & Deller, 2010, p.10).

Ontario higher education policy documents on quality through diversity between institutions reflect elements of the Bologna Process, but also suggest elements promoted by Weingarten and Deller (2010). However, Weingarten and Deller's (2010) recommendations regarding differentiation as a method "to promote institutional quality and system competitiveness" (p. 10) do not mirror the understanding put forth by the European Association for Quality Assurance in Higher Education, which is "characterized by its diversity of political systems, higher education systems, socio-cultural and educational traditions, languages, aspirations, and expectations (ENQA, 2005).

In a publication by *University Affairs* a discussion takes place that questions the challenges of institutional diversity that arise in higher education when teaching and research become separate activities and the implications of this form of diversification on the quality of learning in higher education (Riddell, 2017). Also, of importance to the discourse on quality assurance in higher education is how it is defined. This is expressed by the description of quality assurance and accountability policy in higher education as noted by Weingarten (2017) when he speaks to its complexity in his blog for HEQCO, *What is academic quality?*

Discussing the importance of quality assurance, Ontario Universities Council on Quality Assurance (QC)(2010/2021) states that in Ontario there is an established history of quality assurance in higher education; noting that in Ontario strict external methods of measuring the quality of undergraduate programs in higher education can be traced back to 1968. The Ontario Council of Graduate Studies (OCGS) began external assessments in 1982 of all graduate programs (QC, 2010/2021). These quality assessments were historically based on the following criteria: Access (number of students attending), number of students graduating, and employment within 6 months and two years after graduating. Thus, it is suggested that Ontario be viewed as an innovator with regards to quality assurance in higher education (QC, 2010/2021). Therefore, it is also suggested that higher education and access to quality higher education matters to this province (Rae, 2005).

Yet, while higher education in Ontario and quality assurance policies have a tradition in this province, it would appear that Ontario, for the moment, is still exploring how quality assurance could be defined and how global methods such as the Bologna Process (BP) and the newly created, yet paused, OECD project the "Assessment of Higher Education Learning Outcomes" (2012) might be adopted within the Canadian higher education policy context (Lennon and Jonker, 2014; Council of Ministers of Education, Canada, 2008). In a report released by the Council of Ministers of Education, Canada (2008), the following is stated:

> While the impact of the Bologna Process on the Canadian higher education landscape has been limited to date, it is quite likely to become the yardstick against which other higher education systems will be compared internationally. The issue of comparison benchmarks will only grow in importance with the internationalization of student recruitment and increased labour force mobility (p.7).

Thus, Shanahan (2009) when investigating changes to higher education suggests, "economic principles of productivity, efficiency and competitiveness have become imperatives. And we have seen our accountability frameworks become infused with market discourse, market principles and market mechanisms" (p.3). This speaks directly to the common sense discourse on higher education policy in Ontario and the decreasing public funding of higher education, which is posited to be "a political response to the challenges and *opportunities* which arise from the decomposition of Fordism and the economic and extra economic tendencies of globalisation" (Jessop 2007 p.124 in Ball, Goodson, and Maguire, 2007, p. X).

Strengthening Ontario's Centres for Creativity, Innovation and Knowledge: The Birth of PBF & the SMA in Ontario

The Strategic Mandate Agreements (SMA) between the government and 21 of Ontario's public universities and 24 colleges were established as a result of the discussion paper published by the Ministry of Training, Colleges & Universities in 2012. The Strategic Mandate Agreement builds on the questions and proposals brought forward in the paper (MTCU, 2012) that present Ontario's higher education sector in need of change that will respond to the challenges of the modern university, while also responding to the need to satisfy global economies and public accountability that the MTCU (2012) suggest will be driven by Performance Based Funding (PBF).

The unrolling of the Strategic Mandate Agreement begins more fully within the policy document, *Ontario's Differentiation Policy Framework of Postsecondary Education* (MTCU, 2013b), which argues, "We [the province of Ontario] need to make changes to protect the gains of the last ten years, and to ensure that Ontario's postsecondary education continues to enjoy a productive and promising future" (p.5). However, an analysis of the original discussion paper by the Ministry of Training, Colleges & Universities (2012), along with *Ontario's Differentiation Policy Framework* (MTCU, 2013a, b) and other policy documents, reveals the narrow vision of quality assurance and accountability in universities that is taking place in Ontario by the government through the Strategic Mandate Agreement.

The discussion paper begins by stating that "Postsecondary education (PSE) systems around the world are rapidly transforming in response to evolving economic, social, and student learning realities" (MTCU, 2012, p.4). Furthermore, the document states that an ever-growing diverse student population in higher education demands greater means for demonstrating quality assurance, along with greater accountability, for the investment that they as the public and government make to higher education. The Ministry of Training, Colleges & Universities (MTCU, 2012) argues that due to the growing demand to have a more highly educated labour force, the Ontario government is placed in the position of addressing the growing challenges of increasing access to higher education. The Ministry of Training, Colleges & Universities also states that modernizing higher education in Ontario will be achieved by taking its lead from the "K-12 school system that has been acknowledged as the best in the English-speaking world"(2012, p. 5) stating, that in doing so, "we have a way to modernize our post-secondary system in a way that will make it more relevant, more flexible, and more beneficial to Ontario students" (MTCU, 2012, p.5).

In 2012, the then provincial Liberal government made a series of changes in the province's commitment to improving access to higher education. These changes include some of the following: providing access to an additional 60,000 qualified learners; providing a 30 per cent reduction in Ontario Tuition Grants for students from middle income families; the establishment of an Ontario Access Grant for students from low income families that provides 50 per cent in tuition grants; providing greater support for "our young entrepreneurs"; while also seeking to provide "the conditions to reach a 70 per cent attainment rate among Ontario's adult population" (MTCU, 2012, p.6). Thus, the MTCU (2012) suggests that as a result of the province's commitment in making higher education a significant priority, the province of Ontario experiences the highest number of students attending higher education. However, the province of Ontario is also the most populated province in Canada (Statistics Canada, 2019).

Ontario's objective for higher education, in the MTCU (2012) report, is to "drive creativity, innovation, knowledge and community engagement through teaching and research" (p.7) as it is Ontario's position that it will be through the promotion of innovation in higher education that opportunities for the quality of student learning will be achieved; an achievement that will generate provincial economic strength. However, the discussion paper also states that as a result of the 2008 recession, the province of Ontario is obligated to guide the publicly funded higher education sector towards greater fiscal responsibility stating, "The government will lead its publicly funded postsecondary institutions towards lower rates of spending growth and higher levels of productivity through innovation" (MTCU, 2012, p. 8). This leaves the Ministry to argue the benefit of an innovation-based approach to funding of higher education that looks to move some courses online, versus that of an efficiency-based approach that looks at increasing class sizes.

The Ministry document (2012) discusses a number of proposals in their quest for transformation of higher education in Ontario, while seeking to make improvements to quality and accountability. The first proposal begins with the management of pension plans within higher education. Regarding the future of pension plans within the higher education sector, the MTCU (2012) states, that "The government expects all broader public sector (BPS) partners to bargain responsibly and to consider aspects of collective agreements that enhance productivity and facilitate transformation" (p.9). The paper then goes on to say that in light of the many challenges faced by higher education, challenges that are due to the acceleration of learning and the pressures of learning and teaching, the significance of critical engagement and "wisdom" continue to be paramount (MTCU, 2012, p. 9).

The Ministry document (MTCU, 2012) also provides a list of proposed methods for modernizing learning within higher education, each of which once again posits the improvement of quality and accountability. The first proposal with regards to learning discusses the rise of technology-based learning, stating how technology-based learning does more than accelerate access to information, that it promotes new opportunities for student engagement, suggesting that "rather than faculty "transmitting" lecture data to students sitting in a hall, digital delivery of course content can free faculty in traditional institutions to engage in direct dialogue and mentorship with students" (MTCU, 2012, p.10).

The discussion paper produced by the Ministry (2012) also recommends high quality outcome-based credentials through the adaptation of the 1999 Bologna Declaration. However, the Bologna Declaration was established as a method to harmonize higher education across the continent of Europe, so to enhance student and labour mobility by, in part, mandating a three-year undergraduate degree. OCUFA (2012) suggests that while the Bologna Process presents an intriguing plan for the European Higher Education Area, that Canada must remain cautious when borrowing education policies that were designed to address a variety of higher educational challenges that are not relevant to the Canadian context. The following quote captures this concern:

> We cannot wander at pleasure among educational systems of the world, like a child strolling through a garden, and pick off a flower from one bush and some leaves from another, and expect that if we stick what we have gathered in the soil at home, we shall have a live plant (Sir Michael Saddler as quoted in Hayhoe, Manion & Mundy, 2008, p.6 in OCUFA, 2012, p.5).

Thus, in aiming to adopt the Bologna Declaration, in the context of higher education in Ontario, Canada, viewing the Bologna Declaration as an ideal for change without critically engaging is both misguided and places in jeopardy the pursuit of improving the quality of higher education in this province (OCUFA, 2012). Further, to adopting the Bologna Declaration, the Ministry suggests an improvement to the mobility of credentials between different institutions of higher education arguing that students should be able to take their courses at a variety of different institutions, as this will foster greater knowledge mobilization (MTCU, 2012). However, this recommendation does not make clear how funding by the government to each individual institution, based on individual performance, can be awarded. Next the paper (2012) posits the importance of experiential learning along with the development of entrepreneurial skills, stating "Globally, there has been tremendous growth in entrepreneurial education. Some of these opportunities already exist in Ontario including the Ryerson University Digital Media Zone, [and] the University of Waterloo VeloCity Program/Residence" (p.12), among other institutions of higher education mentioned. The financial success of such programs then becomes the catalyst for the concept of performance-based funding proffered by the MTCU (2012), regardless of program type, which holds special concern for programs that are not technologically or entrepreneurially driven.

However, it is the Ministry's (2012) suggestion that by transforming the university through the provision of more online courses and innovation-based funding that an occasion will present itself to restructure public funding of higher education. It is here, then, that the Ministry of Training, Colleges & Universities introduces, briefly, the concept of performance based funding for higher education in Ontario when they state, "Funding options could be provided on a performance basis (e.g., number of firms created, number of angel investments in student companies, number of new jobs)" (2012, p.12), once again, leaving areas of study that do not fit within this narrow concept of quality and accountability in jeopardy of being eliminated from universities.

The Ministry of Training, Colleges & Universities discussion paper also states a need for "new data and accountability" (p.13), so as to drive innovation in the higher education sector. More specifically the paper asserts:

> If the postsecondary sector is being charged with improving productivity through innovation, it is important to understand where our institutions stand and how well they are progressing towards achieving the vision and goals that have been set for the sector. Ensuring that there is accountability for the quality of teaching and learning as well as for the quality of research that occurs in our postsecondary institutions is critical (2012, p.13).

It is here that the Ministry (2012), taking advice based on research conducted by the Higher Education Quality Council of Ontario (HEQCO), argues the need for greater measures of standardization in higher education to properly assess the "formal learning outcomes- the skills and competencies that institutions develop in their graduates" (p.13). The Ministry (2012), citing projects such as the "Assessment of Higher Education Learning Outcomes", the "Collegiate Learning Assessment", and the European "Tuning Project" suggest that each lead to the establishment of "what students should know and be able to do within a specific discipline in an effort to promote mobility, credit transfer, and credential recognition" (MTCU, 2012, p. 13). Interestingly this document fails to make mention that in Ontario all publicly funded colleges and universities have agreements to support the transferring of earned credits. To facilitate credential transfer, the Ontario Council on Articulation and Transfer (ONCAT), established in 2011, has created an easily accessible online resource, whereby "there are currently over 1,900 credit transfer pathways available in Ontario, and more than 800,000 distinct transfer opportunities" (ONCAT, 2020). The Ministry of Training, Colleges & Universities (2012) paper then leads to the development of a response paper issued by the Ontario Confederation of University Faculty Associations (OCUFA) in 2012.

Growing Ontario's Universities for the Future: OCUFA's Response to Strengthening Ontario's Centres of Creativity, Innovation and Knowledge

Although the Ministry of Training, Colleges & Universities, in their discussion paper (2012), promised to provide greater transparency for quality assurance and accountability within higher education, critics of performance-based funding fear the opposite to be true. When analyzing the discussion paper (MTCU, 2012), on which the Strategic Mandate Agreement is built, the Ontario Confederation of University Faculty Associations (OCUFA) notes not only a lack of transparency within the discussion paper, but also a lack of informed thought, as to what the challenges and the purpose of a university education are to mean to the public good and government alike.

The OCUFA (2012) response specifically addresses the fact that the discussion paper not only illustrates definitional issues, but that the paper also inadequately makes understandable what the challenges are in higher education and how the suggested reforms will address these. This leaves OCUFA to argue that this vagueness undermines any genuine discussion on quality assurance and accountability in higher education (2012). The closest to a clear goal, or an objective, set by the Ministry of Training, Colleges & Universities (2012) in their discussion paper is a section dedicated to "A Vision for Ontario's Postsecondary Sector" (p. 6), whereby the MTCU states that it is the government's vision that:

> Ontario's colleges and universities will drive creativity, innovation, knowledge and community engagement through teaching and research. They will put students first by providing the best possible learning experiences for all qualified learners in an affordable and financially sustainable way, ensuring high quality, and globally competitive outcomes for students and Ontario's creative economy (2012, p.7).

Analyzing the above statement the Ontario Confederation of University Faculty Associations (2012) offers the following critique, with respect to the proposals made by the Ministry (2012) in their discussion paper regarding innovation, putting students first, and productivity, suggesting that while the discussion paper fails to clearly define the challenges, the paper also clearly fails in an understanding of what it means by innovation, putting students first, and productivity within the context of a university. Regarding innovation OCUFA (2012) counters with the following:

> Generally, innovation occurs in response to a specific problem or challenge. It does not happen for its own sake. Innovation is seldom a top-down process; it occurs due to grassroots collaboration and leadership. It is rare that somebody innovates because they were told to. The discussion paper does not appear to recognize these realities, and consequently its approach to "innovation" is somewhat distorted. A government mandated labour-market credential is not innovative. A new credential designed by an institution to meet the needs of its students and communities is (p. 8).

The next point that the Ontario Confederation of University Faculty Associations articulately counters is the concept of quality education and placing all 'qualified students first'. The OCUFA (2012) argues that in order to provide quality education that provides greater access for all qualified learners, greater public support through government public funding is required. In the 2012 document the Ministry asserts that public universities are of the highest importance to the province for fostering innovation. The Ministry document also states, "Costs in the postsecondary sector have grown at a rate above inflation during a time when growth and grants from government have become constrained" (p.8), creating a disconnection regarding higher education being most important to the province and declining provincial fiscal support.

When commenting on the proposals made by the MTCU (2012), that of the importance of placing students "first by providing the best possible learning experiences for all qualified learners" (p.7) and that of providing higher education in "an affordable and financially sustainable way, ensuring high quality and globally competitive outcomes for students and Ontario's creative economy" (p.7) OCUFA (2012) counters, citing that the quality of learning comes through greater government support of smaller class sizes where professors and students have access to one-on-one time within the classroom. Thus, OCUFA (2012) argues that ensuring financial sustainability comes from greater public support and not the increase in student tuitions, and that globally competitive outcomes that foster creativity do not occur through 'funds for performance' but rather 'funds for success'.

Speaking specifically of productivity in the university sector in Ontario, and the Ministry's (2012) suggestion that productivity in the university could be improved, OCUFA (2012) suggests the following:

> As for productivity, the [university] sector has made remarkable gains over the past decade. The average professor now teaches 22 percent more students than they did in 2000. Ontario university operating costs per student are also 13 percent lower than the Canadian average, and faculty salaries are 18 percent below the rest of Canada. We also have the highest student-to-faculty ratio (28:1), which implies that Ontario's professors are educating more students than anywhere else in the country. We are educating more students with fewer resources than most jurisdictions in Canada- a textbook example of enhanced productivity (pp. 8–9).

An important objective of this chapter is to share how deeply neoliberal values have become embedded in the university, blurring the ideals of what quality assurance and accountability mean in the university today. Writing of neoliberalism and the ideals of democracy in education, Portelli and Konecny (2013) explain that ideals are:

> [T]hat toward which one strives, not fixed end points or destinations to be reached…The meaning of an ideal resides in the imperfect attempts, to make idealized principles a worldly reality--attempts that, with each repetition and revision, bring the world in which human beings live closer and closer to an unreachable perfection. Striving toward an ideal, while never attainable, makes the world in which that striving takes place better (p.93).

In 2013 the Ministry of Training, Colleges & Universities promoted that central to the goal of quality assurance and accountability in the modern university, is the requirement to ensure both, which will require a "balancing act between government stewardship, and institutional leadership, and a strengthening of transparency and accountability between the government, institutions, and the public" (p.5). Ivan Illich (1970) concerned with the rise of government in stewarding the goals of education forewarns of the dissolution of education, which he suggests will occur beyond a shadow of a doubt. This then leads to an analysis of the proposals put forward in the Ministry of Training, Colleges & Universities document entitled *Ontario's Differentiation Policy Framework* (2013a).

Ontario's Differentiation Policy Framework for Postsecondary Education

In Ontario, we have witnessed a significant change in higher education as provincial government policies on differentiation and performance-based funding create the groundwork for transforming the university through the Strategic Mandate Agreement, thus adjusting funding for higher education to align with government views and preferences (2013a). The policy document, *Ontario's Differentiation Policy Framework for Postsecondary Education*, issued by the Ministry of Training, Colleges & Universities in November 2013, provides several government priorities and metrics that begin to concretely build the text and discourse of the current ten metrics found within the Strategic Mandate Agreement under the current Conservative provincial government.

In the policy document of November 2013, the Ministry promotes, as noted above, that central to the goal of quality assurance and accountability in the modern university, is the requirement to ensure, to the public, quality assurance and accountability that will require an adjustment regarding government management and university administration. Thus, in Ontario we witness a shift in higher education funding, as the recent Conservative provincial government policies of differentiation now provide several government priorities and metrics, which establish the foundation of the metrics found within the Strategic Mandate Agreement (MTCU, 2013a).

In 2013, the Ministry reports that there are broadly two governing metrics which will lead to the establishment of current and future metric and these are: 1) “Institution specific metrics identified by individual colleges and universities. Institution –specific metrics are optional, but help identify unique strengths. These are rooted in historical data to enable measurement of progress over time and are linked to the institutional internal planning process” (MTCU, 2013a, p. 13); 2) “System-wide metrics identified by the ministry. These metrics, based on current data collected or already available, are applicable to all institutions and form the basis for measuring progress” (MTCU, 2013a, p.13).

The policy document then outlines the government’s six modules for their Differentiation Policy Framework/ Metrics so to modernize higher education in Ontario in 2013, which broadly speaking are: 1) Jobs, Innovation, and Economic Development; 2) Teaching and Learning; 3) Student population; 4) Research and Graduate Experience; 5) Program Offerings; and 6) Institutional Collaboration to Support Student Mobility (MTCU, 2013a, pp. 9–11). The MTCU (2013a) policy document posits that the SMA, along with Ontario’s Differentiation Policy, becomes the bedrock “for future alignment of government levers to support sustainability, a high-quality postsecondary education, and other government priorities” (MTCU, 2013a, p. 17). Furthermore, the report states that moving forward the government of Ontario will require increased reporting by institutions of higher education that will integrate and make more efficient the Multi-Year Accountability Agreements (MTCU, 2013a).

Stable Funding, Strong Universities

The *Ontario Differentiation Policy Frameworks* (2013a) document states that of specific importance for the protection of Ontario’s universities will be the mission to maintain and promote the quality of programs and the experience of students who attend higher education in this province. Thus, of particular focus for the province becomes the quality of teaching, for which the MTCU states:

> The Ontario government recognizes that high-quality teaching is tied to improved student outcomes. The government sees this as a key priority and is committed to ensuring that postsecondary education in Ontario provides students with the knowledge and skills needed to succeed in their personal and career aspirations, and as engaged citizens (2013a, p.7).

However, there appears to be an omission of the many other factors that shape student success and quality of learning in education as the above statement parodies much of the same policy discourse that is put forth by the OECD regarding PISA and the quality of teaching. Hence, borrowing from the OECD the shift in quality assurance and accountability in higher education, in the province of Ontario, takes yet another drastic turn in 2018 from unique, to standardized, when a newly elected

Conservative government transforms the softly modeled SMA created under the provincial leadership of the Liberal government.

In 2013, the Ministry of Training, Colleges & Universities published yet one more report in the month following *Ontario's Differentiation Policy Framework* (2013a) document. The purpose of this report, entitled *Major Capacity Expansion Policy Framework* (2013b), is to restate the government's priorities regarding its expansion plan for higher education in Ontario while also introducing the selection and approval criteria for the bid to expand existing institutions of higher education, whether that should be on established sites or in a new satellite location. It is within this policy brief that the Ministry (2013b) re-introduces the role of the Strategic Mandate Agreement, as it relates to the bid for expansion for institutions of higher education, stating that each bid must be in line with the conditions of the Strategic Mandate Agreement that were created by the Ministry and agreed on by each individual institution (2013b). It is also within this document that the punitive consequences of performance-based funding are more clearly stated, when the document states:

> Failure to comply with the requirements set out in this policy framework will affect provincial funding. Specifically, a new or expanded enrolment at the location of the expansion will not be recognized for funding through the college or university operating grants, and the institution will not be eligible for provincial capital funding at the location. Failure to comply could also affect future capital decisions by the provincial government with respect to other locations (2013b, p.10).

Thus, prior to the newly awarded provincial leadership of the Conservative government in 2019, there emerges a shift in higher education policy as articulated in the policy documents produced by the MTCU (2013a, b).

In April of 2015, the Ministry of Training, Colleges and Universities announced in its document, *University Funding Model Reform Consultation Paper* that the Ontario Liberal government will be advancing with the proposed changes in higher education. Thus, the Strategic Mandate Agreement is officially launched and introduced through three policy phases in the province of Ontario as a method to promote the strengthening of quality assurance and accountability of higher education in this province. Phase one, known as SMA1 (2014–2017), SMA2 (2017–2020), and SMA3 (2019–2023), are each endorsed by the Ministry of Training, Colleges & Universities and are now, under the provincial Conservative government, currently constructed around ten metrics of assessment "with the stated aim of building on current strengths and to help drive system-wide objectives and government priorities (University Affairs, Spooner, 2018, p. 1). Six of the ten performance-based funding metrics are based on skills and job outcomes. The remaining four metrics are based on economic and community impact.

The six performance-based metrics for skills and job outcomes are as follow: "Graduate earnings, experiential learning, skills and competencies, graduate employment, institutional strength or focus, and graduation rates" (Spooner, p.2, 2018). The following four metrics include economic and community impact, starting with: Research funding capacity (universities only) and apprenticeship-related (colleges only), research funding from industry sources or funding from industry sources, community or local impact, and institution specific (economic impact). Each, as Wendy Brown (2015) would argue, have an *economic register*.

Strategic Mandate Agreement 3 and Performance-Based Funding (2020–2025)

A report published by *University World News* (Greenfield, 2019), states that to become both accountable and transparent in the investment of higher education in the province of Ontario, the current Conservative government suggests it will do so through transforming its public funding of higher education, previously based on student enrolment to performance- based funding. In this section, we will elaborate further on the context of the market-driven discourse of higher education in Ontario, Canada, the genesis of the Strategic Mandate Agreements (SMA3) between 21 of Ontario's public universities and 24 colleges, and the newly transformed performance-based funding (PBF) model. This new agreement is the ultimate drive to make Ontario higher education adhere to the narrow imperatives of neoliberal accountability. In May 2019, the government of Ontario announced that 60% of Ontario Universities' operating budget will be based on their performance on 10 metrics. According to Spooner this is a drastic departure from the current 1.4% of funding based on performance and is marked divergence from Canadian university funding models in general (Spooner, 2018). A more recent release from the Ontario government (November 2020) entitled "*Promoting Excellence: Ontario Implements Performance Based Funding for Postsecondary Institutions*", the government connects university education with skill training, employment and earning after graduation. The government specifically stated that under the previous funding agreement "students were graduating with world-class degrees but finding it difficult to secure stable employment in their field of study. The previous system was not working for students and needed to be driven by results" (Ontario Government, 2020). In this media release, the Ontario government believes that this new SMA agreement that will be going into effect during 2020–2025 is a made-in-Ontario performance-based funding model placing a greater emphasis on economic outcome, that will make the province a national leader in performance-based funding. The performance funding is directly related to metrics such as graduate employment rates in related fields, experiential learning, and graduate earnings.

As can be seen, in this new Strategic Mandate Agreement a significant proportion of performance is allocated to narrow market imperatives, employment, and labour market outcomes. While the previous funding was based on students' enrolment, the new funding is focused on performance and a number of established metrics for allocating funding to public universities and colleges.

In January 2020, the Ontario Confederation of University Faculty Associations published the brief, *Stable funding, strong universities: Now is the time to invest in the future of Ontario postsecondary education* (2020). The brief states that for well more than a decade the province of Ontario has been divesting itself of higher education, making higher education in this province the least supported, while driving tuition rates to be the highest in the country as universities struggle to maintain quality and provide equitable access (OCUFA, 2020). This becomes especially apparent in the wake of the recent Conservative government's reversal of the 50 per cent tuition grant awarded to students from low-income families.

Specifically, the OCUFA (2020) brief argues, "Years of chronic underfunding of postsecondary education are impacting the quality and sustainability of Ontario's world-class universities" (p.1). Further to this the paper states, that the quality of Ontario's universities is in jeopardy due to the province having the highest student to professor ratio in the country, having amongst the highest in university tuition fees charged in the country, while in addition now having to agree to the lowest per cent of funding based on the irrational Strategic Mandate Agreement.

Rejecting the performance-based funding model for universities under the Conservative provincial government, which breaks tradition with an established system of funding based largely on enrolment, the Ontario Confederation of University Faculty Associations argues that this dramatic shift, which now ties 60 per cent of capital funding, to the ten metrics mentioned, will lead to weakened autonomy, quality, accountability and equity in the university sector of Ontario (OCUFA, 2020). More specifically, the brief states, "By design, performance-based funding rewards institutions that meet specific targets while penalizing those who do not. In doing so, it denies vital funding to the institutions that need it most to improve their educational outcomes" (OCUFA, 2020, p.9).

OCUFA (2020) engaging with research from the United Kingdom (UK), Australia, and New Zealand, cites the deleterious effects of performance-based funding in higher education, that include, but are not limited to, "shorter programs with less quality control, lower graduation requirements, increased hiring of precariously employed faculty, increased campus bureaucracy, and less institutional autonomy as government exercises more influence over which programs are offered" (p.10) and as mentioned above, the impact PBF has on access to university for those who come from marginalized backgrounds. Importantly, OCUFA points out that the ten metrics for assuring quality and accountability "include no measures of teaching, research, or social impact of universities, all of which are essential to their missions and mandates" (2020, p. 10). In addition, OCUFA argues, "These impacts cannot simply be measured through economic contributions but must also take into account the contributions postsecondary education makes to building knowledge, fostering innovative and critical thinking minds, and creating more equitable and inclusive societies" (2020, p.10).

As a result of the defunding of the university over the past decades, along with the heightened focus on quality assurance and accountability that is based on market outcomes, OCUFA (2020) in their brief suggest a rational strategy that will begin to re-strengthen the quality, accountability, and equity within higher education in this province that begins with "a modest starting point for addressing decades of underfunding" (p.1). Thus, OCUFA in January, 2020 proposed the following seven recommendations that can be found in greater detail within the report: (1) Improve the per-student funding grant in Ontario's universities, (2) change the ambiguous and biased performance-based funding model and return to the successful enrolment-based model for funding of universities in Ontario, (3) Dismantle the destructive Higher Education Quality Council of Ontario and designate its public funding to students, (4) Provide a design for regeneration of faculty that backs change over the long haul, (5) Repeal the Ontario Divisional Court's judgement, which presumes the "Student Choice Initiative" wrongful, 6) Revoke the *Protecting a Sustainable Public Sector for Future Generations Act*, and 7) Thoughtfully and genuinely seek input with community members, in particular faculty, university administrators, university workers, and university students, before implementing different government regulations or policy actions.

Universities in Ontario, and Canada, to assure quality and accountability are in need of durable, energetic, and consistent funding support that does not wane due to economies or changes in government. Universities are special places in our collective societies that have progressed from providing an education for the elite, to embracing the importance of increased access of all qualified learners, so as to promote the public good, on all levels, both intrinsically and extrinsically. Provincial divestment of support for universities pushes universities in Ontario to look toward increasing tuition fees and private funding, each of which erodes the essence of the public Canadian university.

Evaluation

Drawing on theories of critical policy analysis and neoliberal accountability and given our review of Ontario's policy on Strategic Mandate Agreement and Performance-Based Funding, we believe that Ontario's higher education has been moving drastically towards a narrow outcome-based labour market imperatives and neoliberal accountability. The establishment of new metrics to funding universities and colleges connected to the employment and earning of their graduates is changing the civic ideals of public higher education (Zajda, 2020). The neoliberal discourse of efficiency and the business model of organizational management have provided significant justifications for sweeping changes and reforms in the governance and operation of higher education. As Ball argued, the reform packages 'are embedded in three related technologies; the market, managerialism, and performativity….When employed together, these technologies offer a politically attractive alternative to the state-centred, public welfare tradition of educational provision' (Ball, 2003, pp. 1465–1466). As discussed in this chapter, all three technologies discussed by Ball are currently present in the discourse of performance- based funding in Ontario.

As universities in Ontario have evolved to provide greater access to a growing number of diverse students, they continue to struggle with issues due to public underfunding (OCUFA, 2012). The most recent statistics (2017–2018) show the Ontario government provides an average of $7915 in per student funding and preliminary estimates show that figure has declined further over the past two years. In 2019 the Conservative provincial government announced that it would be decreasing funding for higher education in Ontario by more than $400 million; to date this number exceeds $700 million (Sudbury Star). This will also reflect a ten per cent reduction in tuition fees that universities will be ineligible to recoup from any other government support. The Conservative government also announced that it would be removing the six-month grace period for recent graduates to begin the repayment of their government student loans. Furthermore, the Conservative provincial government stated that ancillary fees would become optional, thus affecting many of the services provided through school unions such as those for women, Indigenous, racialized and LGBTQ individuals in higher education (People's World, January 31, 2019). This level of funding, under the present Conservative provincial government, represents a staggering 20 per cent reduction since 2008-09" (OCUFA, 2020, p.5). The underfunding of Ontario's universities impacts the government's said goal to increase access and improve the quality of the students' learning experience. These financial cuts hold particular significance to institutions of higher education in Ontario's more remote locations, such as Laurentian University located in Northern Ontario. On February 1, 2021, the university was forced to declare insolvency and sought creditor protection. To continue at all as a university, drastic measures were taken: 100 academics were fired, 69 programs cut, and its highly vaunted tri-cultural mandate was severely undermined with the disproportionate gutting of programs and courses for francophones and indigenous students (Greenfield, 2021).

Conclusion

This chapter set out to provide a critical policy documents analysis of quality assurance and accountability as educational policy has witnessed a shift from professional accountability to that of neoliberal accountability in higher education. Thus, the newly defined value of the quality of higher education, framed through the Conservative government's adopted policy documents of the Strategic Mandate Agreement in Ontario, has very serious implications regarding the quality of teaching, learning, autonomy, and equity. In this chapter we raise similar questions regarding neoliberal efficiency and performativity that was raised earlier by Dougherty & Natow (2019). 'Are gains in organizational efficiency and social functionality coming at the cost of harming those disadvantaged by system of class, racial, gender, and other equality?' (Natow, 2019, pp. 472–473). What about the role of education in promoting critical citizenship, democracy, and a commitment to social equity? The chapter evaluates the rise of the market- driven neoliberal accountability that focuses on business model of organizational efficiency. The chapter concludes that these recent higher education policy reforms are fundamentally transforming Ontario's higher education, at the expense of a more egalitarian system of social equity and critical citizenship.

References

Ball, S. (2003). The teacher soul and the terrors of performativity. *Journal of Education Policy, 18*(2), 215–228.

Ball, S. (2015). Education, governance and the tyranny of numbers. *Journal of Education Policy, 30*(3), 299–301.

Ball, Goodson, & Maguire. (2007). *Education, globalisation and new times*. Taylor and Francis.

Brown, W. (2015). *Undoing the Demos: Neoliberalism's stealth revolution*. Zone Books.

Councils of Ministers of Education, Canada (CMEC). (2008). *European Higher Education Area (EHEA): The Bologna Process*. Retrieved from https://cmec.ca/Publications/Lists/Publications/Attachments/119/BolognaReport2008.pdf

Diem, S., Young, M., & Sampson, C. (2019). Where critical policy meets the politics of education*:* An introduction. *Educational Policy, 33*(1), 3–15.

Dougherty, K., & Natow, R. (2019). Performance- based funding for higher education: How well does neoliberal theory capture neoliberal practice. *Higher Education* Retrieved from: https://www.tc.columbia.edu/faculty/kd109/faculty-profile/files/Dougherty-Natow—PBF-for-HE-2020.pdf

European Association for Quality Assurance in Higher Education (EQNA). (2005). *Standards and guidelines for quality assurance in the European higher education area*. Retrieved from http://www.enqa.eu/wp-content/uploads/2013/06/ESG_3edition-2.pdf

Greenfield, N. (2019, May 22). Ontario to introduce performance-related funding of HE. *University World News*. https://www.universityworldnews.com/post.php?story=20190522111951977

Greenfield, N. (2021, June 5). Laurentian—Insolvency, mass firings and the erosion of multiculturalism. *University World News*. https://www.universityworldnews.com.

Hayhoe, R., Manion, C., & Mundy, K. (2008). Why study comparative education? In K. Bickmore, R. Hayhoe, C. Manion, K. Mundy, & R. Read (Eds.), *Comparative and international education: Issues for teachers* (pp. 1–38). Canadian Scholars' Press.

Higher Education Quality Council of Ontario (HEQCO). (2015). *Learning outcomes assessment: A practitioner's handbook*. Retrieved from http://www.heqco.ca/sitecollectiondocuments/heqco.loahandbook_eng_2015.pdf

Illich, I. (1970). *Deschooling Society*. Harper & Row.

Jessop, B. (2007). Liberalism, neoliberalism and urban governance: A state-theoretical perspective. *Antipode, 34*(3), 458–478.

Lennon, M. C. & Jonker, L. (2014, April 17). *AHELO: The Ontario experience*. Higher Education Quality Council of Ontario. Retrieved from http://www.heqco.ca/en-ca/Research/ResPub/Pages/AHELO-The-Ontario-Experience.aspx

Lingard, B., Martino, W., Rezai-Rashti, G., & Sellar, S. (2016). *Globalizing educational accountabilities*. Routledge.

Ministry of Training, Colleges & Universities. (2012). *Strengthening Ontario's Centres of Creativity, Innovation and Knowledge: A discussion paper on innovation to make our university and college system stronger*. Retrieved from https://www.queensu.ca/experientiallearninghub/sites/webpublish.queensu.ca.qelhwww/files/files/MTCU%20Discussion%20on%20StrengtheningOntarioPSE.pdf

Ministry of Training, Colleges & Universities. (2013a, November). *Ontario's Differentiation Policy Framework for Postsecondary Education*. Retrieved from http://www.tcu.gov.on.ca/pepg/publications/PolicyFramework_PostSec.pdf

Ministry of Training, Colleges & Universities. (2013b, December). *Major capacity expansion policy framework*. Retrieved from https://files.ontario.ca/mcu-major-capacity-expansion-policy-framework-july-2020-en-2020-08-11.pdf

Ministry of Training, Colleges & Universities. (2015, April). *University Funding Model Reform Consultation Paper*. Retrieved from http://www.tcu.gov.on.ca/pepg/audiences/universities/uff/uff_consultationpaper.pdf

OCUFA. (2012). *Growing Ontario's universities for the Future: OCUFA's Response to Strengthening Ontario's Centres of Creativity, Innovation and Knowledge*. Retrieved from https://ocufa.on.ca/assets/2020-Pre-Budget-Submission-1.pdf

OCUFA. (2020, January 23). *Stable funding, strong universities: Now is the time to invest in the future of Ontario postsecondary education*. Retrieved from https://ocufa.on.ca/assets/2020-Pre-Budget-Submission-1.pdf

OECD. (2012). *Better skills, better jobs, better lives*. Retrieved from http://www.oecd.org/edu/imhe/IMHEinfos_Jult12_EN%20-%20web.pdf

Ontario Council on Articulation and Transfer (ONCAT). (2020). Retrieved from https://www.oncat.ca/en/about-us

Ontario Government. (2020). *Promoting excellence: Ontario implements performance based funding for post secondary institutions*. https://news.ontario.ca/en/release/59368/promoting-excellence-ontario-implements-performance-based-funding-for-postsecondary-institutions#content

Ontario Universities Council on Quality Assurance (QC). (2010/2021). *Quality assurance framework*. Retrieved from http://cou.on.ca/wp-content/uploads/2010/04/COU-Quality-Assurance-Framework-and-Guide.pdf

People's World News. (2019, January 31). Ontario government cuts university funding, opens door to privatization. *People's World*. Retrieved from https://peoplesworld.org/article/ontario-government-cuts-university-funding-opens-door-to-privatization/

Portelli, J., & Konecny, C. P. (2013). Neoliberalism, subversion, and democracy in education. *Encounters/Encuentros/Rencontres on Education*, *14*, 87–97.

Rae, B. (2005). *Ontario a leader in learning: Report & recommendations*. Retrieved from https://www.tcu.gov.on.ca/eng/document/reports/postsec.pdf

Riddell, J. (2017, December 1). *The precarious workforce: An ongoing threat to quality in higher education*. University Affairs. Retrieved from https://www.universityaffairs.ca/opinion/adventures-in-academe/ongoing-threat-to-higher-education/

Shanahan, T. (2009). Accountability Initiatives in higher education: An examination of the impetus to accountability, its expressions and implications. OCUFA Biennial Conference Proceedings *Accounting or Accountability in Higher Education*.

Skolnik, M. L. (2010). Quality assurance in higher education as a political process. *Higher Education Management and Policy, 22*(1). https://doi.org/10.1787/hemp-22-5kmlh5gs3zr0

Spooner, M. (2018, January 23). *Ontario university strategic mandate agreements: a train wreck waiting to happen*. University Affairs. Retrieved from https://www.universityaffairs.ca/opinion/in-my-opinion/ontario-university-strategic-mandate-agreements-train-wreck-waiting-happen/

Statistics Canada. (2019). *Canada at a Glance 2019*. Retrieved from: https://www150.statcan.gc.ca/n1/pub/12-581-x/12-581-x2019001-eng.htm

Tertiary Education Quality and Standards Agency (TEQSA). (2012). *International engagement*. Retrieved from http://www.teqsa.gov.au/about/international-engagement

Weingarten, H. P. (2017, March 28). *What is academic quality?* Web blog message. Retrieved from https://heqco.ca/harvey-p-weingarten-what-is-academic-quality/

Weingarten, H. P., & Dellar, F. (2010). *The benefits of greater differentiation of Ontario's university sector: Final report*. Retrieved from http://www.heqco.ca/siteCollectionDocuments/DifferentiationENG.pdf

Zajda, J. (Ed.). (2020). *Globalisation, ideology and neo-liberal higher education reform*. Springer.

Zajda, J. (Ed.). (2021). *3rd International handbook of globalisation, education and policy research*. Springer.

Chapter 11
Ethnic Minority and Indigenous Higher Education in the Globalization: Neoliberal Challenges and Opportunities for Policies and Institutions

Weiyan Xiong

Abstract The neoliberal dimensions of globalization have significantly impacted the development of global higher education through a predominantly market-driven focus. In this context, ethnic minority and indigenous higher education in many countries face both challenges and opportunities for their dual missions of offering higher education and preserving ethnic and indigenous cultures, languages, and identities. This chapter analyses the impact of neoliberalism on ethnic minority and indigenous higher education policies and institutions in three countries, China, Canada, and the United States, and from the perspectives of three development models, which represent a centralized model in China, a decentralized model with strong government intervention in Canada, and a decentralized model with weak government influence in the USA.

Keywords Cultural identities · Ethnic minority · Global higher education reforms · Globalization · Higher education · Higher education policies · Indigenous cultures · Indigenous higher education · Identities · Neoliberalism

Ethnic Minority and Indigenous Higher Education in the Globalization: Introduction

Neoliberalism and its predominantly market-driven focus have shaped the higher education landscape in various aspects (Cannella & Koro-Ljungberg, 2017). Globalization, with the belief in free-market and free-trade for the global movement of goods, labor, and service (including education), has promoted its

W. Xiong (✉)
Lingnan University, Tuen Mun, Hong Kong
e-mail: weiyanxiong@ln.edu.hk

J. Zajda, W. J. Jacob (eds.), *Discourses of Globalisation and Higher Education Reforms*, Globalisation, Comparative Education and Policy Research 27,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-83136-3_11

neoliberal dimension to the higher education sectors (Zajda, 2021). Neoliberalism brings changes and reforms in higher education, including privatization, commercialization, global competition, and regarding higher education as private, rather than public goods (Zajda, 2020). College students are increasingly treated as consumers for the education service provided by universities and their faculty members (Saunders & Ramirez, 2017). Moreover, these neoliberal impacts on higher education have been advanced through the discourses and practices of internationalization, which is recognized as a response of the higher education sector to the challenges and opportunities brought by globalization (Bamberger et al., 2019; Zajda & Rust, 2021).

The impact of neoliberalism on higher education has been widely covered in the literature (e.g., Bottrell & Manathunga, 2019; Giroux, 2014; Manathunga & Bottrell, 2019; Zajda, 2021). However, the specific impact on ethnic minority and indigenous higher education[1] is under researched. In this chapter, ethnic minority and indigenous higher education refers to their group members receiving education offered by the mainstream colleges and universities, or the tribally controlled or ethnic minority-serving institutions. As the underrepresented groups in many countries and societies, ethnic minority and indigenous peoples struggle for equal higher education access and attainment, and their central or local governments have also implemented preferential policies for these groups (Jacob et al., 2015; Xiong, 2020; Zajda & Majhanovich, 2021). Notably, the ethnic minority or indigenous higher education institutions in many countries were established to serve the ethnic minority and indigenous peoples (Hallmark & Gasman, 2018).

Generally, ethnic minority and indigenous higher education and institutions serve a dual mission. One is to offer higher education to ethnic minority and indigenous groups. On the other hand, they serve the mission of preserving their cultures, languages, and identities through higher education (Jacob et al., 2015). In the globalization and neoliberal context, ethnic minority and indigenous higher education in many countries face both challenges and opportunities in realizing their dual missions. This chapter presents the impact of neoliberalism on ethnic minority and indigenous higher education policies and institutions in three countries—China, Canada, and the United States (US)—from the perspectives of three development models, which are a centralized model (China), a decentralized model with strong government intervention (Canada), and a decentralized model with weak government influence (the US). Under the general topic of this edited volume, which focuses on the discourses of globalization and higher education reforms, this chapter will review literature and policies related to ethnic minority and indigenous higher education in China, Canada, and the US and address the following two specific questions.

[1] Because the term "indigenous" is not used in the Chinese context, this chapter adopts the term "ethnic minority and indigenous" to refer the chosen groups in this study, which are the officially recognized 55 ethnic minority groups in China, First Nations and Métis and Inuit peoples in Canada, and the American Indians and Alaska Natives in the US.

1. What are the challenges of the neoliberal dimensions of globalization for ethnic minority and indigenous higher education?
2. What are the opportunities of the neoliberal dimensions of globalization for ethnic minority and indigenous higher education?

The following sections first review three countries' ethnic minority and indigenous higher education policies and practices, then discuss the challenges and opportunities brought by the various aspects of the neoliberal dimensions. Finally, the implications for policymaking are presented.

Ethnic Minority and Indigenous Higher Education in Three Countries

This section reviews the different models of ethnic minority or indigenous higher education policies and practices through the lens of neoliberalism in China, Canada, and the US.

China: A Centralized Model

Chinese ethnic minority higher education has a strong policy orientation in a centralized education system to realize national unity (Clothey, 2005). Since the 1950s, the Chinese government has implemented various preferential policies to assist ethnic minority students in accessing higher education, like the point allowance in the national college entrance examination and college preparatory programs. In addition, the ethnic minority-serving institutions were also established to specifically serve ethnic minority students and communities and preserve their languages and cultures (Xiong, 2020).

Since the implementation of the *Reform and Opening-Up Policy* in 1978, neoliberalism has gradually led the market reforms in China, but with substantial government control. This neoliberal turn also impacted Chinese higher education (Gong & Dobinson, 2019; Jacob, 2004), and ethnic minority higher education was unavoidably influenced. The policy orientation of ethnic minority higher education for national unity and political stability becomes weaker than the previous. Ethnic institutions are forced to join the neoliberal competition game, fueled by the national policies in building world-class universities and enhancing internationalization level, to pursue comprehensive status and decent positions in the league tables (Choi, 2010). This change negatively impacts the dual mission realization of ethnic minority higher education and institutions, especially preserving ethnic cultures and languages. The neoliberal trends lead the ethnic minority higher education policies and practices to incline to cultivate talents to meet the challenges brought by urbanization and modernization instead of preserving ethnic cultures and heritages (Wang, 2015).

The neoliberal trend has also impacted ethnic minority students' choices about higher education. Because of the domination of mainstream Han culture and Mandarin in job and life circumstances in China, it is a tough choice for ethnic minority students and their parents to keep learning their native languages. The expansion of higher education enrollment since the late 1990s and the increasingly competitive job market after graduation worsen this situation (Xiong et al., 2016).

Canada: A Decentralized Model with Strong Government Intervention

Despite the decentralized higher education system, the Canadian government has announced clear statements to set indigenization a national priority. Indigenization was granted equal significance as internationalization in higher education (Knutson, 2018). Specifically, the federal and provincial governments have issued relevant preferential policies for First Nation, Métis, and Inuit peoples. At the federal level, the Council of Ministers of Education, Canada (CMEC) makes efforts to reduce the educational gap between indigenous and non-indigenous people by optimizing relevant policies, like the publication of *CMEC Indigenous Education Plan 2019–22* (CMEC, 2019). At the provincial level, various policies were issued to facilitate indigenous higher education. For instance, as having the most indigenous peoples in Canada, the Ontario Ministry of Education sets indigenous education as one of its primary tasks and creates initiatives, like *Indigenous Education Policy Framework*, to improve indigenous peoples' education development (Ontario Ministry of Education, 2007). In addition to the government support, some indigenous tribes have also established tribally controlled colleges to serve their people's higher education needs. These colleges are governed by the boards of tribal elders and community leaders but still under the regulation of their respective provincial ministry of education (Gregersen, 2015).

However, the indigenization process and higher education for indigenous peoples in Canada face barriers derived from the federal and provincial dichotomy and the solid Western and colonial traditions (Knutson, 2018). With the strong government involvement, Canadian indigenous higher education is easily influenced by neoliberal practices. Notably, some neoliberal education reforms have been criticized for their assimilation effect on indigenous peoples in Canada (Godlewska et al., 2013).

United States: A Decentralized Model with a Weak Government Influence

In the US, under the government-to-government relationship between American Indian and Alaska Native (AIAN) tribes and the US federal government and signed treaties, AIANs have a high level of self-determination and independence on their political, economic, cultural, and education affairs (Cornell & Kalt, 2010). Despite the funding assistance from the federal government, AIAN tribes have total control of their higher education, and the Tribal Colleges and Universities (TCUs) were established to offer culturally relevant higher education to their people. AIAN higher education and TCUs strongly promote tribal nation building and preserve the indigenous knowledge system with culturally responsive education (Brayboy et al., 2012). Given the very high independence and limited intervention from the federal government, AIAN higher education and TCUs can avoid the neoliberal influences from the mainstream society and higher education and pursue their own definition of "institutional success," which focuses on national building, language revitalization, and sovereignty enhancement (Brayboy et al., 2012). However, the isolation of AIAN higher education and TCUs leads to their marginalization status, which cannot bring sufficient social recognition to their efforts in preserving indigenous knowledge and external funding apart from the federal government (Xiong, 2020).

Discussion

The review of ethnic minority and indigenous higher education in China, Canada, and the US, from the perspective of neoliberalism, reveals the different ways of interaction between ethnic minority and indigenous higher education and the neoliberal trends in each country. In China, ethnic minority higher education and institutions follow the national neoliberalism-oriented higher education policies to avoid being left in the competition games. In Canada, higher education for indigenous peoples is promoted by different levels of government, but the barrier is also substantial due to the solid colonial background. Finally, in the US, AIAN higher education and TCUs enjoy high independence, but as a result, they are marginalized in the US higher education system. Given the different models, this section summarizes the common challenges and opportunities brought by the neoliberal trends to ethnic minority and indigenous higher education and the implications to the relevant policymakers and ethnic minority and indigenous institution administrators.

Neoliberal Challenges for Ethnic Minority and Indigenous Higher Education

The first challenge brought by neoliberalism for ethnic minority and indigenous higher education is the barrier to achieving the dual missions, especially the preservation of native languages, cultures, and identities (Zajda & Majhanovich, 2021). The homogenized and competition-oriented criteria of "success" in the neoliberal practices in higher education cannot well cover ethnic minority and indigenous higher education missions in various contexts, such as the tribal nation building for TCUs (Brayboy et al., 2012). At the same time, neoliberalism highlights the significance of competition, which can bring efficiency to the market and higher education sector (Cannella & Koro-Ljungberg, 2017). However, this competition orientation conflicts with the sharing spirit and culture of many ethnic minority and indigenous groups, especially the AIANs tribes in the US (Whitt, 2004).

The second challenge from neoliberalism for ethnic minority and indigenous higher education can be examined from the institutional perspective. The ethnic minority and indigenous institutions have been marginalized in the mainstream higher education sector. The competition from the neoliberal trend in higher education brings an additional burden to these institutions. For example, in China, ethnic minority-serving institutions are treated as policy-oriented institutions to serve as a tool in implementing ethnic minority policies and realizing harmonious development of all ethnic groups in China. With the influences from neoliberalism in higher education, pursuing the comprehensive university status and increasing the ranks in the major higher education league tables have brought the burden for ethnic minority-serving institutions and diluted their efforts in preserving ethnic cultures and languages (Xiong, 2020).

Neoliberal Opportunities for Ethnic Minority and Indigenous Higher Education

Regarding the opportunities brought by the neoliberal dimension of globalization, first, ethnic minority and indigenous higher education and institutions can take advantage of the neoliberal "game" to obtain necessary resources and support. More importantly, active engagement is a way of demonstrating the efforts of ethnic minority and indigenous higher education institutions in preserving native cultures and languages to the mainstream society.

Furthermore, in some particular cases, if the market force works in the right way, ethnic minority or indigenous groups can apply it to promote the native languages and cultures. For example, Korean Chinese is famous for the high-quality higher education with excellent preservation of the Korean language and culture. One reason for this phenomenon is the existence of South Korea near the prefecture, which serves as a decent job market for Korean Chinese college graduates (Xiong & Jacob, 2020). However, this situation is unique due to the geographic location and the same ethnic origin and language. Even though this positive influence cannot be repeated for many other ethnic or indigenous groups, the pragmatic implication regarding the opportunities brought by the neoliberal trends is that economic benefit is a strong incentive for ethnic minority and indigenous people to preserve their languages and cultures (Xiong et al., 2016).

Finally, under the impact of the ongoing Fourth Industrial Revolution, soft skills, including multicultural competency, have been increasingly emphasized by higher education institutions when training their students for future career development (Mok et al., 2021). Ethnic minority and indigenous higher education can enjoy the advantages and experiences of offering intercultural training in the interaction between their own culture and mainstream one. In this sense, the increasingly trending skills set can provide ethnic minority and indigenous higher education the opportunities to promote their significance in each higher education system and the broader multicultural context of globalization. However, because the Fourth Industrial Revolution is still developing, the opportunities in this sense for ethnic minority and indigenous higher education need further investigation.

Implications for Policymaking and Institutional Development

After reviewing challenges and opportunities brought by neoliberalism to ethnic minority and indigenous higher education, this chapter summarizes the following implications for policymaking and institutional development. First, for the central and local governments, education ministries, and accreditation bodies, it is crucial to understand the different criteria of "success" of the institutional development to help ethnic minority and indigenous higher education institutions, like TCUs, realize their dual missions of offering higher education and preserving native languages, cultures, and identities. These criteria are differentiated from the mainstream ones, which are the products of the neoliberalism-fueled competition, such as the high rankings in the league tables and comprehensiveness with all disciplines (Stull et al., 2015).

Second, for ethnic minority and indigenous higher education and institutions, it is not wise to entirely escape from the mainstream culture to preserve their own (Brayboy et al., 2012), and it is also impossible to do so for institutions in the centralized higher education system like China. The dual mission realization of ethnic minority and indigenous higher education should ultimately serve their students and prepare their graduates for both native and mainstream worlds. As Stein (2009) took TCUs as an example, "they could not just prepare tribal students to be proficient in their cultures but must also prepare them to be proficient in the non-Indian world that surrounds the tribal communities. They had to prepare their students to live productively in two very different worlds" (p. 18). Therefore, ethnic minority and indigenous institutional leaders need to balance their missions through carefully evaluating and applying the opportunities brought by the neoliberal trends in higher education, such as the national preferential policies (China and Canada) and the increasing attention to intercultural skills in the future job market.

Conclusion

In three case countries, namely China, Canada, and the United States, ethnic minority and indigenous peoples and institutions use different strategies to deal with the challenges and opportunities brought by the neoliberal trends in globalization. When discussing the conflict between neoliberalism and ethnic minority and indigenous higher education, one crucial question is how we should treat students. Are they customers who will bring the university tuition fees and reputation when they succeed after graduation? Or are they the agents of their own cultures, languages, and identities to co-construct the classroom and the university? For the advocate for the latter perspective, it is unfortunate to see the neoliberal trends are gradually weakening students' agent roles, especially for their ethnic and indigenous heritage. Therefore, educational policymakers and other ethnic minority and indigenous higher education stakeholders should step out to take actions, not only to facilitate the realization of the dual missions in offering culturally relevant education and preserving native cultures but also, more importantly, to protect the diversity that has been facing a considerable threat from the globalization and the neoliberal trends.

References

Bamberger, A., Morris, P., & Yemini, M. (2019). Neoliberalism, internationalization and higher education: Connections, contradictions and alternatives. *Discourse: Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education, 40*(2), 203–216.

Bottrell, D., & Manathunga, C. (Eds.). (2019). *Resisting neoliberalism in higher education volume I: Seeing through the cracks*. Palgrave Critical University Studies.

Brayboy, B., et al. (2012). Postsecondary education for American Indian and Alaska natives: Higher education for nation building and self-determination. *ASHE Higher Education Report, 37*(5), 1–154.

Cannella, G. S., & Koro-Ljungberg, M. (2017). Neoliberalism in higher education: Can we understand? Can we resist and survive? Can we become without neoliberalism? *Cultural Studies: Critical Methodologies, 17*(3), 155–162.

Choi, S. (2010). Globalization, China's drive for world-class universities (211 project) and the challenges of ethnic minority higher education: The case of Yanbian University. *Asia Pacific Education Review, 11*(2), 167–178.

Clothey, R. (2005). China's policies for minority nationalities in higher education: Negotiating national values and ethnic identities. *Comparative Education Review, 49*(3), 389–409.

Cornell, S., & Kalt, J. (2010). *American Indian self-determination: The political economy of a policy that works*. Harvard University.

Council of Ministers of Education, Canada (CMEC). (2019). *CMEC indigenous education plan 2019–22*. CMEC.

Giroux, H. (2014). *Neoliberalism's war on higher education*. Haymarket Books.

Godlewska, A., Schaefli, L., & Chaput, P. (2013). First nations assimilation through neoliberal educational reform. *The Canadian Geographer, 57*(3), 271–279.

Gong, Q., & Dobinson, T. (2019). Breaking with old ideas: Chinese students' perceptions of China's neoliberal turn in higher education. *Discourse: Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education, 40*(3), 331–342.

Gregersen, L. (2015). Indigenous learning in the Pacific Province: Canada's Tribal Colleges, Part 1. *Journal of American Indian Higher Education, 27*(1). Available online at: https://tribalcollegejournal.org/indigenous-learning-in-the-pacific-province-canadas-/
Hallmark, T., & Gasman, M. (2018). MSIs across the globe: Laying the foundation for future research. *Higher Education, 75*, 287–298.
Jacob, W. J. (2004). *Marketization, demarketization, remarketization: The influence of the market economy on Chinese higher education*. PhD dissertation. University of California, Los Angeles.
Jacob, W. J., Yao Cheng, S., & Porter, M. (Eds.). (2015). *Indigenous education: Language, culture and identity*. Springer.
Knutson, S. (2018). Internationalization and indigenization: Transforming Canadian higher education. In D. Proctor & L. E. Rumbley (Eds.), *The future agenda for internationalization in higher education: Next generation insights into research, policy, and practice* (pp. 28–37). Routledge.
Manathunga, C., & Bottrell, D. (Eds.). (2019). *Resisting neoliberalism in higher education volume II: Prising open the cracks*. Palgrave Critical University Studies.
Mok, K. H., Xiong, W., & Ye, H. (2021). COVID-19 crisis and challenges for graduate employment in greater China: A critical review of skills preparing students for uncertain futures. *Journal of Education and Work, 34*(3), 247–261.
Ontario Ministry of Education. (2007). *Ontario first nation, Métis, and Inuit education policy framework: Delivering quality education to aboriginal students in Ontario's provincially funded schools*. Ontario Ministry of Education.
Saunders, D. B., & Ramirez, G. B. (2017). Resisting the neoliberalization of higher education: A challenge to commonsensical understandings of commodities and consumption. *Cultural Studies: Critical Methodologies, 17*(3), 189–196.
Stein, W. J. (2009). Tribal colleges and universities: Supporting the revitalization in Indian country. In L. S. Warner & G. E. Gipp (Eds.), *Tradition and culture in the millennium: Tribal colleges and universities* (pp. 17–34). Information Age Publication.
Stull, G., et al. (2015). *Redefining success: How tribal colleges and universities build nations, strengthen sovereignty, and persevere through challenges*. University of Pennsylvania Center for Minority Serving Institutions.
Wang, G. (2015). Ethnic multilingual education in China: A critical observation. *Working Papers in Educational Linguistics, 30*(2), 35–47.
Whitt, L. A. (2004). Commodification of knowledge. In A. Waters (Ed.), *American Indian thought: Philosophical essays* (pp. 188–213). Wiley-Blackwell.
Xiong, W. (2020). *Ethnic minority-serving institutions: Higher education case studies from the United States and China*. Palgrave Macmillan.
Xiong, W., & Jacob, W. J. (2020). Ethnic minority-serving higher education institutions in the United States and China: A comparative case study of two institutions. *Asia Pacific Education Review, 21*(2), 295–309.
Xiong, W., Jacob, J., & Ye, H. (2016). Minority language issues in Chinese higher education: Policy reforms and practices among the Korean and Mongol ethnic groups. *Frontiers of Education in China, 11*(4), 455–482.
Zajda, J. (Ed.). (2020). *Globalisation, ideology and neo-liberal higher education reform*. Springer.
Zajda, J. (Ed.). (2021). *Third international handbook of globalisation and education policy research*. Springer.
Zajda, J., & Majhanovich, S. (2021). *Discourses of globalisation, ideology, education and policy reforms*. Springer.
Zajda, J., & Rust, V. (2021). *Globalisation and comparative education*. Springer.

Chapter 12
Opportunities and Challenges Under Globalization on the Higher Education Reforms in Taiwan from 2000 to the Present

Ya-Wen Hou and Kent Sheng Yao Cheng

Abstract According to the existed research findings related to globalization, most of them highlight the cross-border transmission of goods and capitals, and cover the procedures including the transnational period, the international period, and the global period. The researchers apply the concept of globalization into the realm of higher education and highlight the huge impact of economic globalization, political globalization, and cultural globalization on higher education reforms in Taiwan. Under the ubiquitous appearance of globalization, the principal investigators conducted a series of documentary analysis on higher education reform in Taiwan from the year of 2000 to the present, Then, the authors examine the relationships between globalization and localization along with the higher education reforms covering their missions and values, academic ranking and global impact, market-driven forces and social responsibilities, and excellence and accountability. Following these veins, the authors suggest the needs of rethinking the development of higher education in Taiwan.

Keywords Globalization · Localization · Higher education reforms · Taiwan

Y.-W. Hou
Chinese Culture University, Taipei City, Taiwan
e-mail: hyw6@ulive.pccu.edu.tw

K. S. Y. Cheng (✉)
National Chung Cheng University, Chiayi, Taiwan
e-mail: kentcheng@ccu.edu.tw

J. Zajda, W. J. Jacob (eds.), *Discourses of Globalisation and Higher Education Reforms*, Globalisation, Comparative Education and Policy Research 27,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-83136-3_12

Higher Education Reforms in Taiwan from 2000 to the Present: Introduction

As time goes by, globalization is not dying. Reversely, globalization has exerted a profound impact, both visibly and invisibly, on the development of every country across the world (Zajda, 2021). Globalization is a mainstream sentiment in the contemporary world, and under the globalized process, the participation of each country and its national development orientations, such as political, economic, social, and cultural, produce diverse, different from their given forms and manifestations (Robertson, 1990; Zajda & Rust, 2021). Globalization, though important, does not dominate every country's development. The challenge it faces is localization which focuses on the importance and particularity of a country. A dialectic relationship between globalization and localization exists in each country, because every country undergoes diverse transformations and responds to global process heterogeneously even though it develops continuously in the process of globalization (Arnove, 2003). Even though countries endeavor to conserve their tradition in every dimension, such as politics, economics, culture, and society, they, as a fact of existing in the globe, still has been influenced by globalization in different levels and forms, and they has few opportunities to escape from globalization.

Education cannot deviate from globalization (Zajda & Majhanovich, 2021). In the context of globalization, education is decentralized, and even it is "an ideology closely identified with and pushing the development of global economy in a particular way" (Carnoy, 2000: 44). Especially, higher education has been influenced ideologically by the globalized driver and it has had more focuses on principles which are private, financial, accountable, and competitive under the free-market mechanism (Marginson & Mollis, 2001; Mok & Welch, 2003, Zajda, 2020). However, education can be considered as a representation of localization and plays a pivotal role in the national development of a country. Education is often considered as a means to promote national competitiveness. As Arne Duncan (2010) has pointed out, though the relationship between education and national competitiveness is indistinct, education serves as a major investment in the human capital development to increase more effective workforce and economic viability.

Education reforms often serve as significant national strategies to accelerate the change and transformation of countries when the political, economic, or social challenges they meet. In the past twenty years, Taiwan's higher education has undergone a drastic change. Higher education in Taiwan is "flagged" and spread by the rising of global competition since the year 2000 approximately because of the expansion of higher education institutions (HEIs) and international rankings systems such as ARWU, THE, and QS world university rankings[1]

[1]The Academic Ranking of World Universities (ARWU) is developed by Shanghai Jiao Tong University in China in 2003. In 2004, THE-QS world university rankings was released by the

(Altbach, 2006, 2012; Cheng & Jacob, 2012; Douglass, 2016; Zajda & Majhanovich, 2021). Due to respond these international trends in higher education, Taiwan government initiates a series of policies regarding higher education reforms.

In this chapter, we try to explore the development of Taiwan's higher education policies and reflect on their changes in today's global society. Firstly, we introduce the development of higher education and some policies in Taiwan. Then, we analyze the characteristics of those policies and discuss them through different globalization lens, including economic, political, and cultural perspectives. Finally, we endeavor to employ these higher education policies to examine the relationship between globalization and localization and we provide some suggestions to the development of higher education in the future.

Development of Higher Education in Taiwan

Some scholars point out that higher education in Taiwan, along with the change of Taiwan government's authority and social needs, exhibits diverse pictures. For instance, Po-Chang Chen (2005) has discussed the Taiwan's higher education policies from 1949 to 2005 and he has divided this progress in into five periods. Jinlin Hwang (2017), from a historical perspective, has attempted to analyze the development of higher education in Taiwan during the period of 1945 and 1990. Ka-Ho Mok (2002) has pointed out that the concerns of globalization have gradually invaded the Taiwan's higher education in the twenty-first century. Ying Chan (2008) has mentioned higher education in Taiwan can be divided into seven stages. Those research findings show the facts that Taiwan's higher education has increased in numbers (See Table 12.1) and majorly experienced three phases: centralization, decentralization, and globalization. Here, the development of higher education in Taiwan from 1949 to 2021 are briefly discussed.

1949–1986: Centralization

In the past, Taiwan government has great authority on higher education. The KMT government (that is the first Taiwan government) started to build a regime in Taiwan and initiated the Declaration of Martial Law in 1949 to seek the building of a new

cooperation between Times Higher Education (THE) and the Quacquarelli Symonds (QS) Company (Liu & Cheng, 2011). However, THE and QS rankings systems were separated in 2010 (Thomson Reuters, 2010). Those three international rankings are often used by scholars, administrators, policy makers, and other related stakeholders.

Table 12.1 Numbers of Higher Educational Institutions in Taiwan, 1949–2021

Year	Universities/Colleges	Junior colleges	Total
1949	1	2	3
1953	4	3	7
1956	11	6	17
1961	16	14	30
1971	23	73	96
1986	28	77	105
1987	50	73	123
1999	105	36	141
2000	127	23	150
2010	148	15	163
2020	140	12	152

Resource: Chen (2005, p. 4) and MOE (2020)

and stable society in Taiwan. An over 38-year-long period of control by Taiwan government has affected radically the development of higher education in terms of the numbers of HEIs. Only seven HEIs, including four universities/colleges and three junior colleges, were established during the period between 1949 and 1953 (Chen, 2005). After 1954, Taiwan government encouraged the full development of economy so that a rapid increase of HEIs has responded to the economic needs. Especially, because of the extended budget crises, private junior colleges have won with wide acceptance among Taiwan government and had an over twentyfold increase in amounts during the period of 1961 and 1971. However, the over-expansion of private junior colleges made Taiwan government to pay attention to the "poor quality" of HEIs. Not only the revision of University Act[2] in 1972 but also the restriction of enrollment and amounts in higher education were under the control of Taiwan government. Taiwan's HEIs in the period of 1971 and 1986 increased slowly. In addition, at that time, less than 3% of students with the college age could go to HEIs and each private HEIs could enroll no more than 3,000 student (Wang, 1996).

1987–1999: Decentralization

Until 1987, the Martial Law was removed. The political and economic climate was becoming open and free, and moreover, Taiwanese have opportunities to express their opinions, "Taiwan's society has been more democratic, flexible, informationalized, hightech, competitive, and marketized" (Weng, 1999, 35). In this social climate, higher education in Taiwan started its development more flexibly. For instance,

[2] The first version of University Act was promulgated in 1948. Until 2019, there are fifteen revisions (Laws & Regulations Database, 2021).

the amendment to *University Act* in 1994 approved that HEIs have the autonomy to run their institutions; in brief, Taiwan government cannot control the field of higher education autocratically and absolutely (Chan, 2008).

In addition, Taiwanese gave a devastating critique of higher education policies connected to economic development almost completely, and simultaneously, they issued a demand in public demonstrations, such as the 410 educational reform parade in 1994. The advocates of this movement by mobilizing public opinion, tried to transform the government-based control into an autonomous, self-regulation in higher education (Hwang, 2017). Due to respond to mass voices and social demands, Taiwan government organized a consulting committee to undertake the consultation paper of education reform (Education Reform Committee of Executive Yuan, 1996). This report, as a reconstructive action to support social democratization and diversity, highlighted an appeal for easing restrictions on HEIs, such as the increase of the access and capacity of HEIs, substantial input and proper distribution of educational resources, and the diversity of HEIs' categories and their functions. According to Table 12.1, the numbers of universities/colleges has grown twice in this period, but a decrease in the junior colleges was 50%. Henceforth higher education in Taiwan would never be the same as the past and experienced a decentralized progress in the access, equity, capacity of higher education.

2000-Present: Globalization

After the eighth revision of *University Law* in 2005, Taiwan government started to lose the control over HEI's in amounts and in their quality (Chen, 2005). As Table 12.1 shows, after 1999, Taiwan's HEIs reached more than one hundred in amounts and even more than one hundred-fifty since 2000. A rise in universities/colleges and a fall in junior colleges were presented in Table 12.1. Along with globalization, Taiwan government has transformed the higher education into the decentralization, marketization, autonomization, and socio-politically liberalization (Mok, 2000). He has argued that the HEIs in Taiwan have more autonomy to manage their own institution; and further, they employ many market-related strategies to attract students, reduce costs, and increase their revenue. Chan (2008) also has supported that since 2005, Taiwan's higher education policies has begun the phase which emphasis the self-management and accountability.

In addition, globalization has created a global civic society and this kind of society has issued many domestic and international challenges for every country; educational policies planning should make a response to the trend (Peters et al., 2008) so that a citizen should have both national and global citizenship. Thus, under the climate of globalization, the numbers of HEIs in Taiwan has been increasing, especially the increase of private ones; moreover, the quality assurance, excellence, and "world-fit" of HEIs have come into focus of higher education policies.

Taiwan's Higher Education Policies After the Middle of 1990s

Since the late 1980s, Taiwanese society has gradually decentralized and transformed into a one which values the political democratization, public voices, the law-based social structure, and the democratization and liberalization of campuses. 1994 was considered as the heyday of educational reforms during the period of decentralization in Taiwan (Wu, 2008). Many civil groups made urgent appeals to the government for transforming the system of Taiwan's education at all levels. Higher education, the focus of this paper, is not compulsory, but everyone can go. It is a bridge between individual experience of basic education and his/her social life. Thus the following part shows a brief describes regarding some higher education policies after the middle of 1990s (See Table 12.2).

The 410 educational reform parade is seen as the beginning of the educational reform movement in Taiwan and its four claims have dramatic impact on many educational reforms later. The advocates of 410 educational reform parade happening in 1994 made four claims, including the "modernization of education," the establishment of *Educational Fundamental Act*, the implementation class-size reduction in compulsory schooling, and the increase of senior high schools and universities (Huang, 1995; Wu, 2008). These claims emphasize the liberalize education, to guide the direction of education, to promote the human-based management in schools, and to lift the restrictions on university affordability.

The next two years, Taiwan government issued the *Consultation Paper of Educational Reform for the Executive Yuan Committee* to respond public appeals. In this paper, Taiwan government provided five dimensions to improve contemporary education system and its relevant challenges (Education Reform Committee of Executive Yuan, 1996). The five dimensions confirmed in the paper included the deregulation of education system, the upholding of educational rights of every

Table 12.2 Major higher educational events in Taiwan, 1994–2021

Year	Major events	Abbreviation
1994	410 Educational Reform Parade	410ERP
1996	Consultation Paper of Educational Reform for the Executive Yuan Committee	CPER
2000	Incentive of Research Excellence in HEIs	IRE
2002	Research-Oriented University Integration Project	RUIP
2005	Incentives of Teaching Excellence in Universities	ITEU
2006	Five-Year and Fifty-Billion-NTD Project	FYFB
2007	University Self-evaluation Act	USEA
2013	Project of Developing Paragon Universities of Technology	DPUT
2015	Program on Innovation and Transformation in Higher Education	ITHE
2017	Higher Education Rooted Project	HERR
2021	Program on Bilingual Education for Students in College	BEST

Resource: MOE (2021a)
[a]Every event is abbreviated in order to be convenient to analyze their features

students, the increase of educational opportunities, the improvement of educational quality, and the support of life-long learning.

Since 2000, Taiwan government has attempted to promote excellent performance of HEIs because universities could be the best driver to promote the economic growth in today's knowledge-based age. The more excellent universities are, the more competitiveness a country has. The Ministry of Education in Taiwan delivered the *White Paper on Higher Education* in 2001 and outlined the vision of "pursuing excellence and connecting with world" (MOE, 2001). In addition, Taiwan government has developed a series of higher education policies to "pursue excellence," which is the primary strategy to be assured of universities' quality (Cheng, 2009).

During 2000 to 2003, Taiwan government issued the *Incentive of Research Excellence in HEIs* and provided financial help for scholars to propose diverse research programs and improve their research performance (MOE, 2000). In 2002, the *Research-Oriented University Integration Project* was launched because Taiwan government, by encouraging HEIs to adopt different integrative and merging strategies, endeavored to upgrade domestic academic capacity of HEIs to a world-class level (MOE, 2002). Similarly, the aim of the *Incentives of Teaching Excellence in Universities* implemented in 2005 was to encourage college faculty to improve their teaching and develop innovative instructions (MOE, 2005). In general, those policies tend to promote the excellent performance of HEIs and to develop a classification of research-oriented and teaching-oriented HEIs (Liu, 2014).

In order to make sure the improvement of universities' quality, Taiwan government has launched the *University Self-evaluation Act* in 2007(Laws & Regulations Database, 2007). The categories of evaluation in higher education include the university institutional evaluation, the discipline/field assessments, and the specific program evaluation. All universities need to carry out different evaluations which are conducted by the professional groups appointed by the Ministry of Education or the professional evaluation association, such as Higher Education Evaluation and Accreditation Council of Taiwan (HEEACT). Quality assurance is the main theme of evaluation, whether any evaluation is carried out or not. For instance, the results of the discipline/field assessments not only helps institution review their academic capacity but also serves as a mechanism for self-evaluation, supporting each institution's continued commitment to quality, improvement, and excellence (HEEACT, 2007).

The *Five-Year and Fifty-Billion-NTD Project*, a nickname of the *Development Plan for World Class Universities and Research Centers for Excellence*, was initiated by Taiwan government since 2006. This project, with the governmental support of fifty-billion-NTD dollars every five years, had run two stages: one was from 2006 to 2010, and other one was during the period of 2011 and 2017. The first tier aimed to develop world-class universities and research centers and the second tier changed its title as the *Aim for the Top University Project* and it shifted its goals to accelerate the internationalization of top universities, to improve research quality and the visibility of top universities in international academies, to recruit talents from domestic and foreign countries, to close relationships between HEIs and industry, and to cultivate interdisciplinary human resources in response to social and market demands (Chang 2013; MOE, 2011).

The *Project of Developing Paragon Universities of Technology* was launched in 2013 and ended in 2017. Compared to other higher educational policies, this policy focused on technological and vocational education in the tertiary education level. The major purpose of this project (MOE, 2013) was to find unique, specific directions guiding universities of technology to cultivate talents who industries need and to enhance the relationship between universities and industries. Universities of technology have opportunities to be paragon and comprehensive because of the integration of internal characteristics and social needs from external industries.

Since 2015, Taiwan government has set up the *Program on Innovation and Transformation in Higher Education* (MOE, 2015). This program contains four strategies, including the training and consulting for high-level talents, a withdrawal mechanism for colleges and universities, the reconstruction of paragon HEIs, and the encouragement of alliances among HEIs, such as collaboration, consolidation, and merger. In order to face the challenges resulting from the low-birth rate and globalization, this project involves the future images of higher education, the control of college admissions and enrollment, and the adjustment in the size of HEIs; however, this may be a linear thinking hidden behind the program (Cheng, 2017), not a comprehensive planning regarding the complex in higher education.

A competitive funding mechanism is adopted in many projects mentioned above, and so it results in many critique, such as the homogenization among Taiwanese HEIs, the disregard of student learning and instruction in HEIs, the global competitiveness posed by internationalization, the dismatch between university education and industrial innovative demands, and the lack of immediate responses to the expectations of the public and of local communities (MOE, 2017; Cheng, 2019). Thus, in 2017, Taiwan government released the *Higher Education Rooted Project*, which is seen as an integration of the Five-Year and Fifty-Billion-NTD Project, the Project of Developing Paragon Universities of Technology, and the Incentives of Teaching Excellence in Universities. The vision of the *Higher Education Rooted Project* is to develop diversity of HEIs and to educate the next-generation excellent talents (MOE, 2017). The MOE proposed four policy orientations as the goals of this project, including the fulfillment of instruction innovation, the rearticulating of the publicness of HEIs, the development of specific features of universities, and the enhancement of university social responsibilities.

The power of language, especially English, seems to have great impact on a country's competitiveness in accordance with some studies' argument of the neoliberal order versus the centrality and commodification of language (such as Heller, 2010; Heller & Duchêne, 2012). Also, the argument regarding the language as global competitiveness naturalizes the higher education reform in Taiwan. Since 2017, Taiwan government has paid attention to a new economic planning for the future's thirty-year forecast and has developed a plan of national forward-looking infrastructure. One item of this national for-ward-looking infrastructure focuses on talent education and employment. As a result, in 2021, the Taiwan government has released the newest HE initiative, called *Program on Bilingual Education for Students in College* with hopes to support English as a medium of instruction (EMI), improve Taiwanese college students' communication skills, employability, and global mobility (MOE, 2021b). Four major strategies are implemented in this program.

First, to find the model of bilingual HEIs. The MOE attempts to fund six universities and 30 colleges/schools with excellent bilingual education during future 30 years and to approve international colleges as benchmarking HEIs (MOE, 2021b).

Secondly, to promote a massification of bilingual education. The MOE hopes to achieve at least 80% of EMI provided at least 40 HEIs and at least 10% of second-year university student in all HEIs to take more than two courses with EMI (MOE, 2021b).

Thirdly, to increase human resources in bilingual education. The recruitment of international talents with EMI experience is one major goal of the *Program on Bilingual Education for Students in College* in order to provide the English-speaking environment and to promote the international exchange. The MOE also encourages HEIs to provide EMI co-taught with international teachers via physical and online classes (MOE, 2021b). Finally, regarding resource sharing and collaboration among HEIs. The MOE in Taiwan tries to build the local EMI centers and to establish the certificate mechanism of EMI online courses (MOE, 2021b).

Dynamics of Higher Education Reforms in Taiwan

In today's twenty-first century, globalization happens in the two local areas but also in a macro globe which all countries involve in. Globalization emerges from the cross-border transmission of goods and capitals, and it also exists in diverse affairs. Globalization is a highly complex, contradictory, and ambiguous concept and practice. As a result of globalization involves in diverse institutions and social relations, such as commercial trading, the exchange of service and ideas, the transformation of culture, and the mobility of talents, t is a mix of economics, politics, and culture in today's capitalist world (Kellner 2002; Mok & Welch, 2003). Although globalization is a mix, its definition from different lens demonstrates different meanings and focuses (Keohane & Nye, 2000). They highlight that economic globalization involves in the exchange goods, capital, and services in the liberal market; political globalization is characterized by a diffusion of government policies and a political discourse regarding "big market and limited government" as well as government reinvention (Tai, 2001); and social /culture globalization refers to the spread of ideas, information, images and human resource around the world.

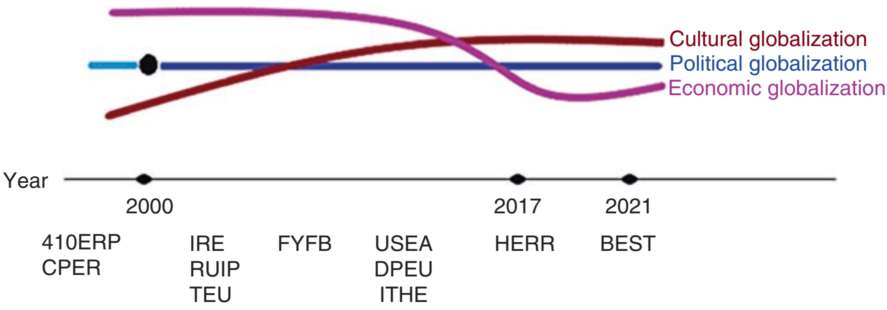
In higher education, three lens of globalization may be happened simultaneously. Economic globalization has high probabilities regarding the marketization and privatization of higher education, such as the widened access, the reduced resources, educational restructuring, quality assurance, and accountability (Mok & Welch, 2003). Political globalization has connections with a number of national education policies and the decentralized administration, such as government's deregulation, the increase of HEIs' autonomy, demonopolization and privatization of HEIs, and the evaluation mechanism (Tai, 2001). In addition, the discourse of social/cultural globalization is represented everywhere in higher education, such as the awareness of other cultures, requirements for multiple and flexible specializations of HEIs, the internationalization of higher education, students' mobility and transnational competencies (such as foreign languages and communication skills) as well as a culture regarding quality assurance, accountability and pursuit of excellence (Law 2003; Cheng, 2009). Educational policies is a kind of cultural policies which tie in with national planning via educational tactics (Warnier, 1999/2003). Different educational policies are formulated with diverse goals, approaches, and strategies (Table 12.3) so that they open up possibilities to represent a big shape of a country's needs in different period of time.

In general, each policy rests on a wide base of a country's politics so that it tends to the political globalization absolutely, but a break is produced with the change of Taiwan political mechanism. As shown in Fig. 12.1, the political mechanism before the year of 2000 was characterized by decentralization of Taiwan government although Taiwan exists in the global environment. "To relax the regulation in higher education" (Education Reform Committee of Executive Yuan, 1996) became the

Table 12.3 Taiwan's Higher Educational Events and Their Features

Year	Major Events (shown by abbreviation)	Focus
1994	410ERP	Widened access Promotion of the diversity of HEIs Reasonable distribution of resources Expansion of non-government investment Removing the restriction on Tuition fees
1996	CPER	
2000	IRE	Pursuit of excellence in research and teaching with the competitive funding mechanism
2002	RUIP	
2005	TEU	
2006	FYFB	Selection of top HEIs Pursuit of excellence and international competitiveness Value of international rankings
2007	USEA	Evaluation and accountability Quality assurance Reconceptualization of paragon HEIs Transformation of HEIs Talents management Collaboration among HEIs
2013	DPUT	
2015	ITHE	
2017	HERR	Publicness of the HEIs Instruction innovations Positioning and unique features of HEIs University social responsibilities (USR) Talents management
2021	BEST	Talents management Response to global citizenship Promotion of EMI Communication skills Financing excellent bilingual HEIs

Source: By the authors



Source: By the authors.

Fig. 12.1 Dynamics of Taiwan's higher education policies' tendency. (Source: By the authors)

urgent political request. Taiwan government sought the power to deregulate the restrictions on higher education. Since 2000, the wide spread of globalization has captured the national development in Taiwan. Thus, the political system and higher education policies in Taiwan has gradually influenced by globalization.

The focuses of different policies have impact on the dynamics of the tendency to economic globalization and cultural globalization. Before the year 2000, due to the deregulation of higher education, Taiwan government has encouraged the non-government investment so that the numbers of private HEIs has sharply grown to improve access and to promote the expansion and diversity of higher education (Education Reform Committee of Executive Yuan, 1996; Wu, 2008). However, when Taiwan government endeavored to support the higher education development in amounts, its little attentions were on culture in higher education except the appeal for the diversity of HEIs. In brief, these higher education reforms—410ERP and CPER—strongly emphasized the economic characteristics of higher education development.

Since 2000, globalization has given its influence over affairs of higher education in Taiwan (Cheng, 2009; Cheng & Jacob, 2012) so that higher education in Taiwan has a fundamental transformation. Taiwan government has issued many higher education policies to respond to globalization and has empowered HEIs to develop their own positions and has encouraged the internationalization of higher education.

In order to promote the excellent research and teaching even the competitiveness among HEIs in the domestic and international environments, the competitive funding mechanism is used in many higher education policies, such as IRE, ITEU, and FYFB. The more excellent research and instruction, the more money granted by Taiwan government. An evaluation system has also been introduced to examine the performance of HEIs and even to control their quality. Moreover, these policies has gradually guided the direction of higher education development toward the global standards, such as international rankings and publication in journals listed in the SSCI, SCI, and/or A&HCI (Cheng et al., 2014; Mok, 2014). Therefore, the economic indicators, such as dollars, sizes, publications, and rankings, serve as doctrines existing in these policies. However, compared to other policies, the ideology of economic dominance seems to be varnished over with focuses of the publicness of the HEIs and university social responsibilities in the HERR. The BEST policy initiated in 2021 is aimed at the establishment of benchmarking bilingual HEIs and the increasing numbers of EMI classes (MOE, 2021b). Moreover, these policies show that the tendency for economic globalization is dynamic. It is highly dominant before the HERR released in 2017 and a descent in 2017, and then in 2021, it is a tendency towards increasing economic globalization again.

The dynamics of cultural globalization display somehow differently. Initially, the cultural tendency resulting from Taiwan's higher education reforms regarding the 410 educational reform parade and the Consultation Paper of Educational Reform for the Executive Yuan Committee was slight and unobvious. However, since the year of 2000, "pursue excellence" has becomes a major mainstream in higher education in Taiwan (Cheng, 2009, 2019). In addition, the significance of performance and quality assurance of HEIs in Taiwan has gradually been valued and even overvalued in the globalization age. This not only stimulates the *University Self-evaluation Act* launched in 2007 and the self-evaluation of HEIs (HEEACT, 2007) but also produces the cultures of "efficiency," "productivity," and "accountability" (such as Carnoy, 2000; Mok, 2003; Chang et al., 2015). Even though the HERR policy represents little attention to the quantitative measurement and economic thinking in its purpose—to promote the HEI's publicness and their social responsibilities (MOE, 2017), its strategies still tend to pursue excellence and accountability. As a result, the ideology of cultural globalization grows rapidly and steadily and illustrates similar patterns even though different Taiwan's higher education policies have different purposes.

Close to Globalization or Far Away?

Since the middle of 1990s, two trends—localization and globalization—has existed simultaneously in the Taiwanese society. As Law (2003: 83) has pointed out, Taiwan, as the time goes by, steps into the room for globalization, but it tries to shape its "selling points", such as Taiwanization and democratization, to market itself in the global environment. Localization is likely to be synonymous with Taiwanization because they all refer to the keeping of local features existing in many affairs, such as political systems, productions, and the forms of cultural presentation. However, the relationship between globalization and localization is not dichotomous. Globalization, from a global, unitary perspective, involves in the process of homogenization, but from a local, diversity-centered perspective, it also has opportunities to produce the heterogenization and to influence the cultural identity activation (Giddens, 1995). According to this point, the relationship between globalization and localization is dynamic and dialectic (Yang, 2005).

Taiwan is a part of the world and its national development has been influenced by global trends and local needs. It is inevitable that educational policies as strategies of national development adheres to globalization. However, different purposes of educational policies result in the two trends of globalization and localization toward similar or dissimilar directions. Figure 12.2 uses Taiwan's higher education policies to discuss the relationship between globalization and localization. As show in Fig. 12.2, the 410ERP and CPER were released in the period of decentralization to require the expansion and diversity of HEIs (Education Reform Committee of Executive Yuan, 1996; Wu, 2008). At that time, the trend of globalization had no great impact on higher education in Taiwan, and reversely, the power of Taiwan government and local communities was still dominated in higher education.

A crossroads was produced in 2000. The trend of globalization has started to penetrate the field of Taiwan's higher education and the power of localizations has decreased because of the deregulations on higher education. In addition, the vision of the *White Paper on Higher Education*—pursuing excellence and connecting with world (MOE, 2001)— has become the doctrines of HEIs' development. During the period of 2000 and 2005, Taiwan government initiated some policies including the IRE, RUIP, and ITEU to promote academic capacity of HEIs and the pursuit of excellence in research and teaching (MOE, 2000, 2002, 2005; Liu, 2014). Thus in order to increase international competitiveness resulting from globalization, the localized strategies of developing HEIs' capacity were the focuses at that time.

The spread of globalization has made global competition been fierce and world-class university rankings have also become the target of racing among HEIs around the world for international status and competitiveness. For instance, in the FYFB policy, in order to compete with international counterparts, Taiwanese HEIs

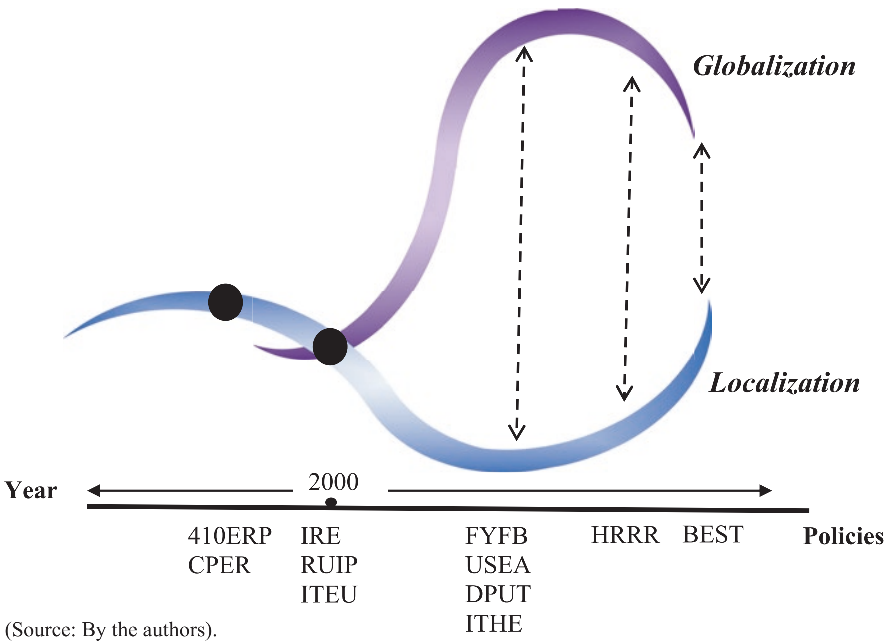


Fig. 12.2 Globalization vs. localization shown by Taiwan's HE policies. (Source: By the authors)

desperately strived for competing funds and asked their faculty's contribution to highly impact journals; inversely, little attentions were paid to the response of local needs, the neglect of the educational subject, the dichotomy between excellence and non-excellence, and academic colonialism and intellectual hegemony (Liu, 2014). In brief, a biggest gap between globalization and localization existed when those policy was implemented during the period of 2006 and 2017.

Expect the challenge about the low birth rate, a broad critique of globalization in higher education are provided (MOE, 2017; Cheng, 2019). Compared to previous policies, the HERP policy puts more weights on the instruction innovation, the response to local needs, the publicness of HEIs, and their university social responsibilities (MOE, 2017). It seems that the trend of localization in Taiwan's higher education has gained more attention again, but actually, the ideas of globalization, including pursuing excellence, accountability, and quality assurance, still have permeated through the stakeholders of Taiwan's higher education. Thus the gap between globalization and localization seems to shorten a little in accordance with the focuses of the HERR policy.

The newest higher education policy in Taiwan is the BEST, which emphasizes the establishment of excellent bilingual HEIs and the practice of the EMI classes MOE, 2021b). Again, the ideas of globalization, such as the pursuit of excellence and accountability still dominates the development of higher education in Taiwan. In addition, in a globalization society, a person is a nation's citizen and also a global citizen. Taiwan government has released the BEST policy to respond to the global citizenship and to promote Taiwanese college students' communication skills and employability. The BEST policy makes the relationship between globalization and localization closer. In other words, the localization respond to the globalization.

Conclusion

The higher education policies in Taiwan since the middle of 1990s have changed dramatically. They represent the dynamic process— the decentralization of Taiwan government, the appearance of globalization, and the cross between globalization and localization, and the response of local needs to global demands. The diversity and complexity of Taiwan's higher education results from the dialectics between globalization and localization and even more from the response to globalization. In addition, the change of these higher education policies also produces different globalized ideologies. Except the manifesto of political globalized ideology, these policies illustrate the dynamic shifts in the economic and cultural lens of globalization in the different period of time. This chapter promotes an effort to examine the Taiwan's higher education policies and to explore the relationship between globalization and localization hidden behind these policies. The discourse regarding the complementary relationship between globalization and localization is widely accepted, but it needs more discussion to rethink the nature of higher education in Taiwan and their priority in today's global society.

References

Altbach, P. G. (2006). The dilemmas of ranking. *International Higher Education, 42*, 2–3.

Altbach, P. G. (2012). The globalization of college and university rankings. *Change: The Magazine of Higher Learning, 44*(1), 26–31.

Arnove, R. F. (2003). Introduction: Reframing comparative education: The dialectic of the global and the local. In R. F. Arnove & C. A. Torres (Eds.), *Comparative education: The dialectic of the global and the local* (2nd ed., pp. 1–23). Rowman & Littlefield.

Carnoy, M. (2000). Globalization and educational reform. In N. Stromquist & K. Monkman (Eds.), *Globalization and education: Integration and contestation across cultures* (pp. 43–62). Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc..

Chang, D.-F. (2013). The challenges for establishing world-class universities in Taiwan. In J. C. Shin & B. M. Kehm (Eds.), *Institutionalization of world-class university in global competition* (pp. 185–201). Springer.

Chang, D.-F., Nyeu, F.-Y., & Chang, H.-C. (2015). Balancing quality and quantity to build research universities in Taiwan. *Higher Education, 70*, 251–263.

Cheng, S. Y. (2009). Quality assurance in higher education: The Taiwan experience. In T. W. Bigalke & D. E. Neubauer (Eds.), *Higher education in Asia/Pacific* (pp. 133–148). Palgrave MacMillan.

Cheng, S. Y. (2019). The dialectics between "Race to the Top" and "Back to Basics": Metaphors on Taiwan higher education reforms between 2006 and 2017. In D. E. Neubauer, K.-H. Mok, & S. Edwards (Eds.), *Contesting globalization and internationalization of higher education: Discourse and response in the Asian Pacific Region* (pp. 65–78). Palgrave.

Cheng, S. Y., & Jacob, W. J. (2012). Expansion and stratification of higher education opportunity in Taiwan. *Chinese Education & Society, 45*(5-6), 112–133.

Cheng, S.-Y., Jacob, W. J., & Yang, S.-K. (2014). Reflections from the Social Science Citation Index (SSCI) and its influence on education research in Taiwan. In C. P. Chou (Ed.), *The SSCI syndrome in higher education: A local or global phenomenon* (pp. 97–107). Sense Publishers.

Douglass, J. A. (2016). *The new flagship university: changing the paradigm from global ranking to national relevancy*. Palgrave Macmillan.

Duncan, A. (2010). Back to school: Enhancing U.S. education and competitiveness. *Foreign Affairs, 89*(6), 65–74.

Giddens, A. (1995). *Beyond left and right: The future of radical polities*. Polity Press.

Heller, M. (2010). The commodification of language. *Annual Review of Anthropology, 39*, 101–114.

Heller, M., & Duchêne, A. (2012). Pride and profit: Changing discourses of language, capital and nation-state. In A. Duchêne & M. Heller (Eds.), *Language in late capitalism: Pride and profit* (pp. 1–21). Routledge.

Kellner, D. (2002). Theorizing globalization. *Sociological Theory, 20*(3), 285–305.

Keohane, R. O., & Nye, J. S. (2000). Introduction. In J. S. Nye & J. D. Donahue (Eds.), *Governance in a globalizing world* (pp. 1–44). Brookings Institution Press.

Law, W.-W. (2003). Globalization, localization and education reform in a new democracy: Taiwan's experience. In K. H. Mok & A. Welch (Eds.), *Globalization and educational restructuring in the Asia Pacific region* (pp. 79–127). Palgrave Macmillan.

Liu, N. C., & Cheng, Y. (2011). Global university rankings and their impact. In P. G. Altbach (Ed.), *Leadership for world-class universities: Challenges for developing countries* (pp. 145–158). Routledge.

Marginson, S., & Mollis, M. (2001). The door opens and the tiger leaps: Theories and reflexivities of comparative education for a global millennium. *Comparative Education Review, 45*(4), 581–615.

Mok, K. H. (2014). Promoting the global university in Taiwan: University governance reforms and academic reflections. In C. P. Chou (Ed.), *The SSCI syndrome in higher education: A local or global phenomenon* (pp. 1–23). Sense Publishers.

Mok, K.-H. (2000). Reflecting globalization effects on local policy: Higher education reform in Taiwan. *Journal of Education Policy, 15*(6), 637–660.

Mok, K.-H. (2002). From nationalization to marketization: Changing governance in Taiwan's higher-education system. *Governance: An International Journal of Policy, Administration, and Institutions, 15*(2), 137–159.
Mok, K.-H. (2003). Similar Trends, Diverse Agendas: Higher education reforms in East Asia. *Globalisation, Societies and Education, 1*(2), 201–221.
Mok, K.-H., & Welch, A. (2003). Globalization, structural adjustment and educational reform. In K.-H. Mok & A. Welch (Eds.), *Globalization and educational restructuring in the Asia Pacific Region* (pp. 1–31). Palgrave Macmillan.
Peters, M. A., Britton, A., & Blee, H. (Eds.). (2008). *Global citizenship education: Philosophy, theory, and pedagogy*. Sense Publisher.
Robertson, R. (1990). Mapping the global condition: Globalization as the central concept. *Theory, Culture & Society, 7*(2-3), 15–30.
Thomson Reuters. (2010). *World university rankings 2010-2011: Methodology*. Retrieved on January 19th, 2014 from http://www.timeshighereducation.co.uk/world-university-rankings/2010-11/worl
Wang, L. Y. (1996). *Higher educational expansion in Taiwan from 1950 to 1994: Patterns and explanations*. Retrieved from ERIC database (ED402835).
Weng, F.-Y. (1999). The implementation of equality of educational opportunities in Taiwan in the early 1990s: A post-Fordist perspective. *Comparative Education, 47*, 28–54.
Zajda, J. (Ed.). (2020). *Globalisation, ideology and neo-liberal higher education reform*. Springer.
Zajda, J., & Majhanovich, S. (2021). *Discourses of globalisation, ideology, education and policy reforms*. Springer.
Zajda, J., & Rust, V. (2021). *Globalisation and comparative education*. Springer.
Zajda, J. (Ed.). (2021). *Third international handbook of globalisation and education policy research*. Springer.
全國法規資料庫 (2007)。大學評鑑辦法。
[Laws & Regulations Database. (2007). *University Self-evaluation Act*.]
全國法規資料庫 (2021)。大學法。
[Laws & Regulations Database (2021). *University Act*.]
成群豪 (2017)。高等教育創新轉型方案之我見。**臺灣教育評論月刊，6**(1)，88−92。
[Cheng, C.-H. (2017). Opinions on the program on innovation and transformation in higher education. *Taiwan Educational Review Monthly, 6*(1), 88–92.]
行政院教育改革審議委員會 (1996). 教育改革總諮議報告書. 台北市:行政院.
[Education Reform Committee of Executive Yuan. (1996). E*ducational reform committee report*. Taipei: Executive Yuan.]
吳清山(2008)。解讀台灣教育改革。台北:心理。
[Wu, C.-S. (2008). *Interpretation of education reforms in Taiwan*. Psychological Publishing Co., Ltd.]
尚皮耶瓦尼耶(Warnier, J.-P.) (2003)。文化全球化(吳錫德譯)。台北市:遠流。(原著出版年:1999)
[Warnier, J.-P. (1999). *La mondialisation de la culture* (S.-D. Wu, Trans.). Rye Field publishing co. (Original work published 1999).]
高等教育評鑑中心(2007)。2006高等教育評鑑報告。台北:財團法人高等教育評鑑中心。
[HEEACT. (2007). *2006 Higher education evaluation report*. HEEACT.]
教育部(2001)。大學教育政策白皮書。台北:教育部。
[MOE. (2001). *White paper on higher education*. Ministry of Education.]
教育部(2000)。大學學術追求卓越發展計畫。台北:教育部。
[MOE. (2000). *Incentive of research excellence in HEIs*. Ministry of Education.]
教育部(2002)。推動研究型大學整合計畫。台北:教育部。
[MOE. (2002). *Research-oriented university integration project*. Ministry of Education.]
教育部(2005)。獎勵大學教學卓越計畫。台北:教育部。
MOE. (2005). *Incentives of teaching excellence in universities*. Taipei: Ministry of Education.]
教育部(2011)。邁向頂尖大學計畫。台北:教育部。

[MOE. (2011). *Aim for the top university program*. Ministry of Education.]
教育部(2013)。發展典範科技大學計畫。台北:教育部。
[MOE. (2013). *Project of developing paragon universities of technology*. Ministry of Education.]
教育部(2015)。高等教育創新轉型方案。台北:教育部。
[MOE. (2015). *Program on innovation and transformation in higher education*. Ministry of Education.]
教育部(2017)。高等教育深耕計畫。台北:教育部。
[MOE. (2017). *Higher education rooted project*. Ministry of Education.]
教育部(2020)。台灣教育統計資料。台北市:教育部。
[MOE. (2020). *Educational Statistic of R.O.C., Taiwan*. Ministry of Education.]
教育部 (2021a)。教育大事年表。取自https://history.moe.gov.tw。
[MOE. (2021a). Chronology of main educational events. Retrieved from https://history.moe.gov.tw].
教育部(2021b)。大專校院學生雙語化學習計畫。台北:教育部。
[MOE. (2021b). *Program on bilingual education for students in college*. Ministry of Education.]
陳伯璋 (2005)。台灣高等教育的發展與改革。載於陳伯璋和蓋浙生(主編)，**新世紀高等教育政策與行政**(3–37頁)。台北市：高等教育出版社。
[Chen, P.-C. (2005). Development and reforms of higher education in Taiwan. In P.-C. Chen & C.-S. Gai (Eds.), *Higher education policy and administration in the new century* (pp. 3–37). Higher Education Publication.]
黃武雄(1995)。台灣教育的重建。台北:遠流。
[Huang, W.-H. (1995). *Reconstruction of education in Taiwan*. Yuan-Liou Publishing Co., Ltd.]
黃金麟(2017)。戰爭與台灣的高等教育，1945–1990。**台灣社會學，***34*，123–167。
[Hwang, J. L. (2017). Taiwanese war and higher education in Taiwan, 1945–1990. *Taiwanese Sociology, 34*, 123–167.]
楊深坑(2005)。全球化衝擊下的教育研究。**教育研究集刊，***51*(3)，1–25。
Yang, S.-K. (2005). The impact of globalization on educational research. *Bulletin of Educational Research, 51*(3), 1–25.
楊瑩 (2008)。台灣高等教育政策改革與發展。**研習資訊，***25*(6)，21–56。
[Chan, Y. (2008). Higher education reforms in Taiwan and their development. *Learning Information, 25*(6), 21–56.]
劉國兆(2014)。臺灣「邁向頂尖大學」政策之論述分析：後結構主義觀點。**臺灣教育社會學研究，**
14(2)，33–71。
[Liu, K.-C. (2014). A discourse analysis on "stepping towards premier university" policy in Taiwan: The perspective of post-structuralism. *Taiwan Journal of Sociology of Education, 14*(2), 33–71.]
戴曉霞(2001)。全球化及國家/市場關係之轉變：高等教育市場化之脈絡分析。**教育研究集刊，***47,*
301–328。
[Tai, H.-H. (2001). Globalization and the change of state/market relationships: A contextual analysis of the marketization of higher education. *Bulletin of Educational Research, 47*, 301–328.]

Chapter 13
Discourses of Globalisation and Higher Education Reforms: Research Findings

Joseph Zajda

Abstract The chapter focuses on current research trends in education reforms in higher education. The chapter analyses and evaluates the ascent of a neo-liberal and neo-conservative higher education policy, globalisation and practices of governance education, global university rankings, internationalization, quality assurance, entrepreneurial and competitive ways of competition for international students among universities, both locally and globally. The chapter demonstrates that neo-liberal dimensions of globalisation and market-driven economic imperatives have impacted on the nature and directions of higher education reforms. The chapter argues that the politics of higher education reforms surrounding accountability standards, performance, excellence and quality have largely come from Northern, often World Bank ideologies. Accountability, efficiency, academic capitalism, and the market-oriented and entrepreneurial university model represent a neo-liberal ideology, which focuses primarily on the market-driven imperatives of global competitiveness.

Keywords Academic standards · Accountability · Governance · Globalisation · Global university rankings · Higher education · Higher education policy · Ideology · Internationalization · Neoliberal ideology · Neo-liberal higher education policy · Performance · Social stratification · Quality

Discourses of Globalisation and Higher Education Reforms: Introduction

At the level of critical discourse analysis, we need to consider dominant ideologies defining the nature and the extent of political and economic power, domination, control, the existing social stratification, and the unequal distribution of socially and economically valued commodities, which include education, both locally and

J. Zajda (✉)
Faculty of Education & Arts, School of Education, Australian Catholic University, East Melbourne, VIC, Australia
e-mail: joseph.zajda@acu.edu.au

J. Zajda, W. J. Jacob (eds.), *Discourses of Globalisation and Higher Education Reforms*, Globalisation, Comparative Education and Policy Research 27,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-83136-3_13

globally (Zajda & Majhanovich, 2021). They all have profound influences on the directions of education and policy reforms. Many scholars have argued that education systems and education reforms are creating, reproducing and consolidating social and economic inequality (McLaren & Farahmandpur, 2005; Zajda, 2015, 2021; Milanovic, 2016). Furthermore, current globalisation, policy and higher education reforms suggest the emergence of new economic and political dimensions of cultural imperialism. Such hegemonic shifts in ideology and policy are likely to have significant economic and cultural implications for national education systems, reforms and policy implementations.

It has been argued that the politics of higher education reforms surrounding standards, excellence and quality have "largely come from Northern, often World Bank, ideologies" (Watson, 2000, p. 140; Zajda, 2021). At the same time, Moses and Nanna (2007) argued that high-stakes testing reforms, driven by political and cultural ideology and concerns for efficiency and economic productivity, serve to impede the development of *real* equality of educational opportunity, particularly for the least advantaged students (Moses and Nanna (2007, p. 56). Although centralization and decentralization reforms in education reflect a neo-liberal ideology at work, they do not necessarily capture a complexity of forces fuelling educational and policy change. Academic standards, performance and quality of schooling continue to dominate the reform agenda globally; especially the performance leagues tables (Zajda & Rust, 2021).

The divided and highly elitist and stratified higher education sector, by means of their hegemonic structures, legitimises social inequality (Zajda, 2021). In general, students from lower SES are unlikely to be successful in entering universities, let alone prestigious universities. Hence, equity-driven policy reforms in higher education are unlikely to succeed. Furthermore, national economic priorities, aligned with a knowledge economy, human capital and global competitiveness, compel increasingly entrepreneurial universities to reward high-level over low-level knowledge, skills and training (Zajda, 2012). The latest higher education reforms focus more on economic competitiveness, academic elitism, quality and standards, rather than on addressing access and equity, in order to solve serious educational inequalities in the higher education sector (Zajda, 2020; Zajda & Rust, 2021).

Globalisation and Competitive Market

Globalisation and competitive market forces have generated a massive growth in the knowledge industries that are having profound effects on society and higher educational institutions. One of the effects of globalisation is that the education sector is compelled to embrace the corporate ethos of efficiency, performance and profit-driven managerialism. As such, new entrepreneurial educational institutions in the global culture succumb to the economic gains offered by the neoliberal ideology and governance defined fundamentally by economic factors. Both governments and educational institutions, in their quest for global competitiveness, excellence, quality and accountability in education, increasingly turn to international and comparative education data analysis. All of them agree that the major goal of education is to enhance the individual's social and economic prospects, which can only be achieved by providing quality education for *all*. Clearly, these new phenomena of globalisation have in different ways affected the current developments in education and policy around the world. First, globalisation of policy, trade and finance has some profound implications for education and reform implementation. On the one hand, the periodic economic crises (e.g. the 1980s, the financial crisis of 2007–2008, also known as the Global Financial Crisis or GEC in 2008), coupled with the prioritised policies of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank (e.g. SAPs), have seriously affected some developing nations and transitional economies in delivering quality education for all.

Second, the policies of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), the UNESCO, the World Trade Organization (WTO) and the General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS) operate as powerful forces, which, as supranational organisations, shape and influence education and policy. The impact of globalisation on higher education policy and reforms is a strategically significant issue for us all.

When discussing the politics of education reforms, and role of the state, and dominant ideologies defining policy priorities, we need to go beyond the technicist and business-oriented model of education, which focuses on accountability, efficiency and performance indicators. Why? Because, apart from the dominant human capital and rate of return, driving efficiency, profit and performance indicators, there are other forces at work as well. From the macro-social perspective, the world of business, while real and dominant, is only one dimension of the complex social, cultural and economic world system. At the macro-societal level we need to consider the teleological goal of education reforms. Are we reforming education systems to improve the quality of learning and teaching, academic achievement and excellence, and do we hope to change our societies, creating the 'good society'? The changing nature of higher education and the changing mission of the university was discussed by Sabour (2021). He argues that both 'institutionally and intellectually, the contemporary university has its roots in the Middle Ages and the Enlightenment' (Sabour, 2021). However, he also points out, the university's role shifted to being a producer of new knowledge and skills, which were necessary for social progress, social rights and well being:

> …as far as its practice of interpreting and applying culture and knowledge is concerned, this is largely swallowed up in the flow of the project of modernity. In other words, the production and elaboration of knowledge was seen as a means of achieving social progress and the well being of society, and the university became the epicentre and dominant field for the production and channelling of this knowledge... The function of the university shifted away from its principle mission of acquiring knowledge and searching for the 'Truth' to a new position where it sought to defend political convictions and social rights (Sabour, 2021, p. 289).

Neo-Liberalism in Higher Education Policy Reforms

Globally, neo-liberalism in higher education policy reforms has been characteristic of capitalist societies. The politics of higher education reforms both locally and globally, reflect this new emerging paradigm of accountability, globalisation and academic capitalism, performance indicators and standards-driven policy change. Furthermore, national economic priorities, aligned with a knowledge economy, human capital and global competitiveness, compel increasingly entrepreneurial universities to reward high-level over low-level knowledge, skills and training. One of the effects of globalisation is that the higher education sector, having modelled its goals and strategies on the market-oriented and *entrepreneurial* business model, is compelled to embrace the corporate ethos of the efficiency, accountability and profit-driven *managerialism*. As Jacob (2021) explains, higher education political environment is defined and shaped by four core dimensions: structure, culture, strategy and technology. I would add here ideology as well. It is this dominant ideology, which is responsible for current policy trends in accountability, academic standards, competitiveness-driven reforms, and global university rankings.

Let us examine some of the emerging current research on higher education and policy reforms. In 'Conceptualizing Policy for International Educational Development' John C. Weidman (this volume), discusses conceptual frameworks for understanding social and educational changes that influence international educational development policy. The author, drawing from several main trends, as reflected in international educational policy declarations generated by United Nations agencies (e.g., Sustainable Development Goals or SDGs) and initiatives of the World Bank, discusses emerging trends. In order to illustrate the underlying complexity of international educational development initiatives, Weidman uses positivist conceptual underpinnings, with historical roots in the field of comparative and international education. Weidman (this volume) concludes that international educational development will continue to be a complicated area for study, policy development, and practice. Consequently, it is increasingly important to prepare emerging scholars and development practitioners in ways that emphasize building conceptual and analytical capacities necessary for addressing the complexity of educational problems.

In 'Higher education curriculum reforms in Vietnam in the era of globalization', Ninh Nguyen and John Chi-Kin Lee discuss the impact of globalization on curriculum reforms in Vietnam, as well as its nexus with higher education policy making. The authors focus on major curriculum changes over the last four decades, against the globalization backdrop, in terms of national-level policy making and institutional-level curriculum development and implementation. Higher education policy changes are discussed through document analysis of higher education curriculum policies, promulgated between 1980 and 2020, university curricula and their policy reports on curriculum design and implemtentation. The authors note that the Vietnamese higher education reforms borrowed from the East, especially the USSR higher education policies, and from the West, notably France, Germany, and the USA (see also

Phillips, 2021). These policy borrowing had revealed local adaptations to educational and political ideologies, as well as social and economic changes.

In 'The University and Globalisation as a New Mediaevalism', Joshua Rust examines a key role of universities in facilitating the rebalancing of power relations both locally and globally. At the centre of this discourse is the perennial importance of the university's mission today (see Sabour, 2021). Bull (1977), explained that new medievalism was an order of 'overlapping authority and multiple loyalty' that would emerge as a consequence of globalization as well as internationalization of power (Bull, 1977).

Negotiating minority rights in expansion and quality assurance in public university in Kenya is increasingly relevant in culturally diverse environments. As a result, in 'Globalization, the State, and Cultural Identity: Negotiating Minority Rights in Expansion and Quality Assurance in Public University in Kenya' Edith Mukudi Omwami argues that Kenya presents an interesting case study of a realization of minority rights claim to public infrastructure and a subsequent contradictory outcome arising from governmental implementation of globally aligned policy framing in higher education reform. The current analysis explores the discourse in articulation for minority rights in expansion of higher education infrastructure in Kenya as drawn from legislative debate around education and the subsequent enactment of reforms and interventions that seem to roll back gains in expansion of rights to public resource.

How different universities respond to Covid-19 pandemic and how students were affected is examined by Aki Yamada, who focuses on internationalization in Japanese higher education and comparing the reality post-Covid-19. She argues that the reality post-Covid-19, demonstrates that there are many challenges education systems need to address. From the data collected from Japanese students enrolled in university or graduate school, there is evidence that despite Covid-19, which made it extremely challenging for international studies, students are even more interested in international issues than pre-Covid-19:

> Having more knowledge and information about current events happening worldwide, students observed and started to think more about international and global issues. So, while there is still student demand for international engagement, universities, programs, and educators must adapt how they develop global skill sets. Prior to Covid-19, global competencies were a major pillar of Japanese education reform, and they will likely continue to be after the pandemic is over. With restrictions from Covid-19 in place, it is unclear how soon international education will recover. Even if it does, it still raises an important question of whether educators can truly teach global competencies without in-person interactions (Yamada, this volume).

There is a growing demand for academic standards, education quality and global competencies (Zajda, 2021). Yamada argues that while there is still student demand for international engagement, universities, programs, and educators need to adapt their policies and curricula in order to develop global skill sets. If, prior to Covid-19, global competencies were a major pillar of Japanese education reform, they are likely continue to be equally significant in the future.

The Covid-19 pandemic has drastically impacted the instruction and research in higher education globally as most higher education institutes (HEIs) are forced to shift to distance teaching, learning and research. This is further examined by Xi Wang, in 'Global higher education technology trends and opportunities in a Post-COVID-19 Context'. The author discusses the common practices and challenges of higher education technology that has emerged during Covid-19 around the globe, with a focus on three geographic regions: North America, Asia, and Africa. Within each region, that provides insights into the impact of Covid-19 pandemic on higher education systems and how education technologies are applied to facilitate learning and research. An examination of how unequal access to digital infrastructures and high-quality teaching, learning, and research resources may also contribute to the long-lasting educational inequality experienced by marginalized groups is also discussed. Future opportunities and suggestions based on national and sub-national contexts are provided in the discussion and conclusion section.

The spread of neoliberal reforms in higher education, with a primary focus on an empirically specific location in Zambia, a Sub-Saharan African economy, is examined by Chipindi and Daka (this volume). They argue that neo-liberal policy reforms in the higher education sector have resulted in significant levels of regulation or control over the actors within higher education. Neo-liberal reforms include reduction in public spending for social services, which include reducing government support to education and healthcare. This is also accompanied by a trend toward greater participation by private actors in public life, and in higher education provision and finance. There has been an institutionalisation of entrepreneurial and managerial modes of organising higher educational institutions, by promoting a business-like model of relations between the institutions and industry, commerce, and government. It has resulted in the performance appraisal system, as one of the audit technologies introduced in the higher education sector. The emergence of accountability, transparency, and an audit culture are dimensions of neo-liberal policy reforms in higher education globally.

Major paradigm shifts of neoliberal higher education reforms in East Asia and an emerging Self-Reorientation Model of higher education reform in this region is discussed by Jing Liu. In 'Neoliberal Trends of Higher Education Reforms in China, Japan, and Korea: Catch-up and Self-reorientation', the author offers a comparative analysis of education reforms in East Asia. It is argued that higher education in East Asia has made 'unprecedented progress over the past decades' (Liu, this volume). By following neoliberal model and catch-up mentality of higher education reforms, China, Japan, and Korea, as the major countries in East Asia, have successfully expanded their higher education scale to enter into the stage of universalization of higher education:

> Through marketization, higher education in these countries absorbed diverse resources to build more higher education institutions to accommodate an emerging demand for highly educated and trained human resources to sustain their rapid economic growth as well as a rise of need for higher learning to satisfy individual well-being (Liu, this volume).

Liu (this volume) also discusses market-driven massification higher education policies, competition-oriented internationalization of higher education, the World-Class University Movement, and their overall impacts on higher education institutions and societies in these three countries. This likely to result in an emerging unequal, imbalanced and stratified higher education based on the neoliberal reforms.

Some authors explore the rise of the entrepreneurial university culture, with its market- driven neoliberal accountability that focuses on business model of organizational efficiency, accountability, performance and transparency. Melanie Lawrence and Goli Rezai-Rashti (this volume) focus on performance-based funding and accountability in higher education in Ontario, Canada. Their critical analysis of higher education policy documents of quality assurance and accountability, demonstrate a shift from professional accountability to that of neoliberal accountability in higher education. They conclude that that these recent policies are fundamentally transforming Ontario's higher education, at the expense of a more egalitarian system that promoted social equity and critical citizenship.

What is the overall impact of neoliberal reforms in higher education on students, in particular on ethnic minority students and their access to higher education? The marginalized groups in many countries, especially ethnic minority and indigenous peoples struggle for equal access to higher education. Weiyan Xiong (this volume) examines the outcomes of neoliberalism in higher education and their impact on ethnic minority, in terms of access to quality education in three countries, China, Canada, and the United States. It is suggested that ethnic minority and indigenous institutional leaders need to balance their missions through carefully evaluating and applying the opportunities brought by the neoliberal trends in higher education, such as the national preferential policies.

Hou and Cheng (this volume), in their documentary analysis dealing with higher education reform in Taiwan from the year of 2000 to the present, the authors examine the relationships between globalization and localization, together with the higher education reforms, covering their missions and values, academic ranking and global impact, market-driven forces and social responsibilities, and excellence and accountability. The authors suggest the needs of rethinking the development of higher education in Taiwan.

Discussion

Higher education reforms globally, as discussed earlier, represent policy responses to globalized market ideology, which focuses on increasing global competitiveness, accountability, efficiency, quality- and standards-driven policy reforms, and higher education stratification (Rust & Kim, 2012, Bagley & Portnoi, 2015; Zajda, 2021). They reflect aspects of a dominant ideology of neo-liberalism and neoconservatism. Neo-liberal policies are largely based on dominant market-oriented ideologies, rather than democratic policy reforms. Global competitiveness was and continues to be a significant goal on the higher education policy agenda (Carnoy et al., 2013;

Turner & Yolcu, 2014). Accountability, efficiency, academic capitalism, performance indicators, and the market-oriented and entrepreneurial university model represent a neo-liberal ideology, which focuses primarily on the market-driven imperatives of economic globalisation.

Using elements of discourse analysis and critical theory, the chapter critiques current imperatives of globalisation, and educational policy reforms, designed to achieve global competitiveness, quality, and diversity. Globalisation, policy and the politics of education reforms suggest new politico-economic dimensions of cultural imperialism. Such hegemonic shifts in ideology and policy are likely to have significant economic and cultural implications for education reforms and policy implementations. It is argued that forces of globalisation have contributed to the on-going globalisation of schooling and higher education curricula, together with the accompanying global standards of excellence, globalisation of academic assessment (OECD, PISA), global academic achievement syndrome (OECD, World Bank), and global academic elitism and league tables: the positioning of distinction, privilege, excellence and exclusivity.

Evaluation of the Teaching and Research Performance

Summative evaluation of the teaching and research performance in universities involves annual faculty career and performance plans, annual research plans for individual academics and obligatory evaluation of teaching. At some universities, evaluation of teaching is compulsory for all teaching staff, and is administered in the online mode. Students rate their lectures online. An annual career and performance plan for an academic covers teaching workload, short-term and long-term career goals, and agreed performance objectives for teaching, research and other activities (such as university leadership, profession and service), as well as strategic links to school, faculty and university targets, and professional and career development, which includes development to be undertaken to achieve agreed performance outcomes. All these are typical features of a neo-liberal ideology and its focus on accountability, efficiency and ongoing performance surveillance of learning, teaching and research.

All these new facets of evaluating teaching and research represent a very high degree of surveillance, power (Foucault, 1980) and control over academics' professional lives. It becomes a global and ubiquitous managerial version of "panopticon", or the all-seeing environment. Certain offices, without walls, all in glass, are modern examples of surveillance and panopticon. Panopticon, as a concept, was an institutional building designed by English philosopher and social theorist Jeremy Bentham (c. 1798). In Foucault's development of this notion, the individual is under constant surveillance in the prison/organization. This power/knowledge mechanism over time becomes *internalized* by the subject, resulting in a self-surveillance and self-analysis in terms of the *normalizing* pressure of the system. This power/knowledge mechanism "compares, differentiates, hierarchises, homogenises, excludes. In short it normalises" (Foucault, 1979, p. 183). Its contemporary manifestation is present in such managerial systems as ongoing annual appraisals, performance reviews, the constantly reworked CV and E portfolios--a ubiquitous feature of today's higher education environment. It could also be seen as redolent of the historically recent phenomena of "samo kritika" (self-criticism) in the former Soviet Union.

In deconstructing modes of evaluation of the performance of universities, we may also refer to "simulacrum", to critique the reification of systemic accountability, quality and standards. The simulacra that Jean Baudrillard (1994) refers to are the significations and symbolism of culture and media that construct perceived reality. According to him, our perception of the world/reality is constructed out of models or simulacra, which have no referent or ground in any "reality" except their own. One could argue, in terms of reification, that the models employed for measuring the overall quality of the Australian higher education system are taking on a life of their own, and parading as truth in their own right. It is essential, argues Robertson (2012), to remember that ranking universities is based on a selection of criteria of preferred "fragments" of knowledge:

> That we remind ourselves of just what a ranking is a fragment of knowledge about what university knowledge and experiences mean, rather than some essential understanding, or distilled essence of the whole. (Robertson, 2012, p. 244)

We could conclude that the on-going and ubiquitous evaluation of the teaching and research performance in universities, by means of annual faculty career and performance plans; annual research plans for individual academics and obligatory evaluation of teaching, represent the main tenants of neo-liberal ideology of performativity, and performance-based funding in higher education globally.

Conclusion

As above demonstrates, that higher education transformation and policy responses to globalised market ideology, focus on increasing global competitiveness, accountability, efficiency, quality and standards-driven policy reforms, and higher education stratification. They reflect aspects of a dominant ideology of neo-liberalism and neo-conservatism. Neo-liberal policies are largely based on dominant market-oriented ideologies, rather than democratic policy reforms. The entrepreneurial university model, with its focus on accountability, efficiency, academic capitalism, performance, represent cost-effective strategies. The commodification of higher education is the resultant an outcome of market-driven and neo-liberal economic imperatives.

References

Bagley & Portnoi. (2015). Higher education and the discourse on global competition: Vernacular approaches within higher education policy documents. In J. Zajda & V. Rust (Eds.), *Globalisation and higher education reforms*. Springer.

Baudrillard, J. (1994). *Simulacra and simulation*. Éditions Galilée (French) and University of Michigan Press.

Bull, H. (1977). *The anarchical society: A study of order in world politics*. Columbia University Press.

Carnoy, M., Loyalka, P., Dobryakova, M., Dossani, R., Froumin, I., Kuhns, K., Tilak, J. B. G., & Wang, R. (2013). *University expansion in a changing global economy: Triumph of the BRICs?* Stanford University Press.

Chipindi, F. M., & Daka, H. (this volume). Neoliberal reforms in higher education: Trends, manifestations and implications. In J. Zajda & J. Jacob (Eds.), *Discourses of globalisation and higher education reforms*. Springer.

Foucault, M. (1979). *The History of sexuality* (Volume 1: An introduction, R. Hurley, Trans.). Penguin.

Foucault, M. (1980). *Power knowledge: Selected interviews and other writings 1972–1977* (G. Gordon, Ed.). Harvester Press.

Hou, Y.-W., & Cheng, S. Y. (this volume). Opportunities and challenges under globalization on the higher education reforms in Taiwan from 2000 to the present. In J. Zajda & J. Jacob (Eds.), *Discourses of globalisation and higher education reforms*. Springer.

Jacob, J. (2021). Globalisation and higher education policy reform. In J. Zajda (Ed.), *Third International Handbook of Globalisation, Education and Policy Research* (pp. 193–208). Springer.

Lawrence, M., & Rezai-Rashti, G. (this volume). Pursuing neoliberal performativity? Performance-based funding and accountability in higher education in Ontario, Canada. In J. Zajda & J. Jacob (Eds.), *Discourses of globalisation and higher education reforms*. Springer.

Liu, J. (this volume). Neoliberal trends of higher education reforms in China, Japan, and Korea: Catch-up and self-reorientation. In J. Zajda & J. Jacob (Eds.), *Discourses of globalisation and higher education reforms*. Springer.

McLaren, P., & Farahmandpur, R. (2005). *Theaching against global capitalism and the new imperialism*. Rowman & Littlefield.

Milanovic, B. (2016). *Global inequality: A new approach for the age of globalization*. Harvard University Press.

Moses, M., & Nanna, M. (2007). The testing culture and the persistence of high stakes testing reforms. *Education and Culture, 23*(1), 55–72.

Phillips, D. (2021). Policy borrowing in education: Frameworks for analysis. In J. Zajda (Ed.), *3rd international handbook of globalisation, education and policy research* (pp. 139–150). Springer.

Robertson, S. (2012). World-class higher education (for whom?). *Prospects, 42*(3), 237–245.

Rust, V. D., & Kim, S. (2012). The global competition in higher education. *World Studies in Education, 13*(1), 5–20.

Sabour, M. (2021). The impact of globalisation on the mission of the university. In J. Zajda J. (Ed.), *Third international handbook of globalisation, education and policy research* (pp. 285–297). Springer. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-66003-1_16

Turner, A., & Yolcu, H. (Eds.). (2014). *Neo-liberal educational reforms: A critical analysis*. Routledge.

Watson, K. (2000). Dependency vs. partnership: The paradoxes of educational aid and development in an age of globalisation. *World Studies in Education, 1*(2), 123–143.

Weidman, J. C. (this volume). Conceptualizing policy for international educational development. In J. Zajda & J. Jacob (Eds.), *Discourses of globalisation and higher education reforms*. Springer.

Xiong, W. (this volume). Ethnic minority and indigenous higher education in the globalization: Neoliberal challenges and opportunities for policies and institutions. In J. Zajda & J. Jacob (Eds.), *Discourses of globalisation and higher education reforms*. Springer.

Yamada, A. (this volume). Globalization and internationalization of higher education reform in Japan: Pre and post Covid-19. In J. Zajda & J. Jacob (Eds.), *Discourses of globalisation and higher education reforms*. Springer.

Zajda, J. (2012). Globalisation, credentialism and human capital. *Educational Practice and Theory, 34*(2), 45–60.

Zajda, J. (2015). (Ed.). *Second international handbook of globalisation, education and policy research*. Springer.

Zajda, J. (Ed.). (2020). *Globalisation, ideology and neo-liberal higher education reform*. Springer.

Zajda, J. (Ed.). (2021). *3rd international handbook of globalisation, education and policy research*. Springer.

Zajda, J., & Majhanovich, S. (2021). *Discourses of globalisation, ideology, education and policy reforms*. Springer.

Zajda, J., & Rust, V. (2021). *Globalisation and comparative education*. Springer.

Correction to: Globalization and Internationalization of Higher Education Reform in Japan: Pre and Post Covid-19

Aki Yamada

Correction to:
Chapter 6 in: J. Zajda, W. J. Jacob (eds.), *Discourses of Globalisation and Higher Education Reforms*, Globalisation, Comparative Education and Policy Research 27, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-83136-3_6

The chapter was inadvertently published with incorrect author's name "**Gülşah, T.**" instead of "**Taşçı, G.** " in the reference.

This error has now been corrected by updating the correct author's name as "**Taşçı, G.**" in the Index and Reference as **Taşçı, G.** (2021). The impact of Covid-19 on higher education: Rethinking internationalization behind the iceberg. *International Journal of Curriculum and Instruction, 13*(1), 522–536. http://ijci.wcci-international.org/index.php/IJCI/article/view/579/268

The updated online version of the chapter can be found at
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-83136-3_6

J. Zajda, W. J. Jacob (eds.), *Discourses of Globalisation and Higher Education Reforms*, Globalisation, Comparative Education and Policy Research 27,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-83136-3_14

Index

J. Zajda, W. J. Jacob (eds.), *Discourses of Globalisation and Higher Education Reforms*, Globalisation, Comparative Education and Policy Research 27,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-83136-3