A Comparative Analysis of Higher Education Systems

Issues, Challenges and Dilemmas

Michael Kariwo, Tatiana Gounko and Musembi Nungu (Eds.)

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DARLENE E. CLOVER

FOREWORD

This edited volume is important and timely. Although there are an increasing number of studies, books and reflections on the challenges of higher education, there is a knowledge gap vis-à-vis the practices and challenges of universities beyond the normative players of Western Europe and the United States. The experiences, debates, problems and positions from Africa, Latin America, Canada, Russia, and Asia raised in this volume bring much colour to the palette of contemporary discourses of university transitioning. Building on this, one could argue universities have been in transition virtually since their inception, but this book illustrates the complex contemporary balancing acts these institutions of higher learning must now play between the forces of neo-colonialism/dominance in the forms of globalization and the market-economy, and the educational dreams and needs of the world's communities.

The issues and dilemmas faced in higher education today are significant and often paradoxical. One of these, explored in a number of ways in this volume, is the increase in demand or what is often referred to as the 'massification' of higher education. On the one hand, universities strapped for funding in the face of diminishing government support and a deeply competitive environment, must admit increasing numbers of students, taxing the professoriate and diluting the teaching and learning environment. Yet on the other hand, increased globalization, technologization, migration, unemployment and insecurity have seen scores of youth and adults fleeing to universities, hoping an education will give them a 'competitive' advantage in the inter-woven knowledge and market economies of today. What arguments do we muster to turn them away, to deny them an access to higher education? Equally problematic, globalization and massification have also lead to other trials of equity and diversity. What value these if they simply perpetuate intolerance and bias in new, more creative forms such as racist systems of 'quotas' (see Cui & Kelly this volume)?

This volume also raises issues of 'quality' and 'privilege' in a variety of complex ways. Global marketization ideology seldom has allegiances to anything save to profit. This has allowed a flourishing of private, for profit, higher education institutions. This has also increased the imperative to become 'entrepreneurial' on all universities if they wish to remain competitive and attract students. As some of the authors in this volume not, this has lead to practices and standards of scholarship that are questionable at best. But beyond this do we not need to interrogate the entire notion of 'quality', of what universities are given 'status' and how and by whom this privilege is determined? Are current so-called 'world-class' rankings useful

or simply social constructions that create an unwinnable, debilitating competitive environment of winners and losers? What I am drawing attention to is the complex and paradoxical ways publicly funded research-intensive universities are both assaulted and exalted in the current climate. In a degree-factory mentality, how do we defend and promote research and the vital contributions it makes to scholarship, knowledge, teaching and society?

Another theme that dots the landscape of this volume is the question of relevance. 'What are universities for' is a central question being asked in the flotsam and jetsam of the economics and politics of knowledge. For all their faults universities are still places where the most pressing social, cultural, economic and environmental problems facing communities and the world can be debated, critically examined and explored. How will this fundamental fair in the relentless economic liberalization grasping at universities? Will this stop with their financing or will it (has it?) invade their very curricula? Will, as Escrigas and Loberra (2009) query, the knowledge 'economy' one day totally supersede the knowledge(able) society? Will universities simply become handmaidens to techno-scientific applications and discourses of consumption rapidly becoming the "main bases of well-being and prosperity"? (p.7).

And yet "having taken the dim view, now what?" So queried feminist Ursula Franklin, professor emeritus of the University of Toronto, of a particularly querulous faculty member who had attended her public address. This question has stayed with me and prompted me to remember to seek the rays of light, the hope we as members of the university community need to move us out from the paralytic shadows of neoliberalism, critique and despair. And these are to be found in the various chapters of this book. Authors demonstrate the courage to name and challenge colonial pasts and to render visible the menace of neo-colonization in the shape of a current neoliberal ideology. Crucially, they challenge the baggage of elitism carried by universities through calls for a more socially responsible and responsive role that will democratize knowledge, build new partnerships, and enable universities to become both culturally appropriate and forward looking.

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MICHAEL KARIWO, TATIANA GOUNKO & MUSEMBI NUNGU

1. PHILOSOPHIES IN HIGHER EDUCATION

In the contemporary world, higher education has assumed unprecedented importance internationally and nationally due to its role in educating people for the new global economy and the centrality of the knowledge economy to the 21st century development (Altbach, 2004). The motivation to write the book is driven by the need to find out how different countries and regions have been responding to the massification of higher education and the demands for quality and competitiveness as higher education is perceived to be an engine for development. Many countries use public funds to ensure that this sector is adequately funded. The education models differ from country to country but the goal is to have increased benefits that accrue not only to society as a whole but also to the individuals in that society. This book covers country and regional experiences in higher education. The list of themes includes philosophies in higher education, globalization, gender and access, marketization, higher education financing, university-government relationships, community engagement in higher education, university and college partnerships and collaborations.

Key questions this volume addresses are "What philosophical frameworks inform contemporary higher education? What factors influence higher education policy? How do countries respond to globalization pressures?" The contributors were asked to share their understanding and analysis of key factors shaping higher education in specific contexts. In this survey, we wanted to explore how ideology, historical, socio-political, as well as economic factors, influence higher education systems around the world.

PHILOSOPHIES IN HIGHER EDUCATION

Higher education is a complex and multi-dimensional institution which in the past thirty years has been experiencing remarkable transformation. The world of higher education is highly unequal, and globalization has added new disparities to this world (Altbach, 2004). The authors of this book discuss specific aspects of the global reality of higher education. There are dangers of overgeneralization in such analyses; that notwithstanding, the individual cases presented in this volume highlight broad overarching themes.

What defines higher education? In a very simplistic view, it is those aspects of education that are provided in post-secondary institutions despite the lack of agreement on the curriculum to be followed. More importantly higher education is supposed to develop inquisitive and open minds in the search of truth. Admittedly,

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"truth" is an elusive term. From the traditional forms of higher education we can discern specific features such as the partnership between students and professors (masters). There is also some degree of independence from society (academic freedom).

In many African countries, higher education was transformed at independence because of the need to be relevant to their economic and social development. University was considered an "An Ivory Tower" which the fledgling democracies could not afford. The main criticism was that this type of higher education was anachronistic and irrelevant to the needs of the "new" nations. Africa is diverse and hence there are different ideological perspectives informing public policies. Often the new ideology is predicated by a desire to reform the countries' higher education systems which are a legacy of the colonial past.

In the last two decades, many African countries have started to rethink their higher education philosophy. *Ubuntu* or the African "worldview" of higher education is one such perspective. There is a greater demand to call upon indigenous knowledge in defining African higher education. This argument is an attempt to move away from the euro-centric view of higher education that dominated the continent throughout colonialism and much of the post-independence era.

Another philosophical position is that of Western scholarship and contemporary discourses on Africa and other countries that experienced colonial rule and the contested status of indigenous knowledge. For more than fifty years since Africa's decolonization began, African scholars have been preoccupied with the question of how to develop higher education within Africa, while seeking research alternatives to the dominant western higher education model which understands the rest of the world as either conforming to or deviating from that model. Integral to this discussion about the epistemological decolonization of the continent is the question of how to bring indigenous knowledge systems into the main stream of knowledge production about Africa.

In financing higher education the impact of neo-liberalism is quite obvious. The influence of the World Bank and other Breton Woods institutions such as the IMF in Africa and various parts of the world is a factor which shaped higher education in many countries. We see how African countries have succumbed to the policies of these financial institutions not because of the efficacies of their policies but because they needed funds for development. It was poverty being exploited in the "credit card syndrome."

China is an example of how globalization is influencing even the major economic powers of the world. Yang (2011) observed that "The central purpose of China's modern higher education has been to combine Chinese and Western elements at all levels including institutional arrangements, research methodologies, educational ideals and cultural spirit, a combination that brings together aspects of Chinese and Western philosophical heritages." This view highlights the dilemma in the Chinese philosophy of higher education. According to Yang, the Chinese ideal of higher education has not been achieved. Chinese higher education traditionally emphasized

the human society which was constantly evolving. In contrast, the western view of higher education was more outward looking. Yang noted that by the 18th century China had developed a unique set of values in higher education that focused on "dissemination of knowledge to the provincial level and persisted in disregarding knowledge about the rest of the world" (p. 343). Today, Chinese higher education has a blended philosophy: on the one hand it follows the Confucian view which is rooted in Chinese culture, and on the other hand it has adopted the western model that is typically European-American.

Our objective in this volume is to engender reflection and discussion about the issues that dominate the higher education discourse in specific national and regional contexts in the face of increasing globalization. The volume consists of fifteen chapters that include theoretical and analytical studies as well as empirical inquiries. Chapter Two presents the analysis of reforms and challenges in Chinese higher education brought about by the rapid and massive social and economic transformation. According to Shibao Guo and Hongxia Shan, China has been experiencing unprecedented economic liberalization, industrialization accompanied by mass migration, urbanization, and privatization. There is no doubt that globalization has been influencing the development of higher education in proportions of a high magnitude. While ideologies and discourses of globalization have transformed Chinese higher education, the issues of diversity, equity and quality are still to be resolved.

In Chapter Three, Michael Kariwo offers an examination and critical analysis of higher education policies in Zimbabwe. The review focuses on how recent education policies have impacted on access to universities. Zimbabwe has a history of colonialism and a post-independence reformatory agenda that has to be critiqued in the light of dramatic and unparalleled expansion in higher education. The author addresses the issues of sustainability, quality of education and social and financial implications of reforms.

In Chapter Four, Cynthia Field and Tatiana Gounko discuss the establishment of a new university in British Columbia, Canada. A former university-college, Vancouver Island University, became a full-fledged university in 2008. The transition from university-college to regional university was recommended by the provincial government in 2006 in order to expand access to university education in British Columbia. This change was initially welcomed by students and faculty, but later resulted in serious problems related to employment and quality which still remain unresolved. In this chapter, the authors examine the transition process and its impact on faculty, students and community. They discuss future possibilities for becoming and being a university in the era of the increasing proliferation of entrepreneurial and corporate university models.

In Chapter Five, Njeri Kiaritha and colleagues discuss the issue of higher education financing in Kenya. Faced with declining government funding since the late 1980s and a continuous demand for higher education, the university system was forced to seek alternative income-generating activities and become innovative in order to

meet increasing university enrollments. The authors examine a full cost recovery model and compare it to the government subsidized tuition fee model. Despite its apparent popularity and profitability, the alternative funding model (Module II degree programme) has faced various criticisms. Among them is its contribution to eroding the quality of higher education, resulting from factors such as lower entry grade required for admission into the parallel degree program compared to the regular program. The authors critically analyze the market-driven education model in Kenyan universities in order to establish its contributions, relevance, and drawbacks to higher education in Kenya. They also make suggestions for improving equitable and quality access and general quality of education in Kenyan universities.

In Chapter Six, Elizabeth Ocampo Gómez and José Luis Suárez Domínguez discuss governance and financing of Mexican higher education. They focus on the issues of accountability, decentralization, efficiency, quality and relevance. Using a neoliberal critique the authors analyze how the higher education system was impacted by the adopted market approaches to higher education financing and institutional management. Some Mexican states were more successful than others in improving their education systems. In examining the current situation in Mexico, the authors suggest rethinking the relationship between all higher education stakeholders in a way that will contribute to more democratic methods of achieving educational goals.

In Chapter Seven, Elizabeth Vergis examines the challenges faced by Indian higher education since the country's independence in 1947. India's higher education has undergone significant changes. India`s population is vast and diverse, which poses enormous problems in developing a unified system of higher education. The author traces the history of higher education development and analyzes the factors that influence the current state of education. The concern with quality is a common theme in a system that is large and still expanding. While the government allows multiple systems, it privileges some institutions over others. For example, publicly-funded research institutions such as the Indian Institute of Technology (IIT), Indian Institutes of Management, Schools of Science and Schools of Law are set up outside of the regular university system. These publicly-funded institutes, enjoy greater autonomy, and are enviably labeled institutes of 'national importance.'

In Chapter Eight, Moon Sook Jeong discusses the key role of neoliberal polices in the reform process of Korean higher education. The author draws from political sociology of education and underscores the characteristics of the state in neoliberal education reform. Since the late 19th century, South Korea has modeled its higher education on the western euro-centric university model. There has been a great increase in student enrolments and school facilities throughout the twentieth century. Along with this quantitative expansion, Korean universities and colleges have developed local curricular and challenged new programs to respond to societal demands. These results come from strategic efforts by the national government and social support of stake holders. Facing the worldwide industrial change and globalization in the late 20th century, South Korean higher education went through a

phase of neoliberal reform. The South Korean government set up educational reform policies, concerning economic and social benefits of the nation and individuals in the so called knowledge based economy. The major thrust of reform has been financial rewards (e.g., funding projects) seeking accountability. Accordingly, Korean universities and colleges have carried out institutional reforms based on competition and by promoting industrial partnership.

In Chapter Nine, Tatiana Gounko examines new government policies to revive Russian science and academia. The author analyzes recent government initiatives designed to integrate research and teaching into Russian universities and to restructure science and higher education sectors. Recent government initiatives to establish national research universities, integrate research, teaching and industry have been adopted in response to the rising competition among the world-class universities which are increasingly becoming an integral part of the global higher education environment. After three decades of social and economic reforms and a number of positive developments in the education sector and sciences, the Russian government has not been able to reverse the negative situation in higher education. Academics are still concerned about the on-going brain drain and the "looming collapse" of science in the country. The author observes that the deteriorating situation of academia has been caused primarily by the lack of appropriate financing and the absence of effective institutional structures. These issues are directly connected to the recruitment of a new generation of scholars and are likely to have long-lasting effects on Russian higher education and science.

In Chapter Ten, Budd Hall discusses knowledge and democracy within the context of higher education. The author examines the social contract between society and higher education with a view to renegotiating it following a review of the discourses of knowledge democracy and community engagement. It is noted that the role of universities as contributors to the public good has strong historical roots in the European and North American traditions as well as the traditions of higher education in the majority world. However, in the past 20 years, the situation has been changing. The debates and actions about higher education and engagement and outreach have taken on new energy. There is great influence coming from scholars who are making significant contributions to social and economic development. Despite this apparent progress, the persistence of global problems such as social exclusion, food security, economic inequality, violence against women, and ecological destruction challenges higher education institutions. This raises the question of how the knowledge economy can be properly harnessed for the betterment of everyone.

In Chapter Eleven, Michael Kariwo and Christopher Zindi explore university-college partnerships by using case studies from Canada. Canadian universities have been involved in collaborative programs at local and national levels. The authors analyze the role of partnerships and collaborative relationships between universities and colleges to determine best practices. They conclude that partnerships can be used to increase efficiencies across education systems within provinces and regions, improve student access and develop relevant curricula for greater employability.

In Chapter Twelve, Shelane Jorgenson presents a comparative study on university internationalization using case studies from Canadian and Ghanaian universities. The author observes that whether in Ghana, Africa, North America, or across the world a race towards becoming the best institution is on; post-secondary institutions are trying to gain a competitive advantage through internationalization policies and practices. She argues that the decline in public funding for higher education and increased demands led to a higher education crisis that has made way for neoliberal reform. Through internationalization strategies of attracting differential fee-paying international students, sending students abroad and forming partnerships with various institutions and corporations around the world, universities are finding ways for income generation and prestige. Some of the consequences of this development include higher education shifting from a public good to an economic good that is being redefined by the market. The University of Ghana was reshaped by neoliberal reform along principles of competition, knowledge economy and human capital. Utilizing discourse analysis of policy documents from Ghana and Canada, the author illuminates the ways in which higher education is being discursively constructed as a service provider for its increasingly global consumers and, more importantly, risks associated with these endeavors.

In Chapter Thirteen, Thashika Pillay and Yesuf Abdela offer their analysis of the development of university education in Ethiopia. Although Ethiopia has a long history of traditional elite education, modern higher education started only after 1950 with the opening of the University College of Addis Ababa. In the early 1990s, the country had only two universities and a few colleges; the overall student enrolment was one of the lowest in sub-Saharan Africa. However, in the past two decades, Ethiopia has embarked on a massive higher education expansion and reform increasing the number of Federal Universities to thirty one. The expansion and reform processes involved social, political and economic development objectives of the government and donors. Considering the existing challenges, the authors assess issues of access, relevance, quality and management of the higher education sector in Ethiopia.

In Chapter Fourteen, Dan Cui explores the theme of race and university access in Canada. They analyze a media constructed minority student access issue in Canadian higher education. In 2010, Canada's weekly news magazine, *Maclean's*, published a controversial article entitled "Too Asian". In the article, Canadian universities such as the University of British Columbia and the University of Toronto were blamed for accepting too many "Asian" students, whose competiveness and hard-working ethics deprived their "white" counterparts, more involved in social life, characterized by sports, party and alcohol, of the best university spots. According to the article, when these "Asian" students were accepted into universities, they caused segregation and exclusion by creating their own ethnic student organizations and refusing to socialize with the "white" students. The "Too Asian" article suggested Canadian universities should take this issue seriously by re-examining the merit-based university admission criteria as neighboring universities in the United States did: to quote from the article "U.S. studies suggest Ivy League schools have taken

the issue of Asian academic prowess so seriously that they've operated with secret quotas for decades to maintain their WASP credentials." The authors examine how a minority student post-secondary access issue was discursively and inter-subjectively constructed by the Canadian mainstream media. Both national and local media coverage related to the "Too Asian" problem are analyzed and critiqued through critical discourse analysis.

Finally, in Chapter Fifteen, we offer a summary of main developments and challenges faced by higher education systems examined in this volume. We address these issues in the context of globalization and growing disparities between universities of global North and global South.

HONGXIA SHAN & SHIBAO GUO

2. MASSIFICATION OF CHINESE HIGHER EDUCATION: OPPORTUNITIES AND CHALLENGES IN A GLOBALIZING CONTEXT

INTRODUCTION

Following China's joining the WTO in 2001 and the subsequent actualization of its market opening pledges in 2006, China has formally entered the age of market economy (Huang, 2008). As part of this social and economic transformation, China has experienced unprecedented economic liberalization, industrialization, mass migration, urbanization, and privatization – all familiar phenomena symptomatic of economic globalization. In 2010, its economy became the second largest in the world after the United States in terms of gross domestic product (GDP). Indeed, over the past 30 years, China has experienced "an economic miracle" (Dutta 2006, p.xii), and a "massive, protracted, and unexpected economic upsurge" (Brandt & Rawski 2008, p.1). Coinciding with the rapid economic growth, China's higher education also experienced unprecedented massification as manifested in the number of higher education institutions as well as the size of student enrolments. However, just as the overall GDP may not stand for the wellbeing of all (Waring, 1988), massification in scale may not mean good fortune for the mass. In this paper, based on a review of policies, existing studies and some media reports, we revisit the history of higher education reform in China, and explore how well the current higher education system has really served the "mass", giving attention to both the challenges and opportunities of Chinese higher education in an age of globalization.

The paper is organized into four sections. The first section examines the context of globalization. The second section focuses on the movement of Chinese higher education from elite to mass education as well as the accompanying institutional changes and reform. The third section identifies some of the issues with higher education reform. The last section discusses the future of higher education in China and pinpoints some areas of research that warrant further attention.

GLOBALIZATION AND CHINA'S MARKET ECONOMY

China's economic reforms took place in the context where "globalization and neoliberal deregulation have taken place" (Pieke & Barabantseva, 2012, p.4). They coincide with a new stage of globalization in which further integration of the world economy required China's cheap labour, its abundant natural resources, and,

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increasingly, its gigantic consumer market. In this view, China's economic growth has fuelled and has been fuelled by forces of globalization (Davis & Wang, 2009). Hence, it is necessary to first examine the phenomenon of globalization and its relationships with China's market economy.

Globalization can be defined as "an accelerating set of processes involving flows that encompass ever-greater numbers of the world's spaces and that lead to increasing integration and interconnectivity among those spaces" (Ritzer, 2007, p.1). The genesis of contemporary globalization can be traced to the early 1970s and the development of sophisticated information technology, economic competition from Japan, demise of the Bretton Woods Agreement, and the oil crisis (Jarvis, 2002). One of the most contentious issues in the field of globalization studies pertains to the significance of the nation-state in the era of globalization (Ritzer, 2007). Bruff (2005) summarizes this debate into a "three waves" analysis. The first wave literature, characterized by a state constraint perspective, maintains that the state is severely restricted in what it can do as a result of unprecedented changes caused by globalization in the establishment of global markets, prices and production. The state has been pushed into a marketized corner, attracting, facilitating and supporting capital. The second wave, according to Bruff, argues that the change has not been overwhelming, and that the state's capacity to autonomously adapt to new circumstances is still considerable. It stresses the unexceptional characteristics of the present era of globalization while also pointing to state capacity in exercising controls over both capital and labour. The first wave is criticised by Bruff as overly structuralist, deterministic and narrowly focused, while the second wave neglects the extra-state factors that have pride of place in the social world. Bruff argues that the third wave represents an important step forward. It seeks to move beyond the empirical focus of the previous two by asking how globalization is perceived and acted upon across space and time. It problematizes not just the impact of globalization, but the term "globalization" itself. It posits that globalization is deeply political, contested, contingent and complex. It focuses on how agents interpret and act upon their circumstances. As Ritzer (2007) points out, what matter most from this perspective are those constructions and not globalization *per se*. Another important message this perspective conveys is that we should not reify globalization because it is "not a thing, not an 'it'" (Robertson & White, 2007, p.64). Robertson and White go on to state that recognizing its conceptual status and understanding the global nature of the interest in, the discourse about and the analysis of globalization are more important than viewing it as an ontological matter. It is this conception of globalization, as a set of discourses that are consumed and reproduced as they are acted upon by particular actors in particular circumstances, which provide the theoretical framework for us to examine higher education reform in China.

What needs to be pointed out is that despite the extensive literature on globalization, the neglect of the social dimension in the literature is "rather glaring", particularly with regard to questions of social inequality, power and the global-local relationship (Robertson & White, 2007, p.58). It is evident that globalization from above favours

open markets, free trade, deregulation and privatization, all of which work for the benefit of wealthy nations and, moreover, the economic elite across nations. Some scholars do draw attention to the ways in which markets and deregulation produce greater wealth at the price of increased inequality (Appadurai, 2002). We are experiencing widening gaps between the "haves" and the "have nots" in global society, devastating environmental problems, declining civic participation and community, and increasing mistrust and alienation among citizenries (Welch, 2001). Global capitalism, it seems, has created a global society that is unequal and unjust (Jarvis, 2002). Another aspect deserving attention is the implications of globalization for education, manifested as homogenization, commodification and marketization of education, to the detriment of diversity, inclusivity and social equity (Welch, 2001). Furthermore, globalization creates "a fragmented and uneven distribution of those resources for learning, teaching, and cultural criticism" (Appadurai, 2002, p.273). As one dimension of globalization, marketization has transformed China in many significant ways. Economically, China has become the second largest economy in the world and a development model. There have been increasing interconnectivity and integration of China with the rest of the world. It is important to note that China's transformation has gone beyond the economics. Marketization has also led to fundamental realignments in the organization of society (Pieke & Barabantseva, 2012). On the one hand, we witness the rise of new entrepreneurial and middle classes, urbanization, and changes in people's life styles. On the other hand, as Pieke and Barabantseva remind us, China has experienced environmental degradation, rural-urban migration, social unrest and contestation, and income inequality. In this chapter, we examine the impacts of marketization and massification of higher education in China.

In the last twenty years, higher education in China has received much attention from researchers. Yet, with few exceptions (e.g., Hayhoe & Zha, 2004; Zha, 2012a, 2012b; Yang, 2004), the literature remains largely descriptive. In this chapter, through a review of the key policies that steered higher education reform in China as well as the related literature and media reports, we delineate the history of higher education reform in China, highlight key issues facing higher education today and reflect on the future of Chinese higher education in the context of globalization. Throughout the paper, we give special attention to the roles that the nation states play in engendering the changes, and the discourses of globalization that get reinforced as deepening reforms take place in higher education.

RESTRUCTURING AND TRANSFORMATION OF HIGHER EDUCATION

Internationally, higher education is classified into elite, mass and universal higher education based on university participation rates, which are under 15%, between 15% and 50%, and 50% and above respectively (Trow, 1974). After China opened itself up to the world towards the end of the 1970s, it gradually moved away from an elite, social provisional mode of higher education. By 2004, it had sped into

a market-based, mass higher education system. In this section, we first provide a sketch of China's journey towards massification and then expand on some of the major institutional reforms that have taken place over the years. Since education reform in China is mostly chaperoned by the state through a series of policies and practices, we give special attention to the policy discourses that shaped the changes.

FROM ELITE TO MASS HIGHER EDUCATION: A BRIEF HISTORY

Subsequent to the opening up policy announced by Deng, a comprehensive educational reform was initiated in 1985 with the release of *the Decision on Reforming Chinese Educational System* by the State Council (hence *the Decision*). Prior to the *Decision,* the university participation rate was extremely low. It was estimated to be at 5% or lower nationally at the end of 1970s and the beginning of 1980s (Yu & Ertl, 2010). All students who made it into university were fully "taken care of" by the state. They were recruited and posted to jobs on the basis of state quotas and central state plans. The *Decision* started loosening the paternalistic structure by allowing more latitude for local institutions to recruit students. Aside from students within state quotas, higher institutions were allowed to admit students commissioned by specific working units (students bounded by future employment contracts), as well as self-supporting students although the total number of students recruited needed to be approved by the central state (Wang, 2008). Commissioned and self-supporting students are typically fee-paying students whose National College Examination outcome fell below the admission cut-off line set by different institutions. While students recruited within state quotas were still posted to jobs, commissioned students were expected to go back to the employers who financially supported their undergraduate studies and fee-paying students were left on their own devices to look for jobs themselves. As a result, immediately after the *Decision,* there had been an upsurge in the number of commissioned and fee-paying students.

Prior to 1989, only commissioned and self-supporting students paid tuition. Students recruited within state quotas were fully funded by the state. Not only did they not pay tuition, they were also provided with free accommodation and living allowances by the state. This situation started to change when three ministries (Ministry of Education, Central Price Bureau, and Ministry of Finance) jointly issued the *Regulation on Higher education Institution Tuition and Accommodation Fee* in August 1989. This regulation proposed that higher education is beyond compulsory education, and that all university students should pay tuition fees (see also Sun & Barrientos, 2009). Institutions then started charging tuition fees. In 1997, all students became fee paying students.

Amid all the changes, massification of education itself however did not become an explicit goal until 1992 during China's Second National Working Conference in Education, after the Southern Tour speech of Deng. Compared with some western countries, such as Japan, the United States, and Sweden, that have undergone the process of massification, China's movement into mass education distinguished itself

with its "massive scale and rapid change" (Hölttä & Cai, 2012; p.6). In 1993, the publication of *the Outline for Educational Reform and Development* (hence *the Outline*) officially geared up the country for all-out marketization and massification (Zha, 2012b). The Asian Economic crisis that hit in 1997 somehow sped up the process. In the middle of the crisis, expansion of higher education was used as an important means to stimulate the economy (Bai, 2006). Between 1999 and 2004, the number of students enrolled in higher education, as well as the number of higher education institutions increased by leaps and bounds (Zha, 2009). In 2004, China became the largest higher education provider in the world, with more than 20-million students enrolled (China Factfile, 2012), doubling the enrolment number in 1998 (Zha, 2009). With higher education participation rates reaching over 15%, 2004 also marked the year when China joined the league of mass higher education providers (ibid). By 2010, 31.05 million students were enrolled in universities and 26.5% of the university age cohort were admitted to higher education (Educational Statistics Yearbook of China, 2010).

INSTITUTIONAL RESTRUCTURING AND POLICY DISCOURSES

Massification of higher education is highly driven by the policy imperative to serve the "socialist modernization project", which theoretically should distinguish itself with "Chinese characters" in the international arena. The *1985 Decision* for instance first raised the importance to "release the force of production" or to cultivate human resources to serve socialist modernization and "to prepare China for the world and the future" (Article 1). The 1993 *Outline*, posed that China had entered "a new stage of opening up and modernization" and that the tasks for educators are to "quicken educational reform and development, improve the quality of the labour force, cultivate large number of talents, and build an educational system that would support the economic, political, and scientific reforms in China, so as to better serve the socialist modernization process" (Article 1). Similar goals were stated in other major educational reform policies such as the 1999 *Higher education Law* and *the Outline of China's National Plan for Medium and Long-term Education Reform and Development (2010-2020).*The discourse of socialist modernization however loses its socialist distinctions when translated into educational reform, which has largely been informed by normative modernization discourses such as decentralization, (de-facto) privatization, finance diversification, as well as an ever present pursuit of elitism and its accompanying institutional stratification.

Decentralization in educational reform has been largely encouraged by international funding organizations, such as the World Bank and the Asia Development Bank (Hanson, 2000). It is also an unambiguous goal of higher education reform in China. In the 1970s given fiscal constraints of the central government, the state started transferring responsibility of educational provision to the local governments (Cheng, 1997; Hawkins, 2000). In 1985, *the Decision* made it an official imperative to decentralize educational administration. It specified that the

goal of Chinese education reform was to revitalize education after the fall of Gang of Four through "restructuring the administrative system". While "strengthening the role of macro management", the central government would "relax party control and devolve power, and expand the autonomy of educational institutions" (Article 1). For higher education, *the Decision* stated that, "to mobilize all levels of governments to participate in educational provision, it is necessary to achieve a three-tier education management system shared by the central government, provincial and regional governments, and major municipal governments" (Article 4). *The Outline* in 1993, a cornerstone document in deepening education reform laid out the scope of reform for higher education in Article 18 this way:

> To reform higher education is to realign the relationships between governments and higher institutions, between central and local governments, and between Ministry of Education and other operating ministries, and to allow, incrementally, autonomy for educational institutions to manage themselves according to the needs of the society, while the (central) government improves macro management. With regard to the relationship between the governments and higher education institutions, disassociate party power from administrative matters of schools. Through legislature, specify the responsibilities and obligations of higher institutes so as to make higher institutions autonomous legal entities. Expand institutions' autonomy, depending on the circumstances, over the areas of student recruitment, program modification, structural setup, hiring and releasing of officials, use of funds, assessment of professional qualifications, salary allocation, and international collaborations. (Article 18)

Clearly, through the *Outline,* China has shifted away from the mechanism of "command and control" to "negotiation and persuasion" (Yang, 2003). In other words, instead of directly interfering in how higher institutions should operate, the central government started resorting to measures such as legislation, funding allocation and macro management to encourage autonomy and entrepreneurship for universities.

With the series of policy preambles, the most drastic restructuring of educational institutions occurred in 1998 in the wake of the Asian Economic Crisis. As part of a massive governmental restructuring, the central government transferred administrative control of more than 90% of higher education institutions to local authorities (Wu & Zheng, 2008). As a result of this round of restructuring, many central ministries were trimmed of their administrative responsibilities which were downloaded to provincial, municipal or regional governments with the view that local governments should be more responsive to local economic development needs (Zha, 2009).

While decentralizing administrative control of higher institutions, the central government has also made space for de facto private ownership of schools and institutions. In the 1985 *Decision*, for vocational and basic education, it said, "local governments are expected to guide state-owned enterprises, community organizations and individuals to establish schools". While *the Decision* opened the door to

non-state ownership of schools for vocational and basic education only, *the Outline* in 1993 officially extended this scheme to higher education. The vision the *Outline* proposed for higher education was that while the central government and provincial governments (autonomous municipalities and regions) would remain as the major providers of higher education, all stakeholders should be involved in educational provision. In article 16 which is specifically about educational institutional reform, it states:

> The state encourages and fully supports various communities and citizens to establish institutions in accordance with legal procedures, while providing appropriate guidance, and strengthening management mechanism. The state welcomes compatriots from Hongkong, Macao, and Taiwan, overseas Chinese as well as friends from abroad to support education through donation. State regulations and relevant legal procedures need to be followed when conducting international collaboration to set up educational institutions or institutions that issue degree and qualifications recognized by the state.

The Education Law in 1999 then spelled out the procedures that different entities needed to follow in order to establish higher education institutions in China. What is interesting however is that while private sectors are encouraged to be involved in providing for education, in different state policy documents, such as *the Education Law,* it says that higher education institutions should not be set up for profit-making purposes (Article 24). To date, there however has not been an assessment of to what extent this not-for-profit orientation has been taken up in local practices.

In practice, the first private vocational university appeared in 1980 and by 1986 the number of non-state vocational universities had reached 128. By 2012, there were 1485 non-state/private higher education institutions running in China, including 371 higher education institutions providing degree-level programs (MOE, 2012). Among them, there have been some transnational higher education programs and institutions (TNHE). The first TNHE program was commonly recognized as the Johns Hopkins University-Nanjing University Centre for Chinese and American Studies established in 1986. The number of TNHE programs and institutions increased gradually in the next two decades, reaching 71 in 2001 and then the speed of growth suddenly picked up speed after China joined WTO, leading to the establishment of 579 programs and institutions in 2011 (Zha, 2012a).

Aside from allowing non-state sectors and other stakeholders to participate in running educational programs and institutions, the central state has also drastically transformed its financing structure for higher education. Prior to 1985, through a unitary state budget plan, the central government was largely the sole provider of education in China. For instance, government funding constituted 97.7% of all university spending in 1984 (World Bank, 1997). In the subsequent years, the governmental investment in educational funding has increased in absolute numbers, but the percentage contribution of the state has decreased (Educational Statistics Yearbook of China, 2010). The ratio between governmental educational expenditure

and GDP has also remained low. In the 1993 *Outline,* it was proposed in article 48 that the rate of increase in educational expenditure by both the central and local governments should be higher than the rate of increase in government revenue and that educational expenditure including funding allocation from different levels of governments, should reach 4% of GDP by the end of 2000. However, governmental expenditure in education reached only 2.46% of GDP in 1996, rising to 3.41% in 2002 (Li, L. 2004). OECD (2011) estimated that in 2008, China's direct public expenditure on educational institutions represented 3.3% of the country's GDP, compared with 5.9% on average across OECD countries. As a result, the 4% ratio was restated in the 2010 *Outline of China's National Plan for Medium and Long-term Education Reform and Development (2010-2020)* as a goal to be reached by 2012. Although in 2012, educational expenditure of the governments had reached 4% of its GDP (MOE, 2013), it is still lower than most developed countries.

As the central government ceased to be the sole patron of higher educational institution, it has also encouraged diversification of education funding, through channels such as taxation, public donation, income from teaching, research and other auxiliary activity and student tuition. During the late 1980s and early 1990s, university-affiliated enterprises grew in the name of generating revenue for universities. While some of the enterprises were indeed engaged in transferring research and knowledge derived from research based in universities, some others were pure business (Chen, 2012). Taxation is another means of raising money for educational institutions. The *Outline* in 1993 for instance proposed that the state start collecting educational surcharges from industries and businesses. While educational surcharges are largely used for compulsory education, local governments, depending on their circumstances, are also allowed to charge other taxes to support other types of education. Aside from taxation, *the Outline* also started encouraging the use of credit systems for educational institutions, and entrepreneurship for schools and institutions. Meanwhile, student tuition has skyrocketed especially since 1997, which became a major source for higher education. According to Dong and Wan (2012), the contribution of student tuition to the total educational resources increased from 13.7% in 1996 to 33.7% in 2007. Realizing that not everyone could afford the hefty tuition fees, student loan programs were launched at the end of 1990s, such as the general commercial student loans scheme, and the government subsidized student loan (Shen & Li, 2003).

Of note, massification and marketization of higher education should not be taken to mean that elitism has become a passé in China. As a matter of fact, China has never deviated from its pursuit of national and educational excellence in the international arena (Luo, 2013). Yet, previously elitism was fostered based on meritocratic egalitarianism, i.e., individual students, regardless of their economic backgrounds, gained their entrance to university by excelling in National College Examinations; today, elitism is more encouraged through fuelling internal as well as international competition at the institutional levels. In the 1990s, for instance, *the Outline* has raised the ideal that by the beginning of the 21st Century, "a number

of higher institutions should have reached the academic level of world first-class universities." The 21/1 project was subsequently announced. The mission of the project was that to be prepared for the 21 century, all stakeholders, from central to local governments, needed to be mobilized in order to cultivate about 100 key universities and a number of key disciplines and specializations. The 21/1 project led to a frenzied movement of agglomeration among different colleges and universities. In May 1998, the then president Jiang Zemin once again reiterated the ideal that China should start establishing world class universities, which then led to project 98/5. Thirty-nine universities were eventually included in this 98/5 project. The practical implication of the 21/1 and 98/5 projects is with regard to funding allocation from the central government. The 112 higher institutions that are included in the 211 project receive a higher funding support than other regular higher institutions. For instance, in 2003, 70.10% of research funding went to 21/1 universities and all key national laboratories were hosted on the campus of 21/1 universities (Zha, 2009). The 39 universities of the 98/5 projects are given extra funding support so that they can turn themselves into research intensive world class universities. A recent Thomson Reuters report, as cited in Luo (2013), shows that the top nine universities in the 98/5 project received about 10% of China's R&D expenditures. In other words, funding allocation prioritizes key universities, which has played a part in creating stratification within educational institutions (Hayhoe & Zha, 2004; Zha, 2009).

ISSUES WITH MASSIFICATION AND MARKETIZATION OF THE HIGHER EDUCATION SYSTEM

While massification of higher education in China is indeed a miracle – China now claims the largest higher education system in the world, the question that remains is how well higher education today has served the mass, especially the mass who are socially and economically disadvantaged. Drawing on existing literature and media reports, in this section, we identify a range of issues facing higher education today, including inequity in accessing higher education, gap in quality of education received, and unemployment. We then look into the institutional challenges facing the country in overcoming these issues, i.e., the compromised authority of the central government in reining in marketization and commodification of education and the national and institutional search for identity in the international area. While massification of higher education is intended to enhance students' access to higher education, it has not brought the same kind of opportunity for all, especially not for students from impoverished rural areas (Sun & Barrientos, 2009). "When I went to university, 80% if not more of my classmates were from the rural area. Now things have changed. The percentage of rural students in universities has severely dropped. Where have they gone?" This question, raised by Wen Jiabao, the last premier of China was widely cited in Chinese media (e.g., Pan, 2009). According to Sun and Barrientos (2009), in recent years, while one in six urban students will make it to higher education, only one in twenty rural students will have the chance to enter

higher education. One salient problem, as some studies (e.g., Dong & Wan, 2012) have pointed out, is that the rising tuition has exceeded many families' abilities to pay. As a result, there has been no shortage of stories of students from impoverished families giving up their higher education opportunity even after they succeeded in National College Examinations (e.g., Li & Li, 2011). Even though student loan systems were introduced at the end of the 20th century, due to fear of future debt, and lack of information, students from the poorest backgrounds are the least likely group of people to make use of it (Sun & Barrientos, 2009).

If the chance for rural students to make it to higher education is low, the odds for them to make it to top universities are even lower. A research project on "*Equity Issues with Higher education*" by Dongping Yang, shows that the percentage of rural students in key universities has been sliding since the 1990s. For Beijing University, for instance, 30% of students were from the rural areas between 1978 and 1998. But that number dropped to 10% in 2001 (Pan, 2011). In other words, if family status has always affected students' chances to get into universities, this phenomenon has certainly been aggravated as China moved into a market-based economy. Jun Ji, a lecturer in Qinghua University, conducted a survey of the sources of students in Qinghua and the study showed the following image of a typical Qinghua student: born in an urban area, with parents working as civil servants or teachers, having travelled with parents once a year, and some having studied abroad as high school students (Pan, 2011).

Another problem related to massification is that students in different educational institutions may as well expect to receive qualitatively different educational experiences. As part of the educational reform, as we have shown in the last section, local governments have been made responsible for funding and administering the majority of higher institutions. However, the financial capacities of the local governments vary significantly, which bears on the financial support that higher institutions could acquire. To start with, funds allocated to central universities (universities affiliated with central ministries such as the Ministry of Education) are based on a per student standard set by the central government, which is rarely matched by the provincial government when funding provincial universities (Ma, 2007). Further, given different financial capacities of local governments, local funding allocation per student for provincial universities and colleges can be drastically different (World bank, 1997). In other words, stratification of educational institutions and regional economic differences are easily translated into differential institutional capacities. The 21/1 and 98/5 projects, further add to the stratification of educational institutions and the unevenness in the distribution of educational and research resources. The ability of the key universities to raise funds through alumni networks and auxiliary corporate activities supposedly further distinguishes these universities in terms of their abilities to attract quality teachers and researchers. Yet in reality, given the accelerated expansion of universities, students generally have low levels of satisfaction with their schooling experiences (Li, 2012). While students in national universities reported better experiences than those in local institutions

(see Zha, 2012b), paradoxically, students in top-level research intensive universities were particularly unsatisfied with their learning experiences (Zhang et al., 2011), a phenomenon that could be attributed to the mounting pressure for academic faculty to do research and publish so that these universities could be better ranked in the international arena (ibid).

Not only are students' educational experiences at school different, their fates in the labour market upon graduation can vary as well. To start with, despite all the fanfare around the labour market need for educated workers, the labour market in China does not seem to be able to absorb the several million new graduates each year (Bai, 2006; Wu & Zheng, 2008). Between 2003 and 2004, it is reported that only 73% of university and college students found employment (Bai, 2006). Although the employment rate reached 82.1% in 2011, 570 thousands of students were still unemployed upon graduation (Mycos institute, 2012). Students from poor areas who do not have strong social networks have found it even more difficult to land employment or well-paid employment (Li, 2012). Discrimination in the labour market against graduates from non-21/1 universities, which has been widely reported in the media (e.g., Wuhan evening, 2013), may have affected rural students even more. The under- and un-employment situation of university graduate students, coupled with skyrocketing tuition fees, has created a phenomenon of higher education phobia among some farmers, who feared that should their children be admitted to universities and colleges, not only would they have problems paying for the tuition, their children might also become unemployed upon graduation (Li, 2003).

Of note, both scholars and policy makers have started noting issues such as regional disparity, quality of education, and have started addressing such issues through introducing various assessment mechanisms for both institutions and teachers (Yang, 2004). There are however, two issues that deserve special policy attention. The first is with regard to the use of market mechanisms and the second with the nation's search for identity for higher education in the international arena.

We tend to agree with Yang (2007) who observed that China has jumped on the bandwagon of neoliberalism without a comprehensive or systematic understanding of market-based ideologies. This is perhaps a lingering legacy of Deng who proposed that China, as a nation should "cross the river by feeling for the stones". In all the education reform documents, the central government has emphasized its role of macro management. In other words, although administrative control has been downloaded to the local authorities, the central government still retains its absolute authority over education through policy and guideline making although not direct control (Mok, 2001). Marketization of education has always been treated as a means to the end of a prosperous society and modernized country. Yet, marketization, the means proactively chaperoned by the central government, has to a certain extent taken on a life of its own, and at times spiralled out of the macro management of the central government. As a consequence, the country or the central government finds itself scurrying around at times, passively reacting to some of the unexpected consequences of marketization and commodification of education. The massive

expansion of university enrolment between 1999 and 2004 for instance illustrates this tension between central authority and the market mechanisms that it has introduced. To stimulate the sluggish economy after the Asian Economic crisis, higher education was instructed to expand student enrolment. Such an expansion however was not accompanied by expansion of the teaching resources at the same pace. In 2002, the central government became aware of the problem of resources and decided to slow down the pace of growth from an annual rate of 49% to between 5 and 10%. Yet, local institutions could not quite slow down themselves, driven largely by their need to fund themselves through tuition fees (Zha, 2012b).

A second issue that educational institutions need to address is the search for identity or the search for the Chinese characters that are supposed to feature the development of the socialist market economy in China. So far, China has been looking abroad for market mechanisms to transform educational institutions in China. As this paper is being written, a culture of auditing is also being introduced with measures and means of accountability, efficiency and effectiveness to build world-class universities. Meanwhile, these neoliberal measures have been heavily criticized in the west for rendering invisible and irrelevant the experiences of groups of people who are traditionally disadvantaged (e.g., Davis 2007; Roberts & Mahtani, 2010). Against this context, China may want to revisit some of the socialist legacy left behind in Chinese history such as the quota system for minority students and ensure that such systems should grow at the same pace as the expansion of higher institutions.

DISCUSSION: FUTURE RESEARCH DIRECTIONS

In this paper, we have discussed the movement of higher education in China towards massification and marketization under the influence of globalization. We started by introducing what we mean by globalization, highlighting the complex roles that the state may play in the process of globalization. We then delineated how higher education has entered the era of massification through resorting largely to decentralization and market-based mechanisms such as privatization, diversified funding, institutional competition and stratification. After that, we highlighted some of the issues that massification and marketization have brought about for students, particularly students who are economically disadvantaged. Like other scholars in the fields (Yang, 2004; Zha, 2012b), we argue that mass higher education has expanded educational opportunities for some but not for all. We then further highlighted the central tension between decentralization and marketization and macro management at the central government level. If we examine recent policy documents on educational reform, there has been attention paid to social equity. Yet, what gets filtered through to the local level and translated into practice is often the dominant market-based ideology that turns education into commodity that needs to be consumed and that makes education solely a servant of the economy.

We also believe that studies on higher education, again with few exceptions (e.g., Yang, 2004; Zha, 2012a, 2012b) are largely descriptive while there are much deeper

complexities to the transformation of higher education in China that needs to be explored in the future. To start with, the changing organization of higher education necessarily entails changing social relations. We however have little information on how marketization and commodification of education has changed the social relations of teaching, learning, administering and collaborating in different places. As well, in this paper, we discussed how pervasive ideologies and discourses of globalization have transformed local communities, with little attention paid to local responses to these globalizing influences, which is also an underdeveloped area of studies that needs further attention from researchers (for exception, see Rhoads & Liang, 2006). Finally, echoing Zha (2011), we suggest that policymakers and practitioners in higher education should reconsider its success beyond the normative considerations of scale, and numbers, but in the light of social justice and social equity. Researchers may start exploring how a higher education system may look if it is informed by an orientation towards social responsibility and social equity.

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3. THE IMPACT OF ZIMBABWEAN HIGHER EDUCATION POLICIES ON ACCESS

INTRODUCTION

Higher education in Zimbabwe has been moving from a small elite system to a mass system in the last thirty years. At independence in 1980 there was only one university in the country whose total enrolment was 2200 fulltime students but to date there are 8 public and four private universities with total enrolments of more than 43 000 full time students. There are several polytechnics, teachers' colleges and vocational schools. At the University of Zimbabwe, the first public university in the country the number of Black students increased from 8 out of 77 students in 1957 when the university was established in Harare to over 1400 at Independence.

Zimbabwe adopted a number of policies at independence many of which were to address the disparities in the colonial era whether economic, social or political. In education there were historic changes that were to transform the whole sector to what it is today. Bloom, Canning, & Chan, (2006) state that expanding higher education leads to improved development. There are many lessons from reviewing the development of Zimbabwean higher education policies for emerging African democracies. In this chapter, I review the policies that were adopted and analyse the successes and failures. I draw from critical policy analysis which aims at exposing connections between policy context, process, and content (Walt & Gilson 1994). I analyze the relative merits of various policy options as well as discuss the interplay of the processes and contexts which influence the definition of policy problems (content), agenda setting, and choice of policy instruments. The major challenges in education policy reform evolve around funding priorities, content and who contributes financially and benefits from the reforms.

Forester (1982) reported that critical policy analysis exposes the ideologies and values underlying policy issues and their proposed solutions, and the inclusiveness or exclusiveness of the policy debate. Critical policy analysis therefore includes an analysis of how issues are understood and framed by the various policy communities – those groups of actors from government, private sector, pressure groups, advocacy groups, media or academia who seek to influence the course of public policy.

Antonio Gramsci (1882) argued that the way ideology works is to make itself invisible, taken for granted, so that it becomes hegemonic. This is fairly evident in the way policy formulation has worked in Zimbabwe. The ruling ZANU PF party

Kariwo et al (Eds.), A Comparative Analysis of Higher Education Systems, 25–42.
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has managed to institutionalize itself in all spheres economic social and political. The current policy environment in Zimbabwe is very fluid because of the turbulent economic and political situation. Pal (2006) says, "Policy to put it simply, comes from those who have legitimate authority to impose normative guidelines for action. In a democracy, policy is made by elected officials in concert with advisors from higher levels of the administration." (p. 6). Long term policy documentation in Zimbabwe has become rare because of the unstable political and economic environment. More often policy is just announced by Government Ministers and the President as well as other senior government officials. This situation is further complicated by contradictions, retractions and revisions that take place very frequently.

Psacharopoulos (1989) in analysing the discrepancy between educational policy goals and outcomes argued that the reason why reforms fail is that policies are never implemented and that policies are based on good will rather than on "research proven cause and effect relationships"

> The reason most educational policies are not implemented is that they are vaguely stated and that the financial implications are not always worked out…..in order to avoid past pitfalls, the following conditions should be met in formulating educational policies. A policy statement should be concrete and feasible in terms of objectives. (pp. 179-193)

In analyzing educational policies in Zimbabwe it is apparent that there is much of a top down approach and the politicians have argued that this is necessary due to the economic crisis prevailing and the need to deal with past imbalances in the distribution of resources. Policy formulation is complex and an adaptive process is more effective (Brock, McGee, & Gaventa, 2004).

POLITICAL ECONOMY

Higher education policies do not exist in a vacuum. The situation in Zimbabwe demonstrates that there is a strong link between the level of the national economy and the funding of public universities. Currently the economic crisis is having a negative impact on higher education institutions and other sectors. The economic policies in Zimbabwe were a result of external and local influences. The external pressure came mainly from the support that the liberation movements had before independence which was basically a Socialist/ Marxist philosophy. This approach was meant to counter the prevailing dominant capitalist position in the country. The government abandoned its socialist ideology in the period of 1991-1995 in favour of the Economic Structural Adjustment Programs (ESAP) in order to access funds from the World Bank. It sidelined its own national development plan in the process. However, the decade of the 1990s witnessed a turnaround of economic fortunes, as economic decline set in and structural problems of high

poverty and inequality persisted. The government tried to explain the causes of decline using recurring droughts and floods, as well as, the non-realization of the objectives of the economic structural adjustment program (ESAP). During the period between 1991 and 1995, real GDP growth averaged about 1.5% per year. The period 1996-2003 was marked by accelerated deterioration in the socio-economic situation. The Government replaced ESAP with a "home-grown" reform package, the Zimbabwe Program for Economic and Social Transformation (ZIMPREST) in April 1998. However, the lack of resources to implement this reform package undermined its effective implementation. In another attempt to address the declining economic performance, the Millennium Economic Recovery Program (MERP) was launched in August 2001 as a short-term18-month economic recovery program. Its objective was to restore economic vibrancy and address the underlying macroeconomic fundamentals. Unfortunately, MERP was also rendered ineffective largely due to the withdrawal of the international donor community.

From 1990 onwards the financial commitment by government became unmanageable and there was a noticeable shift to market forces in managing higher education in the hope that the move would pay off in terms of the budget. In February 2003, Government launched a 12-month stabilization program called the National Economic Revival Program (NERP): Measures to Address the Current Challenges, while considering options for long term economic recovery. Though NERP was received with more optimism by donors, private sector and other stakeholders, more than half-way through its implementation, the program did not generate the foreign currency required to support economic recovery. The undermined reform efforts since 1996, combined with the negative impacts of recurring droughts and floods, international isolation, and the HIV AND AIDS epidemic, have given rise to severe macroeconomic difficulties. These difficulties are characterized by the following; hyper-inflation of over 160 000%, low foreign exchange reserves, a build-up in external debt arrears, and a decline in investment, resulting in a real GDP contraction of around 30% cumulative since 1999.

In Zimbabwe the macroeconomic environment has been a major problem for development in the last decade. Inflation rose to immeasurable levels in 2008 and in April 2009 the country decided to adopt multiple foreign currencies in response to the classic hyperinflation. To date, the country has multiple currencies and accepts the US dollar, British pound, Botswana Pula and the South African rand. Scarce foreign currency has been a major factor in the development of tertiary education and the resultant policies.

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

The following conceptual framework was adopted in analysing the text from the various documents from Zimbabwe.

Table 1. Conceptual Framework

Themes/Categories	*Sub themes*
Policy origin and design	Ideology, philosophy,goals - equity, social justice
Consultation and adoption of policy	Dominant voices, Bureaucrats
Implementation	Resources, bureaucracy, political exigency, resistance
Outcomes and evaluation	Quantity, and quality of outputs from higher education,

Source: Adapted from Stage Theory, Howlett and Ramesh 1995

DOCUMENT ANALYSIS

There are very few recent studies on financing higher education in Zimbabwe (Kariwo 2007).There are a couple of commission reports (Williams 1989), which focussed on higher education provision and the Nziramasanga Commission (1999), which was on education in general but made some observations on higher education. I reviewed these key documents on policy, and other government policy papers.

THE NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT PLAN

It would appear that government policies in education focussed on both quantity and quality. The National development plan states that,

> Government recognizes that education is a basic human right. It also recognizes that education is an investment in human capital, which sustains and accelerates the rate of economic growth and socio-economic development. The challenge for Zimbabwe is not only one of redressing the educational qualitative and quantitative imbalances in the inherited system but also that of meeting the exceedingly large demands with limited resources.

This overarching policy goal is based on the UN Declaration of Human Rights and the country has put this premise as a basic right at independence. Its implementation has varied by level that is in primary, secondary and tertiary education. Gender equality and access to education as well as improving literacy levels have been at the forefront.

THE WILLIAMS COMMISSION REPORT OF 1989

In its report the Williams Commission observes that quality should not be compromised by rapid expansion despite the need for widening access. Our first main concern is that the necessary expansion should not be at the expense of quality, and that the new institutions and programs which we suggest Zimbabwe should now

establish should be of a high standard, but we also regard it as crucial to ensure that in a proper enthusiasm for creating new structures and institutions, the authorities do not overlook the current needs of existing institutions or neglect to strengthen and consolidate what is already in place.

The commission had received evidence suggesting that expansion might erode the existing gains. Its anxiety was that the resources would be spread too thinly to cover more institutions.

THE NZIRAMASANGA REPORT 1999

In a report by the Nziramasanga Commission (1999) it is noted, "that the government policies to have free education were not sustainable." At independence in 1980, the government declared all primary education free. By the early 1990's the government found itself faced with a huge budget for the provision of books, construction of buildings and for the training and salaries of teachers. It had to backtrack and allow for the charging of school levies, which is another form of "school fee." The high costs of education were also evident at secondary and tertiary levels. The Nziramasanga Commission recommended the introduction of cost recovery methods. This thinking was influenced by world trends and was in tandem with World Bank policies on financing education.

POLICY CONTEXT AND DESIGN

Zimbabwe's policy terrain is complex because of the political history. From 1980, the major policies included, widening access at all levels of education. The first task was to lift the restriction to secondary education for Blacks which was capped at 12 and1//2 percent and increase it to 100 percent. The consequences had tremendous ripple effects on higher education resources and access. For teachers' colleges it meant adopting innovative ways to increase teachers in the schools. For universities the funding challenges have persisted to this date.

In this analysis it is noted that there have been tensions between local policy-making and global pressures. For example the structural adjustment programs that created more dependency on the Breton Woods group. The role of the World Bank and western countries have been viewed very suspiciously by Zimbabwe, other African countries as well as other developing countries. Many of its prescriptions have resulted in several countries which accessed loans become poorer and in worse debt.

The funding policies for higher education in Zimbabwe are driven by the political and social need to widen access for the majority of the Black people who had hitherto been disadvantaged. There is also the economic need to produce highly skilled manpower. The Zimbabwean Government has instituted a number of policy reforms in higher education since 2001, reflecting a shift in emphasis from increasing access to education to improving the quality of education and training, due to the

competitive demands brought about by globalization. The policy framework is contained in the Ministry of Higher and Tertiary Education's corporate plan for 2002-2004 (Government of Zimbabwe Ministries of Education, Culture, Higher and Tertiary Education, 2004). In 2002, a new student financing policy was put in place to broaden opportunities for tertiary education. In 2004 the MOESC and the Ministry of Higher and Tertiary Education adopted the National Action Plan: Education for All-towards 2015 (NAP), which incorporated Zimbabwe's commitment to the Millennium Development Goals for education.

At the national level, the Transitional National Development plan of the government of Zimbabwe (1983) states that, "Government recognizes that education is a basic human right. It also recognizes that education is an investment in human capital, which sustains and accelerates the rate of economic growth and socio-economic development. The challenge for Zimbabwe is not only one of redressing the educational qualitative and quantitative imbalances in the inherited system but also that of meeting the exceedingly large demands with limited resources."

Historically, Zimbabwe was under British colonial rule for a century. It became independent in 1980. Since then the government has tried various social and economic models and these have influenced higher education policies. The government adopted a philosophy to increase access to education at all levels contrary to the World Bank approach whose focus for many years was on primary education. The new democratic government had a Marxist–Leninist ideology because of the support the ruling party had from the central and eastern European countries such Russia and China while waging the war of independence. This was an attractive ideological approach to education and development until the collapse of the Eastern European idea of socialism and the political changes in Russia. At independence in 1980, the new government decided as one of its policies to train indigenous people in order to deal with the skills drain. Initially, though the country had to rely on expatriate staff. While the new government was propelled by new paradigms, which include equity, social justice and the redistribution of resources, it soon found itself with a huge public expenditure. It eventually had to temporarily, abandon its socialist policies and seek loans from the World Bank and IMF. To date the government has reverted to its own home-grown solutions for education and social development. After failure to control public expenditure from the early 2000s the government has not been eligible for World Bank funding.

The country's policies in education have been swinging from left and right due to economic pressures. The government has been trying to deal with education from a number of angles in consideration of equity, affordability, access, quality, replacement of White skills and development of indigenous people for the country. The policies of "free" education, which the country adopted at independence, have proved unsustainable given the limited resources from the taxpayer and other national resources. The government has been responsible for funding more than ninety five percent of university education with the balance coming from tuition fees and donors. The question of sharing the burden only started in the early 2000s after

the government abandoned strict adherence to Socialism. In 1999 the government embarked on an ambitious policy to widen access in higher education by establishing a university in each of the ten provinces. The net result has been spreading the scarce human and financial resources too thinly.

The current policy environment in Zimbabwe is very fluid because of the turbulent economic and political situation. Long term policy documentation in Zimbabwe has become rare because of the unstable political and economic environment. More often policy is just announced by government ministers and the president as well as other senior government officials. This situation is further complicated by contradictions, retractions and revisions that take place very frequently. Kigotho (2006) in his article in the Chronicle of Higher education on the Zimbabwe "Look East" policy says the government tried to introduce Chinese into the curriculum because of a pressing need to bring the people of Zimbabwe and China together. The aim was to promote trade and tourism. The government was caught up in its own ideological prevarication. On the one hand the government has been arguing for indigenisation yet on the other it is promoting new forms of imperialism.

In policy formulation the top-down process is dominant. The Minister of Higher education (2006) regarding the introduction of Chinese said, "I have discussed with my counterpart, the Chinese Minister of Education and agreed on the modalities on how to introduce the program." In analysing this statement the Minister assumed total control of the policy formulation and implementation processes. This negates the party's claim that it uses all structures to consult on matters of policy.

One senior professor at a public university commented, "The Chinese program would be difficult to implement and in addition it would be irrelevant to the immediate needs of the country." He noted that Zimbabwean public universities lack adequate facilities, such as seminar rooms, laboratories and student housing. There were serious shortages of books and a wide range of learning resources. To highlight the paradoxical challenge, one university vice chancellor stated that he was going to implement the new policy and provide the lead for other public universities. It would appear then that leadership in public universities has to align itself with national policy. This provokes the argument that appointment of the vice chancellors has political overtones. The question then is where lies academic freedom?

Neoliberalism

The Zimbabwean government has increasingly adopted market policies as a strategy to deal with massive social programs that were introduced at independence in 1980. This follows examples in the developed countries where the public sector has been restructured in order to gain efficiency. The experience in Zimbabwe with the World Bank economic structural adjustment programs was a total failure. Central to the problem of such external funding was the issue of the sovereign state. The plans from the World Bank for revitalising education meant introducing free markets and less regulation by the state. Such a change would have been

contradictory to Marxian philosophy. The Bank's strategy has now changed and the funding policies include consultations with governments on local conditions and priorities. According to Larner (2006), under Keynesian State Welfarism, the State provision of goods and services ensures the social well-being of the people. On the other hand neo-liberalism is concerned with the minimalist state. There is economic liberalization and open markets. Other characteristics include privatization and deregulation.

Strategy and Planning

The Zimbabwe government had a vision to empower the Black people who were in the majority and had been previously disadvantaged. The strategy was to create a free basic education right from the start. However this had far reaching consequences. As access increased at the primary school level, it impacted on secondary and tertiary levels. The greatest challenge for the new independent state was marshalling adequate financial resources for the implementation of its new policies. In a report by the Nziramasanga Commission (1999) it is noted that the government policies to have free education were not sustainable. In 1980 government declared all primary education free. Government found itself faced with a huge budget for the provision of books, construction of buildings and for the training and salaries of teachers. It had to backtrack and allow for the charging of school levies, which is another form of "school fees." The high costs of education were also evident at secondary and tertiary levels. The Nziramasanga Commission recommended the introduction of cost recovery methods. This thinking was influenced by world trends and was in tandem with World Bank policies on financing education.

At the macro level of policy design, an analysis of the themes indicates certain strategy and direction. The World Bank (1994) suggests some policy changes in reforming higher education in developing countries. The Bank recommends four main directions, namely, (i) encouraging more kinds of public and private institutions, (ii) providing incentives for public institutions to diversify sources of funding, (iii) redefining the role of government, and (iv) introducing policies that emphasize quality and equity.

CONSULTATION AND ADOPTION OF POLICY

Zimbabwe has a very much top-down approach to policy formulation. As a result implementation is difficult due to lack of support by other stakeholders. The ruling ZANU/PF party claims that consultation takes place through party structures established throughout the country and there are various levels from cell to village through to the province and ultimately to the national level. Experience has shown that in practice it the articulated ideas of the "politburo" which is the supreme consultative body of the ZANU/PF party that get implemented. More recently it is the ideas of the President of the party that are translated into policy.

Government as a Stakeholder

One of the key players in higher education in Zimbabwe is the government. The role of government therefore in resource allocation is a critical component of the discourses. In Zimbabwe, the State President is the chancellor of all public universities. Government is represented on university councils by one or two permanent secretaries from relevant ministries, such as Higher education and Finance. The government considers universities too important to be left to academics. There are well-recognised reasons why government should take primary responsibility for higher education. In the first instance government involvement reflects the importance of universities and colleges at the apex of the national education system. Secondly these institutions are crucial to the development of high-level skills and the generation of knowledge. This mandate cannot be left to individualized private initiatives, which may not be co-ordinated. At the same time the costs involved in the provision of higher education are high therefore have to be subsidised to increase access especially to the poor section of society. Eicher and Chevalier (1993) point out that the state assures the functioning of universities by providing them a considerable proportion of their total funding.

TUITION AND FINANCING POLICIES

At the institutional level, policy design is aligned to national goals and funding is the determining factor. Treasury tries to fund those activities in universities that support the national goals. Zimbabwe's higher education funding model consists of central government funding, which is by far the largest source of funds. This is augmented by funds from donors and parents as well as industry. Industry makes its contribution in a number of ways. Firstly it pays levies to a vote called the Zimbabwe Development Fund (ZIMDEF) controlled by the Minister of Higher education. Industry also provides funding directly to universities through scholarships for students in specific disciplines.

In the 2008/2009 academic year the cabinet announced that all fees were to be paid in US dollars. This policy change resulted in lower enrolments at all institutions given that incomes of public servants were pegged initially at one hundred US dollars a month. The fees at university range from 400 to 800 US dollars depending on whether it is an undergraduate or post graduate program. The charging of fees at universities and other tertiary institutions was adopted as policy in 2001. This change sparked a series of student demonstrations because students were opposed to the change. One public university was closed for several months following clashes between the riot police and students. Because of poor design the policy was unpopular. The main criticism was that it promoted elitism. Although the ministry had instituted a mechanism for assessing the needs of the poorer students through "means tests." The system broke down due to political interference. The students who were well connected still had advantage in accessing funds. This is an example

of external pressures influencing the design of policy and local conditions not being fully understood. The government showed its inconsistency by not going all the way to implement the new fee policy because it became a political issue.

The government in its last economic reform program the National Economic Revival Program (2003) made policy changes that required public institutions to use performance based management systems. The government tried to move from full funding to a mixture of government funding and parents and student contribution. The interim model therefore is one of cost sharing but it is not popular due to the depressed economy and high levels of unemployment. Weiler (2000) observes that in most countries of the world, most higher education institutions that are entirely funded from private sources are simply not feasible anymore. Many countries fund their universities in one of two ways or a combination of both. They either fund upfront the institutions using historical data and numbers of students or provide funds on an incentive basis using outputs. Zimbabwe needs to resolve equity in the accessing of higher education and therefore tends to use the former.

In order to deal with the falling revenues from government, some public universities have been innovative and started full fee paying programmes for students who fail to enter the regular day stream because of the high demand for places. These students have the university entrance qualifications therefore they register for the "parallel" programs offered in the evenings. The classes are offered in the evenings and are taught by the same professors who teach the day classes. The experience at these universities is that the programs are generating a lot of income. The universities have been able to top up salaries for staff, buy new books and equipment such as computers. While the government has in principle agreed to universities generating their own income there are no clear guidelines for the institutions.

The Cadetship Scheme

Government introduced a cadetship programme in which it pays the fees for those who enroll in different programmes. In return, students must work in Zimbabwe after college for an equal number of years they received funding. The scheme was not well publicized and also the amount offered for that scheme was very low. The money only covered just the tuition without taking into account other expenses such as living and transport expenses. Further the scheme was not attracting many students as they would be bonded for the duration of their study and they were not to be given their certificates and transcripts before finishing the bonding period. Another factor for a drop in enrolments pertains to rural students who have been adversely affected by the poor and expensive transportation. In the past they would travel to any university to apply for a place. But today, many just stay at home. Some of the public universities had approached the ministry of higher education highlighting their plight of failing to admit science students in their science department as most science lecturers had left the country. The ministry advised the universities to

consider admitting students with low points in science subjects where lecturers were still available.

The Private Sector: It's Demise

The private sector has made contribution to financing education in public institutions through ZIMDEF and direct sponsorship at the institutions. There is scope for increasing the contributions from this sector and therefore this is one area where institutions can establish new partnerships. The private sector has however been supporting education mainly in the area of skills training through short courses. It has made scholarships available to students at public institutions who are likely to join the private sector labour market.

Investing in Zimbabwe has become complicated due to the political uncertainty. Despite the current arrangement where there is a government of national unity some entrepreneurs are less confident to come up with large investment dollars because they are not sure that they will get value for their money. There is no transparency in the contract awarding system. May firms have closed or relocated to other countries.

POLICY IMPLEMENTATION

Zimbabwe has a very much top down approach to policy formulation. As a result implementation is difficult due to lack of support by other stakeholders. The ruling ZANU/PF party claims that consultation takes place through party structures established throughout the country and there are various levels from cell to village through to the province and ultimately to the national level. Experience has shown that in practice it is the articulated ideas of the "politburo", which is the supreme consultative body of the ZANU/PF party, that gets implemented. More recently it is the ideas of the president of the party that are being translated into policy.

Attempts by the government to engage in cost recovery in higher education met resistance as students demonstrated their objection to tuition increases and other changes such as the contracting of non-core activities in residences. In 1991 the government decided to contract catering food services. Although the options of bidding companies favoured employees and indigenous companies the food prices rose to levels that students could not afford. Some of the demonstrations were violent leading to temporary closure of at least one of the public universities. In 2004 the Ministry of higher education directed that the institutions revert to the old system of catering. In essence the government was going to fund, at subsidized levels, catering services. In addition they need to implement more effective strategies for academic staff development and retention in line with equity goals by drawing on the efforts of other African universities. SARUA initiated a meeting of university leaders to discuss how to collaborate at the national and regional levels to shape the debates on system differentiation and higher education financing models and harmonize

policies at the regional level to support cross-border training and the development of centres of excellence (SARUA, 2012).

An official from the ministry of Higher education stated,

> In a young nation there are a lot of policies that come into being. Coming to higher education the government's policy is to establish at least one teachers' college by the state, one technical college by the State, and one university by the State, in each of our ten administrative provinces. As you know, there are now nine state universities including Lupane State University whose Act was promulgated in 2004 and of course Harare Institute of Technology, which originally was operating as a technical college but now transformed into a degree granting institution provinces where we don't have state universities, Matabeleland South, Mashonaland East and Manicaland. We have since appointed foundation committees to do feasibility studies and to make recommendations.

This is a lot of expansion which is being driven by the need for places as a result of the expansion that happened initially, in the primary schools and subsequently, in secondary education. The policy for widening access became more pronounced in 1988. As a result even those universities established to date cannot take all the students that qualify. The government's intention, soon after independence, was to finance this through public funds, which meant the full cost would be borne through the government. As the financial burden got worse, the government introduced cost sharing. For universities, this meant funding for students was going to be split between a loan and a grant. Prior to this government had given university students complete grants for their education. As the funding situation became more burdensome, the government started looking at other options such as the private sector, introducing full tuition fees and increases in the loan component. The increase in the loan component was meant to create a revolving fund. The charging of fees was important but this was going to be difficult for parents in the current economic environment. Another option was to get the universities to use farms and produce their own food.

The Zimbabwean development was heavily impacted by the economic meltdown. One professor from a public university highlighted this point and stated,

I don't think that the money is adequate, *point number one*. Two, what are the priorities of the university? I would assume that the core business of the university is to teach students. Do you realize that right now the university cannot even afford to improve facilities at this university, or even for feeding students and to me the resources coming from government are not adequate. But donor funding has also dwindled. There is no more donor funding because of Zimbabwe's nature. We are a *pariah s*tate. So nobody is interested in giving money to the university anymore. So all these things, I think have to do with the volatility of the political environment that has made the situation worse.

OUTCOMES AND EVALUATION

In analysing the Zimbabwean higher education policies it is important to consider the elites and the non-elites in the discourses. Critical policy analysis therefore includes an analysis of how issues are understood and framed by the various policy communities – those groups of actors from government, private sector, pressure groups, advocacy groups, media or academia who seek to influence the course of public policy. From the interviews with the professors in the universities, it is clear that higher education policies are dictated by the government. Take for example the tuition issues. Government has had different positions since independence. It started off with a free postsecondary education policy. This changed from the year 2000 when the government adopted a market model. Tuition fees were introduced and more recently the fees are more aligned to cost- full cost recovery despite the low incomes of most parents.

Resource constraints have largely dictated the developments in education. Quality seems to have been relegated to lower priorities as events unfolded. In a report by the Nziramasanga Commission (1999) it is noted, "that the government policies to have free education were not sustainable." At independence in 1980, the government declared all primary education free. By the early 1990's the government found itself faced with a huge budget for the provision of books, construction of buildings and for the training and salaries of teachers. It had to back track and allow for the charging of school levies, which is another form of "school fee." The high costs of education were also evident at secondary and tertiary levels. The Nziramasanga Commission recommended the introduction of cost recovery methods. This thinking was influenced by world trends and was in tandem with World Bank policies on financing education.

One of the achievements of the new Black majority government led by ZANU PF has been quantitative gains in access to education at all levels since its inception in 1980. In table 1 below, both male and female enrollments have increased significantly. While the figures show significant increases there are groups such as women, the disabled, and some students from low income families that still cannot claim equal access to higher education. The participation of females in post-secondary education in Zimbabwe is being enhanced by affirmative programmes. Current trends show that the country might achieve gender parity in higher education by the year 2015. Such initiatives have seen the proportion of females enrolled in tertiary institutions steadily increase from 30 % in 1997 to 38% in 2010. However female participation in scientific and technological disciplines still remains below 30%.

The enrolments in higher education peaked in 2006 and since then there has been a decline. There are several reasons for this trend. In 2005 the loans, which were three times higher were scrapped and replaced by an unannounced policy shift, which resulted in fees being hiked three times higher than the loans which were previously given to students As a result some students dropped out due to failure to pay the fees.

Table 2. Enrolments at Tertiary Institutions

	2004		*2005*		*2006*		*2007*	
	Male	*Female*	*Male*	*Female*	*Male*	*Female*	*Male*	*Female*
Universities	15033	8135	16746	8860	33770	20367	27402	17700
Teachers' Colleges	8216	0226	8298	10552	8159	10138	7513	10106
Polytechnic, Vocational Colleges	9857	5286	10560	6036	9069	5300	7818	5416
Totals	33106	23647	35604	25448	50998	35805	42733	33222

Source: Ministry of Higher education

Quality

The challenge for Zimbabwe has not been only to redress the educational qualitative and quantitative imbalances in the inherited system but also that of meeting the exceedingly large demands with limited resources. Universities have little capacity, and infrastructure is inadequate. Higher education in Zimbabwe has been undergoing changes: rapid expansion which is evidence of a quantitative change; differentiation: more courses for different customers and different modes of delivery both formal and non formal. Distance Education has impacted access in major way at the Tertiary level. The down-side is the maintenance of quality. A lecturer at one large public university had this to say on the performance of her university,

> An overall assessment is that the "standards are declining. If you visited the institution today you will find that it in a pathetic situation. Get into the buildings and you find that they need painting. Get into the classrooms you find that the furniture is broken. It is not being repaired. Get into the library, you find that most of the books there are old text books. Talk to the lecturers, they are disgruntled by the situation at the university. Nobody is happy. So if the morale is low what do you expect the lecturer to do when he is in front of students? Overall, the standards have gone down.

In an interview with a professor at one of the new universities it was noted that there was no basic laboratory equipment however the Science program was designed in such a way that students would get training at the university as well as from hands on experience in companies. He reported,

> Eh…..the first impact when I arrived at this university was to realize that some of the very basic things were not available in the laboratories that should have been available. I don't know whether that's because the academics previously had not pushed hard enough for this or they were used to dealing with the situations. They were under-funded and didn't push hard enough. So

> I think that in terms of the practical experience level the students received in the laboratories it was perhaps less than optimum. The way we managed to overcome this as a university was because of the Industrial attachment year which is part of the curriculum. Students go on placements with various companies. They receive all sorts of practical experience which is directly relevant to their work experience. In that respect that lack on the part of our teaching is overcome. However that would not be an optimum situation. It is however compensatory.

The Brain Drain

A major constraint in improving quality in tertiary institutions has been the brain drain. The Chetsanga report (2002) shows that the country has been losing skilled manpower in large numbers. The main reasons are to do with poor salaries and working conditions. The academics have to moonlight to make ends meet. In some public universities there are departments that are threatened with closure for lack of qualified lecturers. Most universities are hiring lecturers with a Masters degree even though the ideal would have been a doctoral degree. The worrying concern is the rapid turnover of staff. There are very few experienced senior academics remaining in these institutions.

There have been recent significant improvements in salaries at higher education institutions even though the level still falls far short of regional comparisons. There are reports of Zimbabwean intellectuals returning from the diaspora. Zimbabwe is therefore gradually reducing the skills gap. For many years quality at the postsecondary level has been maintained but under very difficult conditions. This has been through sacrifice by lecturers concentrating on teaching and sacrificing research. Some anecdotal evidence is from the performance of students who are enrolled overseas who excel in their programmes. Signs of decline will remain on many campuses for the foreseeable future until large investments are made in tertiary education. Most of the new universities do not have adequate facilities for teaching and research. The libraries are small and do not have enough current journals. There are not enough computers. The laboratories are not equipped adequately for most science disciplines. In a number of cases these laboratories were not designed for university programmes. They were meant to be temporary facilities while tailor-made facilities were being built at designated new campuses. In the meantime student enrolments have been increasing faster than the provision of facilities.

In September 2012 a local newspaper (NewsdzeZimbbabwe) reported that State universities were refusing to register more than 50 000 tertiary students who were on the cadetship programme because the Government was in arrears in making transferring funds to the universities. The universities were owed $100 million by the Government. Students with outstanding payments were barred from attending lectures and accessing results. The Higher and Tertiary Education Minister is reported as having said the complaints by the universities were genuine. He blamed

the Government's non-payment of fees to the universities on the Ministry of Finance, which he described as the "unreasonable partner".

In analyzing the discourses it clear that there was some differences between the two Ministries, one headed by a Zimbabwe National Union Patriotic Front (ZANU PF) minister and the other headed by a minister from the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) opposition party. The bottom line was that the government did not have enough money to finance the scheme.

Craig (1990) states that, "Frequently African governments, responding to a shift in the political climate or in the economic situation have not followed through on funding commitment" (p 41). In an attempt to increase financial resource bases of the tertiary institution the government adopted a new policy of charging fees in foreign currency as a result of the dollarization of the local currency to address the hyperinflation which peaked in 2008. This policy resulted in widespread demonstrations. The World University News (2009) reported that

> Zimbabwean universities have been forced to reduce their foreign currency-denominated fees following crippling student demonstrations that resulted in the country's biggest and oldest institution, the University of Zimbabwe, being shut down. Universities were charging fees ranging from US$700 to US$1,500 per semester, starting in January, following the 'dollarization' of the economy to escape the devastating effects of world record inflation.

In analysing the discourses around tuition fees it is noted that the Minister of Tertiary and Higher education claimed that Cabinet had arrived at a new fee structure following consultations with stakeholders. However in order to diffuse the situation he sent a directive to the universities and colleges that students were not to be turned away if they were unable to pay the fees. This is another example of equivocation by the politicians. He indirectly introduced some of bonding in the financing scheme in which students were to work for the State for the same number of years as they spend in higher education.

CONCLUSION

Zimbabwe made significant strides in expanding education and widening access to the majority of the people after independence. However the country's policies have run into difficulties mainly because of implementation problems. The change from socialism to capitalism and back to quasi socialism has resulted in an unclear ideological path. The above analysis shows that the main areas of focus are the political framework in the country which in turn impacts the policies in higher education. There are serious problems facing higher education and development in Zimbabwe. The first is the dilemma by government to expand education but with insufficient resources. Higher education in Zimbabwe is in a critical state and requires substantial investment to restore stability as well as ensure quality. The focus should be on consolidation rather than further expansion.

The Government of Zimbabwe has been faced with tremendous challenges to improve access in higher education. There are severe funding limitations and yet the demand for places continues to grow. The absence of a local and home grown solution is problematic. Ideological shifts from West to East have not produced the desired results. There is a still a vacuum that needs to be filled with local and indigenous ideas on how higher education has to be rethought. There have been contradictions which arose from a change in political ideology. At independence in 1980 there was a very strong Marxist-Leninist approach. This was gradually replaced by the reforms from the west using the World Bank and IMF under forces of globalisation. Currently there is a strong alignment with the Eastern countries such as China.

The policy of establishing new universities in each province when the current ones have inadequate facilities has to be reviewed. The new strategy should be one of consolidation. Kurasha (2007) argues for brain gain using distance education. She states that this mode of delivery is cost effective and is accessible to all who missed the face-to-face delivery mode. The main thrust of her argument is that it promotes lifelong learning. However she also emphasises the need for meeting professional needs of and in consultation with industry. Not all students who need access to university education gain admission therefore the virtual university has a definite role to play in increasing access.

There is need for evidence based policy formulation and adoption where research plays a crucial role. Policy reforms should focus on what really matters. Neo-institutionalism states that policy formulation works through institutions and some of the reasons why policy implementation fails is that institutions are resistant to change. The delicate political situation with a government of national unity between the ruling and the opposition party which was established in 2009 has to be addressed to create a more positive policy formulation environment. The international community has been waiting to see whether real democracy is working in the country before responding with aid. The country desperately needs donor assistance for recovery and the main thrust should be building and retaining human resources. A solution is needed politically as a prerequisite to the revitalization of higher education in Zimbabwe.

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CYNTHIA FIELD & TATIANA GOUNKO

4. BECOMING A UNIVERSITY: A CASE STUDY OF VIU

INTRODUCTION

Classes have finally resumed following a month-long strike at Vancouver Island University. Students were able to finish their semester although some had to make considerable adjustments in their work, study and summer plans. Despite the end of the strike, the administration and faculty association have failed to come to an agreement. While students returned to class and completed the final exams for the winter 2011 semester, bargaining talks around job security and program cuts continued.

In March of 2011, the faculty members of Vancouver Island University walked out on strike, citing job security, program cuts, and generally lower education quality as major matters of contention. The transition process from Malaspina University-College (MUC) to Vancouver Island University (VIU), which brought about many challenges, generated the conflict. These challenges resulted from the early events of 2008, when the government's decision to rescind its promised funding contributed to the already complicated situation of institutional transformation.

Between the 1990s and 2010, VIU experienced two significant changes, both initiated by the provincial government in response to national and global demands. In the 1990s, the college-university paradigm shift created a new type of institution, the university-college, embracing some university norms but still remaining closer to the community college mandate to being "provincial and local in nature and inseparable from the state" (Levin, 2003, p. 464). In 2008, the government initiated the process of repealing the statutory designation of "university college" and creating that of "regional university." Plant (2007) defines "regional universities" as "regional learning institutions" whose function is to provide developmental, vocational and university programs. Like colleges and institutes, these institutions are teaching-intensive. This focus on teaching distinguishes them in mandate and purpose from the four provincial research-intensive universities. As a regional university, Vancouver Island University differs from the provincial universities because of its specific mandate made clear through the government's legislation and funding, and VIU's design and structure. In its new capacity, VIU has to redefine its institutional mission and change its norms and world- view just as it had to do in the 1990s, during its previous transition (Levin, 2003). The latest paradigm shift also requires VIU to find its place within the larger university community, which is not subject to the provincial government mandate.

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METHODS, DATA, AND PROCEDURES

The first objective of this study is to examine some of the challenges associated with the transition process from University College to university and how they might affect students, faculty and the institution. The second objective is to offer an exploratory review of policies, such as VIU's strategic plan, to find out how the institution is articulating its future direction as a full-fledged university. The intent here is to understand how the newly created university fits with "the idea of a university." We view a "university" as an objectively existing social institution that engages in teaching and learning, scholarship, research, knowledge creation and transfer, and public engagement. As a complex institution, a university should not be conflated with higher education, which is an educational process (Barnett, 2011).

This study builds upon the prior research on university-colleges in Canada (e.g., Denison, 2000; 2005; Levin, 2003). Our focus is specifically on VIU and its transition process from a university college to a university. Based on the notion of "methodological appropriateness," a qualitative case-study approach was applied to investigate the transition and evolution of Vancouver Island University, and the government and institutional policies shaping this process. Yin (1994) defines the case study research method as an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context by using multiple sources of evidence. We chose the explanatory case design since we had to research a real-life situation and because this design allows for a detailed contextual analysis of specific events and their relationships.

The data were collected from publically available policy documents of the Government of British Columbia and specific university policies including the VIU academic plan and teaching programs, as well as press releases and publications. We examine the *Campus 2020* policy position paper produced by the BC Government in 2007 and review VIU's institutional policies. We also consider some documents related to the faculty members' concerns raised in the 2011 strike. VIU is a unionized workplace with three bargaining units represented by several bodies including the Vancouver Island Faculty Association (VIUFA) and the BC Government Employees Union (BCGEU). While all elements of VIU's life were affected by the transition, we choose to discuss two aspects of it: the impact of funding on the university and how the university is currently branding itself nationally and internationally.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

In our analysis, we draw on globalization and institutional theory (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983; Powell & DiMaggio, 1991; Scott, 2001). Many theorists have identified globalization as a major force driving institutional changes in higher education worldwide (Marginson & Considine, 2000; Levin, 2001; Levin, 2003; Henry et al., 2001; Gaffikin & Perry, 2009). Globalization and institutional theory help explain how institutional systems become more alike or "isomorphic." For

this study, *isomorphism* is defined as "a constraining process that forces one unit in a population to resemble other units that face the same set of environmental conditions" (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983, p. 149). DiMaggio and Powell identified three mechanisms through which isomorphic changes occur: coercive, normative, and mimetic. Coercive isomorphism results from formal and informal pressures by other organizations and by the cultural expectations that society places on the organization being pressured. Governments and institutions can feel these pressures in the form of economic control, external forces such as international actors, persuasion, or an invitation to join a plan. By virtue of its hierarchical position, the government is able to place legal and technical requirements on universities to ensure eligibility for the receipt of federal or local funds (Gounko & Smale, 2007).

Another isomorphic mechanism is described as mimetic isomorphism. Organizations tend to imitate other successful organizations when faced with uncertainty and ambiguity. For example, one university might choose to model itself after another that it perceives to be more "prestigious" or "competitive." Finally, a third mechanism of organizational change results primarily from professional pressures and is known as normative isomorphism. In the field of higher education, accreditation agencies, professional certification boards, and training institutions reinforce normative expectations and impose standards, rules and values on universities. Practices are disseminated through government policies, professional associations (e.g., the Canadian Association of University Teachers), conferences, exchange programs, expert reports and publications, information technology and academic journals. In our study, we explore these mechanisms at the institutional level.

The *idea of a university* discussed by Barnett (2011) provides another framework to analyze the transition from University College to university and the evolution of Vancouver Island University. According to Barnett (2011), universities are complex, not entirely autonomous entities saturated with ideologies, imposed structures, and narrow interests. Moreover, university's responsibilities include the task of "working out an imaginative conception of its future possibilities" (p. 70). What are the future possibilities for Vancouver Island University? What kind of university does VIU aspire to become?

To explore these and other questions, we start by discussing the process of becoming a university. We follow this framework with the analysis of the empirical data collected from policy documents such as the university's strategic plan, interrogating what it means to be a *university* in this millennium.

BECOMING A UNIVERSITY

Malaspina began as a community college in 1969 and became a vocational school in 1971, providing career, technical and trades programs. In 1989, under the *Access for All* initiative, provincial legislation transformed several colleges including Malaspina into university colleges. Located in the mid-Vancouver Island community

of Nanaimo, BC, Malaspina expanded to include campuses in Cowichan, Parksville-Qualicum and Powell River. Malaspina University College (MUC) initially offered several university transfer and bachelor programs in the Arts and Sciences under the University of Victoria's mandate. In early 1995, the new legislation gave Malaspina the ability to award its own Baccalaureate degrees.

In 2008, Education Minister Murray Coell announced that British Columbians were demanding "access to university degree programs closer to home" (Office of the Premier, 2008). The *Campus 2020* policy paper reflected the demand to expand opportunities for higher education to more rural areas across the province. As part of this initiative, the recommendation to change university colleges to universities became a reality. In early 2008, the Vancouver Island University "brand" replaced MUC. Since then, VIU has evolved into a university with almost 20,000 full and part-time students, employing over 2,300 full and part-time employees at four campuses (VIU, 2009).

IMPACT OF TRANSITION

The lack of funding available to the VIU complicated the transition process. Whereas the provincial government had contributed large start-up grants to support the transition from colleges to university colleges (Levin, 2003, p. 460), the newly created universities in British Columbia actually lost much of their provincial funding. As a result of the budget shortfalls, VIU had to change its programme delivery and to lay off some of its faculty. Levin (2003) noted that university colleges in BC maintained the original community college "mission that upheld open access to education and training [while] also [enlarging] their mission to include traditional university values" (p. 449). In moving toward a university model, VIU may have had to forego the original mission of the open-access community college mandate. Levin further argued that "baccalaureate programs constitute a strategy to adapt and are more compatible with economic globalization than traditional community college programs" (p. 450). This argument is in keeping with VIU's student demographic shift away from Adult Basic Education (ABE) programs and toward credential-providing programmes.

In Canada, core funding to universities, which primarily covers faculty and staff salaries and is used to develop and maintain campus infrastructure, is the responsibility of the provinces. However, during the past four years, the B.C. government cut over $110 million in funding for universities. The 2012 budget called for a 2.2 per cent reduction in core funding and a cut of $100 million in capital infrastructure (*BC Business, 2012*).

The results of such a dramatic shift in funding are felt by students, who have to pay increasingly more for their education, and faculty and staff, who are responsible for programme delivery. Since the beginning of transition, dozens of classes in the sciences and social sciences were cut due to the reduced number of faculty. The entire Sociology department was facing elimination in the latest round of budgeting.

For now, Sociology classes continue to be offered though the department had to lay-off three professors and reduce the number of courses by 50 percent (Wota, 2011b). While Malaspina once held the top ranking position in Provincial Outcomes Surveys among BC's university colleges for quality of instruction and usefulness of education for work and further study, VIU has yet to prove the quality of its programs. In March of 2011, the VIU faculty, prompted by disagreements about faculty employment and rights, education quality, and program delivery, voted in favour of a strike. The faculty were demanding fiscal and budgetary transparency.

Institutional Funding

As early as 2005, MUC grew concerned about the underfunding of university colleges in British Columbia: "a decrease in the amount of funding provided by the Ministry per student FTE, coupled with unfunded inflation, means that it has become increasingly difficult for Malaspina to meet the Ministry's expectations for student delivery" (Office of Educational Planning, 2005, p. 12). Despite these concerns, the 2007 government-issued report, *Campus 2020*, started the transformation of university colleges into universities in British Columbia (Plant, 2007). To deal with the budget shortfall, the Vancouver Island University had to lay off some of its faculty, increase class waitlists, and dramatically reduce its programmes. As mentioned above, these developments led to the faculty strike. According to VIUFA (2011), the strike was not about increasing faculty wages; rather, the faculty was most concerned about the quality of education at VIU. Malaspina had a long history of offering high-quality education at both the college and university levels. Like most provincial colleges, it offered small class sizes, opportunities for mentorship from faculty members, accessible programmes for a range of credential-seeking students, and vocational, trades, and Adult Basic Education (ABE) programmes (Grubb, Badway, & Bell, 2003). At the same time, it offered quality instruction in undergraduate disciplines, beginning with Liberal Arts Studies and expanding, by 2004, to include 33 different majors and minors programmes ranging from Anthropology to Biology, Nursing and Social Work (Office of Educational Planning, 2005). Following the transition, many programmes were cut, and faculty lay-offs resulted in long class waitlists.

Although the creation of VIU had significant support, some VIU employees remained wary. Robert Clift, Executive Director of the Confederation of University Faculty Associations of BC, raised concerns about the transition:

> Given the funding cuts at this point, it sounds to me that they're getting something in name as opposed to substance… they [the BC Government] should be moving to create good, quality universities. At this point in the game, it looks to be a bit more window-dressing than substantive. (Pablo, 2008, p. 1)

These concerns prompted a public hearing at the Legislature of British Columbia in October of 2008. Members of the faculty, administration, and student groups testified on a variety of matters. The main complaint was the government's failure to fund

the transition. Just when Malaspina University College was becoming Vancouver Island University, the BC government cut public funding for post-secondary institutions, reducing VIU's funding by $3.4 million (NDP, 2008a). Many observers were disappointed by the failure to enact the "mandate, legislation, and funding to change Malaspina into a university with a strong regional mandate, emphasis on undergraduate teaching and learning as our [VIU] first priority" (Johnston & Kenyon, 2006, p. 3).

Before the BC Legislature, Mr. Beasley, a member of the Student Services Strategic and Operational Plan Committee, argued that "While the government has publicly touted funding increases as high as 40 percent for post-secondary education, the reality is that when those increases are measured accurately, the funding has declined" (Legislative Assembly of BC, 2008, p. 1982). The VIU Budget Plan (2010) shows a dramatic, long-term decline in university funding, which, in 2008, resulted in an immediate reduction in the number of faculty at VIU. In an effort to preserve the jobs of younger instructors, several senior professors volunteered to take early retirement or to move to other colleges. In spite of this gesture, several instructors received lay-off notices. Faculty representative Dr. Roelants, a professor of Computer Science at Malaspina for over twenty five years, testified that the lay-offs led to increased class sizes across faculties and surging waitlists: "There is a substantive transition cost that Malaspina, now Vancouver Island University, has had to eat…. While the change to somewhat of a level of university status may be appreciated, the catch is that the financial consequences were not" (as cited in Legislative Assembly of BC, 2008, p. 2056). Dr. Roelants suggested that class waitlists would delay students' graduation and increase students' overall expenses.

The current financial forecast for the university is even less optimistic. According to the Confederation of University Faculty Associations (CUFA) of British Columbia (2012), the government-announced cuts combined with the effects of inflation mean that provincial universities, colleges and institutes will receive 7.5% fewer real dollars from the government in 2014-15 to educate students and conduct leading-edge research. As the CUFA stated, "Students and their families will pay the cost of these cuts through reduced quality and ever-increasing tuition fees" (p. 1).

Branding

Another major source of tension during the transition relates to redefining the mission and purposes of the university during its transformation from a university college into a full-fledged university. A university college is considered to be both a community college and a university. Dennison (2001) and Levin (2003) found that the efforts to preserve the norms of two distinctive types of institutions had led to tensions among and between MUC employee groups. The identities of these institutions are fundamentally different: whereas colleges are promoted as egalitarian institutions, universities are often meritocratic institutions. Colleges allow entry to a broad array of students and offer vocational programmes, upgrading services and transitional academic programmes.

The university college model embraces both identities and provides services for both assigned objectives. In essence, Malaspina UC was two institutions within one: it combined vocational programmes in welding, automotive mechanics, and office administration; occupational and professional programmes such as nursing, education, social services, and business; and academic programmes -- both two-year and four-year -- such as liberal studies, history, biology, and English literature (Levin, 2003, p. 456).

Johnston and Kenyon (2006) argued that as "open-access institutions, the university colleges have certain undergraduate challenges exceeding those of research universities whose students are of more uniform ability" (p. 57). As well, the transition from a university college to a university involves the reorganizations of faculty and new funding and union mandates, which creates "a conflict among vocational and academic faculty where the new university model has marginalized the vocational faculty" (Levin, 2003 p. 455). Although university colleges were "conceptualised as institutions that would combine the characteristics of the community college with a limited function of universities, specifically the provision of baccalaureate degrees" (p. 449), university colleges quickly took on many of the functions of a university. In 2002, Bill 15, the Degree Authorization Act enabled MUC to grant graduate degrees, indicating another drastic change in the nature of the institution. Malaspina now had the mandate to compete with established universities within and outside of the province. In 2007, MUC launched its first graduate programme, a new International MBA, partnered with the University of Hertfordshire (United Kingdom).

Levin's (2003) and Dennison's (2001) observations about the stressful nature of transitioning an institution from a college to a university college are similar to the challenges in the 2008 transition of Malaspina into a full-fledged university. Re-designating a university college as a university involves a paradigm shift for VIU, recalling the shift in the late 1980s, when university colleges were established in Canada.

When the BC Government proposed its plan to transform university colleges into universities, it assigned specific roles to these institutions. New "regional universities" were to offer baccalaureate and masters degrees, and post-secondary and adult basic education and training. Regional universities were expected to promote teaching excellence and were allowed to undertake and maintain research and scholarly activities to support teaching. As Plan (2007) explained, "In carrying out its purposes, a regional university must serve the educational and training needs in the region specified by the Lieutenant Governor in Council" (p. 67). The government envisioned a somewhat unusual institution type that would include the elements of the university college of the 1990s, yet become more closely aligned with a university.

The VIU responded to this change by providing its own definition of what it means to be a *university*:

> Regional student demand – increased access and capacity. Credential and brand recognition – regional, provincial, national, international. Recruitment/ retention of students, faculty, and staff. Educational, social, cultural and

> economic development of the mid and north Vancouver Island, Powell River and coastal regions – driving Nanaimo and regional prosperity. Improved donor recognition – greater leverage of investments. Increased access to federal research grants and private partnerships. Expanded strategic alliance partnerships with business and industry. Increased International Education activities benefiting local and regional economies. Increased revenue generation – lessen dependence on government funding. Reasonable cost/high impact for government. (VIU, 2011)

Along with its regional focus, the VIU identified important issues such as national and international "brand recognition," "increased access to federal research grants," "increased international education activities," and "increased revenue generation." All these issues indicate that VIU does not limit its mission to fulfilling a narrowly defined regional mandate. In the age of globalisation, VIU is evolving into an institution that will be recognized internationally. It is at once local and international, entrepreneurial and socially and culturally engaged, and business- and industry-oriented. VIU is a modern university that exists in a competitive environment where "resources and prestige drive institutional strategies and behaviours" (Green, 2012). It is not surprising that in this environment, most university systems are converging towards the idea of the entrepreneurial university. Some researchers (e.g., Barnett, 2011; Etzkowitz et al., 2008) argue that the transition to the entrepreneurial university is part of a broader shift spurred by globalisation and a knowledge-based economy and is emerging as a result of more or less similar top-down and bottom-up factors in various countries.

AN ENTREPRENEURIAL UNIVERSITY

Although *Campus 2020* has been generally accepted for its policy direction, this report has also been criticized. *Campus 2020* announces policies that serve a wide agenda for higher education in British Columbia, and their impact on Vancouver Island University is undeniable. This document exemplifies Robertson's (2009) principles of "entrepreneurial universities," which systemically refocus the post-secondary institutions in the name of economic development. Robertson's first four principles are: (1) pressure to use public management and accounting principles; (2) massification; (3) pressure to find alternative sources of funding; and (4) the recruitment of fee-paying students, particularly international students.

Campus 2020 uses "the language of public sector performance accountability" (Robertson, 2009) to push for the "need to measure outputs, outcomes and impacts" (Plant, 2007, p. 14). In fact, *Campus 2020* argues that "it is government's responsibility to establish goals for the higher education sector and to assess the performance of institutions that use public funds to help reach those goals" (p. 14). This document also reflects Robertson's (2009) second principle by promoting the expansion of student places across BC, particularly for international full-fee-paying students. In responding to the third principle, universities across British Columbia

have increasingly had to seek alternative sources of funding since the 1980s. Finally, policy recommendations 32 to 34 advocate for increasing efforts to attract international students, and these efforts include changing university colleges into universities in order to create a new marketing tool (Plant, 2007).

Rebranding Vancouver Island University as a destination university seems logical in the new millennium. Between 2001 and 2007, 139 elementary and secondary schools in British Columbia were closed as a result of declining enrolments. The plummeting youth population indicated that a corresponding decline in university attendance would occur from 2007 to 2020. However, the Nanaimo area, where VIU is located, has been one of the few regions in BC to have a significant population growth projected for the next decade due to this area's increasing numbers of retirees. VIU recognized this demographic shift and announced a new focus on mature individuals seeking continuing education and retraining.

Another response to the demographic decline in local youth that made economic sense for VIU was to increase its number of international students. As Altbach (2009) noted, international students are willing and able to pay higher tuition fees, and, as a side-benefit, they create strong economic growth within a community. With more than 1.5 million students studying abroad each year (Altbach, 2009), it is not surprising that VIU has developed a strong international marketing system (Study Places, 2011).

In 2005, MUC's Office of Educational Planning (2005) stated that the number of international students attending Malaspina had increased from approximately 800 students to 1,360 between 2001 and 2004. International students enrolled mainly in the English-as-a-Second-Language programme. Almost 120 students attended the joint MBA programme (in partnership with the University of Hertfordshire), and another 131 students attended Malaspina's International High School. According to the Office of Educational Planning (2005), international students benefit the university in several ways, including adding diversity to the community, establishing international linkages, and increasing revenues for the region and university. The Office reported that "revenues from international programmes support the addition of more courses for Canadian students, as well as the expansion of our facilities for the benefit of all" (2005, p. 16-17).

VIU's attempts to increase its enrolments have been relatively unsuccessful. In the 2009-10 academic year, VIU attracted 1,540 international students, just slightly over the 2003 peak of 1,500 students. While the overall number of students increased, VIU did not meet its target of the projected 2,500 international students (VIU, 2010). Given that seven new university campuses have been established across British Columbia since 2001, the competition for foreign students must be intense. As a new brand on the international market, VIU might be at a disadvantage. On average, students at VIU pay the highest tuition compared to that in other public non-research institutions in the province (Ministry of Advanced Education, 2010). This factor may discourage both international and domestic students from studying there.

While several reasons can be used to explain why VIU was not able to draw more international students, the issue of educational quality might be the most important

factor. With programmes and classes constantly under threat due to unresolved strike issues, attracting domestic and foreign students becomes more problematic. If instructors and students are concerned about programme stability, they are less likely to commit to the programme and are more inclined to look for other options elsewhere. According to Criminology Chair, Dr. John Anderson, VIU needs to think about VIU's future students: "What attraction is there to an institution which appears to 'randomly' cancel one of its baccalaureate programmes? UVic, SFU and UBC cost more, but the chance of completing your BA is more secure than what VIU can presently offer" (Wota, 2011a, p. 1).

Competing in the Marketplace

Many scholars have emphasized the role of the government in structuring more market-like conditions for higher education systems and institutions, a role reflecting the neo-liberal paradox of "steering from a distance" (Marginson, 1997; 2002; Marginson & Considine, 2000; Meek et al., 1996). However, in addition to the role of the British Columbia government policy, budget shortfalls and global trends such as 'academic capitalism' (Slaugher & Leslie, 1997) have also contributed to VIU's organizational change.

Obtaining university status was thought to give MUC/VIU students a competitive edge, enabling them to 'compete' with others in the Canadian marketplace and abroad. The economic argument was that university college students would not be able to compete, thus lowering the status of and demand for future university college degrees, and decreasing the number of students willing to attend VIU. Unfortunately, the disconnect between VIU's mission statements and the outcome of post-transition had become apparent. The Mission Statement of the VIU Board, composed of the chancellor, president, faculty members, students, staff, and appointees of the Lieutenant Governor in Council, is as follows:

> After extensive input from students, employees and community members, the Vancouver Island University Board adopted a mission statement which is based on a commitment to individual growth and innovative programmes that complement existing opportunities at other British Columbia post-secondary institutions. (VIU, 2009b)

VIU claims to be 'complementing' other institutions in British Columbia, yet, it is actually competing with other well established universities. For example, VIU's MBA programme is listed alongside other MBA programmes offered in BC on multiple websites and advertisements. MBA programmes are among the most lucrative degree programmes attracting both domestic and international students. Today, VIU boasts the largest number of students enrolled in an MBA programme in British Columbia. With a total of 183 international students, it has one of the highest enrolments of international students in the province. At the same time, VIU has one of the lowest programme tuition fees, so that its MBA programme is attractive and

competitive among the MBA programmes of other recognized universities (see the table below).

UNIVERSITY	*LENGTH (MONTHS)*	*FULL-TIME ENROLMENT*	*% INT'L STUDENTS*	*TUITION*	*AVERAGE GMAT SCORE*	*YRS. WORK EXP. REQ.*
SFU	12	76	34	27,600	630	0-5
UVic	17	44	38	32,000	573	2 pref.
VIU	14-16	183	78	18,500	N/A	N/A

Adapted from BC Business. (2011, April).

As stated previously, universities such as VIU must look for alternative sources of revenue as the provincial government continues to only partially fund the institution. Given the pressure to persistently find donors, grants, and compete for students, VIU is undertaking the tasks of rebranding and marketing itself nationally and internationally. The university currently offers six master degree programmes in a variety of disciplines including Master of Educational Leadership, a programme also offered by most institutions in British Columbia, including the leading research universities. By offering this program, VIU is clearly contradicting its pledge that "as a university, Malaspina will not compete with traditional universities in British Columbia because these institutions are already well positioned as large, research-oriented universities" (VIU, 2012).

DISCUSSION

While 'globalisation' remains a contested term, many theorists have identified globalisation as a major force impacting institutional change in higher education (Marginson & Considine, 2000; Levin, 2001; Levin, 2003; Henry et al., 2001, Gaffikin & Perry, 2009). Institutional agendas reflect a particular ideology emanating from global actors promoting technological change and market forces and political decisions at national and regional levels (Held et al., 1999). Internationally, higher education has been dealing with increasing economic demands from government, business, industry, students, and the public in general, and community colleges are poignant examples of the new instrumentality of higher education (Levin, 2003).

As both regional and global institutions, universities are subject to the kind of coercive, mimetic, and normative isomorphism that DiMaggio and Powell (1983) described. By virtue of their dependence on and relation with the government,

universities are directly influenced by government demands. For example, VIU's transitions to a university college in the 1990s and to a university in 2008 were a result of provincial government mandates. According to Levin (2003), considerable government intervention and organizational friction and change accompanied the transformation of the community college into university colleges in the 1990s. The same conclusion applies to the current VIU transition. DiMaggio and Powell (1983) argued that the centralization of resources causes homogenization among institutions: "the greater the extent to which an organizational field depends upon a single source (or several similar sources) of support for vital resources, the higher the level of isomorphism is among the field's organizations" (p. 155). VIU is funded primarily by the provincial government and has to comply with its policies. This process of complying is similar to the earlier described 'coercive isomorphism'.

However, institutional isomorphism is not solely the result of coercive pressures. Mimetic and normative isomorphism can also be observed. Mimetic processes occur when universities imitate the practices of other established universities. Today, VIU is offering a number of graduate programmes such as its MBA and Master of Educational Leadership programmes, which have been traditionally offered by established universities in British Columbia. VIU resembles other universities with its new emphasis on obtaining federal research funding, enhancing scholarship, and competing for students.

Normative isomorphism results from professional mechanisms such as academic exchange programmes, conferences, joint research and publications. Mimetic and normative pressures as well as globalisation make universities frame their mission statements in a uniform, even bland fashion; they articulate their visions in categories such as money, position and competitiveness (Barnett, 2011). Today, VIU is also branding itself in similar categories. Among other things, the university wants to access or attract federal research funding, private sector research partnerships, capital project partnerships, and major donations and gifts; to enhance competitiveness in retaining existing faculty and recruiting new faculty from across Canada; to generate revenues through contract or cost-recovery training, new partnerships and a growing student population; to gain international exposure; and to decrease dependence on government funding sources (VIU, 2012).

According to some researchers (e.g., Barnett, 2011; Levin, 2003; Marginson & Considine 2000), institutions of higher education are playing their part in carrying out neo-liberal policies, and are caught up in globalisation. Generally, governments are now using higher education institutions as economic instruments, contributing to a shift in institutional focus from citizens to markets (Marginson & Considine, 2000). Within this environment universities face greater competition for students, academic staff, research funding and international recognition. No longer can universities have a sole regional focus mandated by the provincial government. Rather, they are bound to become "glonacal" (Marginson & Rhoades, 2002), or to have simultaneously global, national, and local foci. In this context, VIU is significantly expanding its original narrowly defined regional mandate by striving for national and international recognition.

CONCLUSION

The transition process has created many challenges for Vancouver Island University. Financial difficulties, faculty lay-offs, programme cuts, educational quality concerns, and unresolved strike issues continue to be on the institution's agenda. Moreover, we observe a definite shift in the mission of VIU, even though its official policy still states that its focus remains primarily regional.

Today, Vancouver Island University is comparable to other undergraduate universities in British Columbia and Canada, and the competition among them remains strong. While *Campus 2020* touts this competition "as a race to the top" which, "in the long run … can only benefit learners and society as a whole" (p. 15), this claim begs the question: who will reach the top and at what cost? In the years to come, VIU will have to compete for students, both domestic and international, and may need to re-market itself to the local population of non-credential seeking students. The university also has to address concerns about the quality of education as VIU is failing to keep up with the high standards set by its predecessor, Malaspina College.

It would be naive to think that the new university would have continued its former commitment to serving a broader student population. At present, Canadian universities, like many other international universities, are destined to compete for limited public resources, to increase their intake of international students, and to introduce programmes likely to increase enrollments and funding. VIU is already competing with well-established universities in British Columbia by offering a less expensive, hence more attractive, MBA programme.

However, becoming a university is a process that also involves a different kind of challenge. While VIU's immediate concerns are related to its funding, programme delivery and faculty issues, which might take considerable time to be successfully resolved, to fully realize its intention to become a university, VIU will have to continue its work on aligning institutional policies and values with those of traditional universities. The paradigm shift from a university college to a university requires a significant effort and a fundamental transformation of institutional culture. This transformation cannot occur by way of the government's decree, status change, and isomorphic behaviors (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983). Rather, such a change can only be achieved through self-understanding, which, according to Barnett (2011), goes far beyond the collection of 'management information.' In order to fully understand itself and its possibilities, VIU needs to consider its place within the university community, which is bound to exceed a narrow regional mandate. Barnett (2011) reminds us that university's self-understanding is "crucial for any university to edge seriously towards its full possibilities; to become itself. Through such self-understanding, its possibilities are better disclosed to it" (p. 62).

No matter how useful institutional mission statements and academic plans are, these exercises alone cannot transform an institution into a university. We hope that while searching for its place in the world, VIU will see many other possibilities which will take it beyond contemporary higher education discourses into a place

where it can see itself not as a narrow entrepreneurial or corporate entity, but as a new kind of university, open to other possibilities and ideas.

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5. ADDING VALUE TO KNOWLEDGE OR ERODING THE QUALITY OF EDUCATION? A CRITICAL EXAMINATION OF THE MODULE II DEGREE PROGRAMMES IN KENYAN PUBLIC UNIVERSITIES

INTRODUCTION

Faced with the complex challenge of meeting rising demand in the face of declining government funding since the late 1980s, public universities in Kenya have had to seek alternative income-generating activities, as well as innovative and flexible programming. Among the reforms implemented in Kenyan public universities, beginning in 1998, to address these challenges, were the Module II degree programs, popularly known as the parallel degree programs, which exist alongside the "regular" or Module I degree programs. Students choosing the parallel module II program are self-sponsored as opposed to students in the module I program who are either fully or partially supported through some form of government funding. Tuition fees for students in the two Modules differ considerably; with those in the parallel module II paying much higher fees which are comparable to those charged by private universities.

While these programs are increasingly popular and may actually be opening up access to higher education, and while they are undoubtedly profitable, their overall impact with regard to addressing the broader goals of social cohesion and redressing historical socio economic imbalances need to be interrogated. Also, despite the increasing student enrolments, the universities have neither provided modern teaching and learning resources nor upgraded facilities and infrastructure at the universities. Additionally, the high student numbers have resulted in heavy teaching loads while professional development opportunities for faculty have remained very limited. The desirability and sustainability of these programs within the overall project of university education in Kenya are issues that need to be critically interrogated.

In this chapter, we trace the development of module II programs in the Kenyan university education landscape and critically examine their rationale, strengths, and drawbacks. Ultimately, we engage a discussion on the suitability and sustainability of neoliberal approaches to the provision of public university education in Kenya.

DEVELOPMENT OF UNIVERSITY EDUCATION IN KENYA

The introduction of university education in Kenya began in 1961, when the then Royal College, Nairobi, was elevated to university college status under a

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special arrangement with the University of London. During Kenya's attainment of independence, the country had only one public university college, which was upgraded to university (University of Nairobi) status in 1970.

Moi University was established as the second public university in Kenya by an Act of Parliament in 1984 (Moi University, 2009). Kenyatta University College, which had been a constituent College of the University of Nairobi, was established with university status on August 23, 1985 (Kenyatta University, 2009). Later, there was establishment of Egerton University, Maseno University in 2001 (Maseno University, 2009) and Jomo Kenyatta University of Agriculture and Technology in 1999 **(**Jomo Kenyatta University of Agriculture and Technology, 2009). Masinde Muliro University of Science and Technology is the newest public university in Kenya and became a full university in December 2006 through an Act of parliament (Western University College of Science and Technology, 2009).

Thus, over a period of 50 years, Kenya has moved from a single public university (University of Nairobi) to the current 7 universities, namely

- University of Nairobi,
- Moi University,
- Kenyatta University,
- Egerton University,
- Jomo Kenyatta University of Agriculture and Technology,
- Masinde Muliro University of Science and Technology, and
- Maseno University.

The number of campuses of the tertiary institutions has increased greatly also. For instance, the University of Nairobi has 10 campuses, Moi University has 5 university colleges and 7 campuses, Jomo Kenyatta University of Agriculture and Technology has 4, Egerton University has 3, Kenyatta University and Maseno University have one each. Such rapid university expansion has been witnessed in the private sector too. Currently there are about 23 private universities in Kenya, namely

1. Adventist University of Africa
2. Africa International University
3. Africa Nazarene University
4. Catholic University of Eastern Africa(CUEA)
5. Catholic Higher Institute of Eastern Africa
6. Daystar University
7. Great Lakes University of Kisumu
8. Gretsa University
9. Kabarak University
10. KCA University
11. Kenya Methodist University
12. Kiriri Women's University of Science and Technology
13. Mount Kenya University

14. Pan Africa Christian University
15. Pioneer University
16. Presbyterian University of East Africa
17. Riara University School of Business and Law
18. Scott Christian University
19. St. Paul's University
20. Strathmore University
21. United States International University (USIU - Africa)
22. University of Eastern Africa, Baraton
23. Uzima University College

The speedy expansion of university education in the country was a spontaneous response to the increasing demand for higher education necessitated by the increasing flow of students from schools. Looking at this expansion, it is clear that in terms of numbers, public universities have had a great explosion in the quest of developing the Kenyan citizen. Besides the increase in Universities, both private and public, and other tertiary institutions, the population in these institutions has almost doubled. For instance, the following is the total enrolment of both undergraduate students (UG) and post graduate (PG) students in the six public universities.

Table 1. Enrollment of students per university from 2007 to 2012

	2007/8	*2008/9*	*2009/10*	*2010/11*	*2011/12*
University of Nairobi					
UG	30494	31397	27497	41468	36317
PG	5845	6018	6196	7896	8348
Total	36339	37415	33693	49364	44665
Moi University					
UG	14265	14577	14896	20027	24228
PG	768	785	802	1079	1305
Total	15033	15362	15698	21106	25533
Kenyatta University					
UG	16141	16808	17503	28239	32306
PG	2456	2557	2662	4295	4914
Total	18597	19365	20165	32534	37220
Egerton University					
UG	11980	12571	11596	13293	13487
PG	487	511	536	615	641
Total	12467	13082	12132	13908	14128

(Continued)

Table 1. (Continued)

	2007/8	*2008/9*	*2009/10*	*2010/11*	*2011/12*
Jomo Kenyatta University of Science and Technology					
UG	7058	8398	10455	11090	15305
PG	456	507	564	481	679
Total	7514	8905	11019	11571	15984
Maseno University					
UG	5384	5496	5615	5015	4285
PG	302	325	349	312	266
Total	5686	5821	5963	5327	4551
GRAND TOTAL					
UG	85322	89247	87561	119132	125928
PG	10314	10703	11109	14678	16153
Total	95636	99950	98670	133810	142081

Adapted from Kenya National Bureau of Statistics (KNBS) 2012

The rapid rise in the establishment of universities in the post 1980 period could be attributed to two major factors. First is the high demand for university level education given the ever-rising numbers of high school graduates. With a capacity to absorb only a maximum of 2000 new students each year, the University of Nairobi and its constituent colleges, Kenyatta University College, and Egerton University College, were ill equipped to provide access to university education to the thousands of qualified high school students. To add onto this pressure, the weakening economy, as well as the reality of job loss for thousands of civil servants following the Structural Adjustment Programs, led many adults to seek university education to boost their employability prospects. Teachers, too, specifically those with certificate and diploma qualifications also started seeking university a degree in teacher education as a way to secure their positions as well as a quick way to gain promotion.

We must, at the onset, point out that the establishment of universities in Kenya in the post 1980 period was largely haphazard and uncontrolled. Added to the rising demand for university education, the second major factor for the rapid expansion of university education was the prevailing political climate under which policies were conceived and implemented without sufficient consultations with the relevant policy stakeholders. Such initiatives were under resourced because no provisions in the budget were made prior to their implementation and ultimately this led to financial and logistical chaos. One such initiative was the shift from the 7-4-2-3 to 8-4-4 education in 1984 that Sifuna (1990) singled out as the darkest moment in Kenya's educational history.

Additionally, the establishment of universities in various parts of the country, outside of Nairobi, should also be seen in the light of the broader political project of ethnic and regional balance in national development. Noyoo (2000) rightly observes that in Africa ethnicity is an important determinant of development patterns. In Kenya, ethnicity has played a key role in the allocation of state resources. It has been observed that in particular, the Kikuyu and the Kalenjin communities, associated with the first two presidents following independence, got the bigger share of development resources during the respective reigns of the two presidents (Oyugi, 2000). Notably, in the field of university education, the University of Nairobi and its two constituent colleges (Kenyatta and Egerton university colleges) were in Kikuyu land while Moi University, the second public university, was built in Kalenjin territory. Other communities of course agitated for universities to be established in their regions. It is noteworthy that the Maseno University and Masinde Muliro University of Science and Technology were established in areas occupied by the Luo and Luhya communities respectively. The two are among the most populous and politically powerful communities in Kenya. The reason we raise this point here is to underscore the centrality of ethnicity and regionalism, thus politics of influence, as opposed to sound planning, in the establishment of public universities in Kenya. The sacrificing of strategic planning, that we shall revisit later in this chapter, is at the core of ongoing debates on the rationale and quality of module 2 degree programs in Kenya's public universities.

UNIVERSITY ADMISSION PROCEDURES

Admission to universities in Kenya follows well laid out procedures. It is done under two modes: Module I or Module II. Module I involves admission of students who are sponsored by the Government of Kenya, either full of partially. These students are popularly known as the Government Sponsored Students (GSS) or the Module I students. Admission under this category is done through the national Joint Admission Board (JAB), which is a body that does admission of all government sponsored students for all public universities in Kenya.

Admission into Module II is done by individual universities and comprises students who are self sponsored. This Module is popularly known as the Privately Sponsored Students Program (PSSP). Students in this program are not under government sponsorship, since the government can only cater for very few top qualifying students. Thus, the universities give an opportunity for other candidates, who have averagely qualified, to pay for themselves and be admitted internally by individual universities. For instance, Moi University whose Privately Sponsored Students' Program was launched in 1998, provides an opportunity for secondary school graduates who obtain the minimum grade of C+ at the Kenya Certificate of Secondary Education (KCSE) but are not admitted by the Joint Admissions Board (JAB) due to the limited capacities in public universities to attain admission. Diploma graduates from middle-level colleges, teacher-training colleges, and polytechnics have also benefited from this program since they can attain continued education.

DEVELOPMENT OF MODULE II PROGRAMS

Faced with a declining government funding since the late 1980s and a continuous demand for higher education in Kenya, the university system had to seek alternative income-generating activities, and become innovative in order to meet the increasing enrollments in universities (Nyaigotti-Chacha, 2004). Among the reforms implemented in Kenyan public universities in 1998 to address dwindling government funding and to increase access to university education were the Module II degree programs, popularly known as the parallel degree programs, which exist alongside the "regular" or Module I degree programs. Students attending the parallel program are self-sponsored as opposed to students in the regular program who are either fully or partially supported through some form of government funding. Moreover, while the Module 1 students are provided with subsidized boarding by the universities, the Module II students have to pay full boarding rates (Kiamba, 2004). Students in the Module II programs take their lectures separately in the evening and weekends, or with the regular students (Nyaigotti-Chacha, 2004).

Tuition fees for students in the two Modules differ considerably, with those in the parallel program paying much higher fees which are comparable to those charged by private universities (Mutula, 2002). For example, Module II program students pursuing a bachelor's degree in Economics at the University of Nairobi pay KES 600,000 (8000 USD) while those in the regular program pursuing the same degree pay KES 120,000 (~USD 1,580) per year (Karanja, 2009).

Despite the high tuition and other fees paid by students in the Module II degree programmes, this business model has become popular and financially beneficial to the universities. At the University of Nairobi, for example, Module II programmes were first introduced within the business and education related programmes such as Commerce, Business Administration, and Education. Due to high demand, similar programs were quickly launched in other faculties and departments and within six years, enrolments into these programmes had surpassed those in the Module I program (Kiamba, 2004). Currently, there are Module II Programmes in almost all Faculties of Nairobi University. This pattern can be observed in almost all public universities.

Despite its seemingly popularity and profitability, the Module II degree programme has faced various criticisms. Among them is its contribution in eroding the quality of higher education, resulting from factors such as lower entry grade required for admission into the parallel degree program compared the regular program (Karanja, 2009). Also, despite the increasing student enrolments, the universities have neither provided modern teaching and learning resources nor upgraded facilities and infrastructure at the universities. Additionally, the high student numbers have resulted in heavy workloads especially for the teaching staff.

CONTRIBUTIONS OF MODULE II PROGRAMS

Through module II (continuing education) programmes, invaluable opportunity has been opened to hundreds of Kenyans and non-Kenyans, on a paying basis, who meet

university admission requirements, but who have not been able to access university education due to restricted intake into the regular programmes that is determined by limited resource allocation by Government. Prior to the establishment of the module II programs, enrolment to degree programs at Kenyan universities was tied to bed space and this seriously limited the number of enrolments thus making university admissions exceedingly competitive. According to the Joint Admissions Board, the minimum requirement for admission to university in Kenya is a grade C+ in the Kenya Certificate of Education (KCSE) examination. In 2012, as per Kenya National Examinations Council Statistics, about 118,000 students attained the minimum university entrance grade. However, the Joint Admissions Board is only able to admit about 41,000 students into the module I degree programs. This would have denied over 70,000 eligible students admission to university. Owing to the more flexible module II degree programs, the majority of these students will be able to enroll into a degree program of their choice, of course depending on their ability to finance their studies.

Moreover, the module II programs have opened up access with regard to attracting working Kenyans who are now able to pursue their preferred degree programs on a part-time basis usually in the evenings and on weekends. In this regard, many of the public universities, including those far from Nairobi such as Moi and Maseno, have set up campuses in downtown Nairobi in an effort to tap into the high demand for degree programs by the urban working classes. These city based programs are mainly in business and management fields. As well, the public universities have established satellite campuses in various urban centres all over the country in an effort to bring their services closer to their students. Such programs mainly target teachers with diploma and certificate qualifications seeking to obtain bachelor of education degrees. This arrangement is beneficial to both the workers and the employers in that the workers are able to upgrade their skills and qualifications without interrupting their work.

The establishment of satellite campuses all over the country is also likely to spur economic development in rural areas that are normally dependent on agriculture. A case in point is Kenyatta University's Kitui campus at Kwa Vonza, about 140 kilometers East of Nairobi on the Machakos-Kitui road. Prior to the establishment of the campus, the market, Kwa Vonza, was a desolate rural market comprising a few shops. Since the establishment of the campus, the market centre is now witnessing resurgence, with investors putting up apartments to accommodate the students and faculty of the campus. As well, retail and transport businesses have also picked up. This scenario is replicated in other parts of the country where the universities have set up campuses.

DRAWBACKS OF MODULE II

Inadequate Qualified Staff

Almost all universities in Kenya are ISO certified, however, one of the major challenges of university education is inadequate qualified members of the academic

staff. In 2010, The Commission for Higher education (CHE), now Commission for University Education (CUE), suggested the following student: instructor ratios:

Table 2. Recommended Instructor: student ratios

Program	*Instructor: Student ratio*
Applied Science	1:10
Arts/Humanities	1:15
Medical & allied studies	1:7
Pure & natural sciences	1:10
Social sciences	1:18

At the University of Nairobi, for example, there was a shortage of about 1500 faculty in 2011 with more than 55% of the teaching positions filled by part-time lecturers (Gudo, Olel, & Oanda, 2011)). Moreover, the instructor: student ratios in all the departments was way above the recommended ratios, with disciplines such as humanities and social sciences having a ratio of 1:50.

It could be due to this shortage that has led to a situation where a single lecturer teaches 3-4 universities on a part-time basis. Moreover, owing to the dire shortage of qualified faculty, many universities now have graduate teaching assistants and tutorial fellows teaching full courses (Odebero, 2010). Such junior employees, normally holders of Master's degrees, have also been assigned dissertation supervisory duties. This not only into puts the quality of graduate research and thesis dissertations but also the quality of the teaching in all courses across various disciplines.

Moreover, the heavy teaching loads have resulted in limited development opportunities for faculty (Chacha, 2004). The senior professors have less time to supervise junior faculty pursuing their PhDs thus the shortage of qualified staff is quickly becoming a self-perpetuating problem.

Pressure on Resources

The rapid, oft times unplanned, expansion of university education in Kenya has put a lot of strain on facilities. An underperforming economy, as well as grand corruption and mismanagement of resources that has dogged the country, has furthermore exacerbated the problem. In 1985, for instance, the University of Nairobi had a population of 9000 students in 1985. Owing to poorly planned and politically initiated double intakes in 1987 and again in 2008, and the added numbers from module II enrolments, students numbers have more than tripled yet the physical facilities have remained the same and in most cases deteriorated. Moreover, the budgetary provisions from government have remained the same in spite of rising inflation. Due to these constraints there is a shortage of classroom space, library and laboratory

resources, as well as a shortage of boarding space. Eshiwani (2009) further notes that such pressure on learning and teaching facilities, coupled with poor remuneration of faculty has adversely affected the quality of research and teaching in Kenyan public universities. Munene (2008) found the situation at Kenyatta University rather depressing, particularly with regard to supports for faculty, whereby, in some cases, up to four professors were sharing one office, and there was little in the way of other supports such as computer facilities and telephone services. How one imagines that quality teaching and research can occur under such circumstances defies basic logic.

In our experience, the pressure on resources and the ever increasing class sizes have greatly compromised the quality of teaching. It is common place now, especially in education, arts, and the social sciences, to find classes in excess of 1000 students, with the majority of the students listening in from the corridors or seated on the floor. Under such conditions, teaching, administration of examinations, and even the quality of marking students' work become exceedingly challenging. The quality of student work, too, is compromised due to pressure on library resources. While the universities are making inroads into digital libraries, there exist many drawbacks including limited financial and technical capacity.

Decrease of Middle Level Colleges

The quest by public universities to establish satellite campuses all over the country to meet the rising demand for higher education has spawned a threat to middle level colleges. Faced with pressure on time and resources to construct campuses from scratch, most universities begin their satellite campuses by getting into partnership with existing middle level colleges. Such colleges have for a long time been the bedrock for vocational and technical training thus providing much needed middle level and skilled technical manpower for industry and public institutions.

Unfortunately, such partnerships seem to all follow the same script, all to the detriment of the host institution. The partnership begins with an innocent and low key memorandum of understanding allowing the university to use the host institution's space and facilities to host part-time classes normally in the evenings and weekend. Before long, the university turns into an occupying force, quickly phasing out the diploma and certificate courses offered by the host college and in their place offering full-time degree programs. Notable colleges that have fallen into this scheme are the Kenya Polytechnic and Kenya Science Teachers College, now Kenya Polytechnic University College and Kenya Science campus, both campuses of the University of Nairobi.

MODULE II AND THE NEOLIBERAL UNIVERSITY: IS THIS SUSTAINABLE IN KENYA?

The meteoric rise of module II programs in the Kenyan higher education system mirrors the global neoliberal shift in higher education. Broadly speaking, such a

shift has seen the gradual erosion of general welfare concerns and the increased corporatization of university education (slaughter & Rhoades, 2000; Evans 2005; Washburn, 2003). Moreover, there has also been a rapid decline in the funding of general arts and science degree programs while professional degree programs have been receiving increased funding – In simple terms, viewing higher education as a business, as opposed to a social service.

Under such a gaze, students are viewed as clients and the education process, i.e. the interaction between the student and the university is underlined by a profit motive whereby the various supports that the university has in place such as guidance and counseling, and student housing, are for-profit enterprises rather than "service units that support students, faculty, and staff" (Slaughter & Rhoades, 2002, p. 74). Such academic capitalism (Levidow, 2002) does not particularly bode well for a country like Kenya where education still remains the only hope for upward mobility for the majority of the citizens.

On a positive note, the module II programs get considerable credit for opening up access to university education in Kenya by challenging the traditional approaches to university admissions. The flexibility within the module II programs has seen the admission of students on a part-time basis which has allowed students to study and work at the same time. While such flexibility is an innovative disruption (Christensen & Eyring, 2011) to university admission procedures in Kenya, it still begs questioning whether such a situation has not indeed exacerbated the marginalization of the disadvantaged groups and entrenched the dominance of the historically advantaged groups through "conversion and consolidation of economic wealth into educational advantage" (Morley, Leach, & Lugg, 2008, p.63). Within the exceedingly market driven expansion of higher education, such as the case with the module II programs in Kenyan universities, there is little room for addressing the historical, social, and economic barriers that entrench the patterns of disadvantage for the less privileged (Reay, et al., 2005). Language such as innovation, accountability, dividends, efficiency, self-sustaining, and marketability has quickly replaced equity, access, and holistic education within the policy corridors of higher education. While such business-school-speak of mission/vision statements, strategic planning, total quality management, and customer satisfaction (Demeritt, 2000) may look savvy and very modern-day, the implicit message, i.e., that universities are now running in corporate mode, is that we may just be seeing the last of universities as bastions of the quest for social justice.

The emergence of module II degree programs is, moreover, linked to the policy prescriptions of the Breton Woods institutions, the International Monetary Fund (IMF), and the World Bank. In particular, the 1988 and 1994 World Bank policy documents *Education in Sub-Saharan Africa: Policies for adjustment, revitalization, and expansion,* and *Higher education: The lessons of experience* respectively are key to the emergence of the module II degree programs in Kenya. The bank strongly opposed the continued welfarist university education landscape in Kenya whereby students and their families made little financial input. In this

regard, the 1994 document strongly recommended "providing incentives for public institutions to diversify sources of funding, including cost sharing with students, and linking government funding closely to performance" (p. 24) and the elimination of subsidies for non tuition costs such as housing and meals. These prescriptions from the World Bank were implemented to the letter. Our concern with the World Bank prescription is two-fold. First, is the question of the Bank dictating policy to poor African countries in total disregard to the priorities of such countries. Such policies, as evident in the overarching structural adjustment framework, have largely failed because of privileging econometric deliverables over social welfare and concerns for equity. Second, the elimination of the so-called non-tuition subsidies would only worsen the plight of students from poor backgrounds, particularly when such costs are added to the already prohibitive tuition fees in the module II programs. This in essence was tantamount to making the module II program an exclusive domain of the rich. We argue, together with Sal, Lebeau, and Kassimir (2003) that such prescriptions which lead to the privatization of public university programs directly threaten the universities' capacity to engage in the pursuit of the best interests of the public.

While the shift towards making universities operate more like business corporations may be the global trend, we contend that public universities in Kenya still have a huge unfinished agenda with regard to providing education as a social service and not a market commodity. The economic and educational inequalities established early in the missionary and colonial history of the country (Sifuna, 1990) are still prevalent and the provision of university education, especially to marginalized populations, still remains an urgent priority. The continued privatization of public higher education through policies crafted outside of the country does not bode very well to the socio-political aspirations and problems of the country. The willing buyer willing seller logic of market capitalism, in the case of Kenya's higher education, has to be re-examined in the light of higher priorities such as equity and national cohesion.

CONCLUSION

University education in Kenya has developed tremendously since the country's independence in 1963. Increasingly, public universities are now forced to engage in intricate balancing acts where, on the one hand, they have to continue serving an ever rising social demand for education while, on the other hand, their resource base in the form of government funding is constantly dwindling. The quantitative expansion in university numbers and population, has, unfortunately, not been matched with expansion of resources and faculty. While the introduction of module II degree programs has somewhat addressed the rising demand in university education and the shortfall in government funding, it has put extra strain on the already overstrained resources. Under such circumstances, the quality of education is inevitably compromised.

Yet, against such a problematic backdrop, the universities still bear the huge burden of addressing the myriad socio-economic and political problems afflicting the country. The initial objectives of university education, namely to produce highly skilled personnel for public service and the private sector, and enhancing national cohesion have yet to be fully met. Socio-economic inequalities established in the colonial era have continued unabated and, indeed, the gap between the rich and the poor has continued to widen. Educational imbalances, too, based on region, ethnicity, gender, and socio-economic status are still widespread. As well, social problems such as ethnicity, nepotism, and even religious intolerance are still prevalent. More than ever, public universities have an enormous duty to society to be at the vanguard of the quest to address these challenges.

The best university education ever provided in the world is given by the institutions of higher education that believe in a higher moral or philosophical ideal about secular society than profit. Thus, the universities in their quest for quantitative expansion should consider the quality of education as well. If we have to rebuild the institutions of higher education in Kenya so that they can face the challenges of today, we must set a moral or philosophical standard that privileges the public good over the narrow concerns for profit. In this regard, the government should still play a central role in providing funding and policy direction to ensure that the universities are well equipped and resourced and, more importantly, they can compete globally to attract and retain the best researchers and teachers. A viable option would be for the universities and government to invest in online learning. This will free up space and time constraints for both student and faculty. The government can aid this quest by laying the requisite infrastructure and policy framework to support cheap and widespread access to internet and computers.

Finally, it behoves the Kenyan public, political as well as university administrators, to be wary of agendas driven from outside under the cloak of 'best practices'. While running public universities on a business model may seem logical and inevitable, for developing countries like Kenya such a policy ultimately hurts the broader goals of equity, national cohesion, and educating people to be engaged in the project of democratization. Privileging profit over community in the provision of university education in Kenya is a step back towards intellectual recolonization, whereby universities become the preserve of the elite. There is a need to balance the economic and the socio-political goals of university education in Kenya. For now, at least, there still is a great need for public universities in Kenya to remain public.

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ELIZABETH OCAMPO GÓMEZ & JOSÉ LUIS SUÁREZ DOMÍNGUEZ

6. POLICIES OF ACCOUNTABILITY, DECENTRALIZATION, EFFICIENCY, QUALITY AND RELEVANCE: A DESCRIPTION OF THEIR ADOPTION AND PRACTICE IN MEXICAN HIGHER EDUCATION

INTRODUCTION

Mexican Institutions of Higher education, in tune with most of their Latin American counterparts underwent neoliberal-based reforms more than two decades ago. These reforms have been studied in conjunction with other topics; some emphasizing the benefits from having a more *thought-out* institutional administration that pays attention to minuscular details achieving results by rewarding or punishing practices (Acosta, 1999; Brunner, 1987; Rama, 2006), while others are questioning and criticizing their objectives, means and end results (Acosta, 1999; Grediaga, et al., 2003; Torres & Schugurensky, 2001). Without a doubt these have been among the most studied topics due to their relevance in reconstituting the field of higher education, but also due to the link they have had with the very foundation of the institutions and the people that work in them.

It is our objective to analyze the role that financial techniques have had as drivers of change, problematize the implications of linking financial methods with educational policies, and provide the most up-to-date arguments, controversies and alternatives surrounding this topic. We start by providing background and historical information about the field of higher education in Mexico, including a description of the pre-reform period and a description of the most current characteristics of each policy. We continue by adding background, theoretical, and field information on the topic of financial techniques. To finalize, we discuss alternatives, which despite the controversies generated by this topic, few authors have provided.

1. HIGHER EDUCATION IN MEXICO

1.1 State-University: Paternalistic and Lenient Relationship (1940-1980)

When addressing the development of universities in Latin America, the 40s and 50s are important decades, not only because a considerable number of public universities began then, but also because a new economic model where universities started to play an important developmental role was coming into play. In most of the Latin American systems of Higher education the 40s was when universities catered to

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social elites and when the idea of the savant (Brunner, 1987) prevailed as their central focus. Nonetheless, during the 50s universities became establishments where the logic of economic growth was adopted, thus beginning the shift from an intellectual role to a more economical one. The notion of education as an investment also started to spread in Mexico during this period. Universities saw themselves as creators of *human capital* capable of providing trained labour to the various roles required by the employers (see Jacob Mincer, 1958)

During the era of the so-called "Mexican miracle" the expansion of the enrolment in higher education began in a manner that had not happened in preceding years. From 1907 to 1950 the enrolment had increased three fold, from 9,884 to 29,892 students whereas from 1950 to 2000 enrolment increased 65 times, exploding from 29,892 to 1,940,341 students (Reséndiz, 2000).

By the 1960s and 1970s there were considerable transformations resulting from the manner in which the State conceived Higher education and the changing relationship with the State, and civil society. These changes increased public demand for investment in Higher education. Joaquin Brunner (1987) explains that society also demanded participating in Higher education as people saw it as their only way to get a better income, professional prestige, and further their possibilities for social mobility.

The 1970s were also known as the period of "non-regulated expansion". Enrolment during this time grew up causing an increased in number of professors, infrastructure and even new universities (Brunner, 1987). Javier Mendoza Rojas (2010) recently carried out a comprehensive study of historical funding in Higher education and he highlighted the following numbers: population in 1950: 25 million, 1970: 48 million; university-aged population (youth) in 1950: 2.3 million, 1970: 4 million; enrollment in 1950: 32,000 students, 1970: 215,000 students (pp. 393-397).

This decade also represented a space where student groups and government broke off relationships. In particular, the student movement of 1968 and the repressive approach by the president (Gustavo Díaz Ordaz) resulted in the killing and disappearing of hundreds of students (Zermeño, 2003). Interestingly, the following presidency, headed by Luis Echeverría Alvarez, made extraordinary efforts to re-establish the broken relationships by adopting a populist economic reform. The main strategy used by the new government was heavy funding and subsidies using a very simple logic based on the size of the universities in terms of enrolment, number of professors and infrastructure. This method did not condition funding based on results, nor did it make the members compete for resources, salaries, grants, or equipment. This unstructured benevolence, apart from constituting a "reconciliation" strategy, also happened because up until this time and well into the 80s, the government had not developed a funding policy for universities (Mendoza, 2010, p. 393). University administrators negotiated their budget with the government and the government used the resources to develop patron-client relationships with universities (Mendoza, 2010, p. 397). The generous funding to universities during this time was also possible because Mexican oil revenues in this

period were abundant, as Mexico did not suffer the oil crisis as the rest of Latin America did in the 70s (Mendoza, 2010, p. 397).

Other important events during this period included the creation of federally funded universities and greater politicization. Despite having had State funded universities for a decade or two, the government of Echeverría created *Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana*, Universidad Autónoma de Ciudad Juárez, and Universidad Autónoma de Baja California Sur (Acosta, 1999). In terms of the politicization mentioned above, it consisted in the creation of university unions, which changed the political environment in universities. Unions helped to further politicize the university environment and created an important opposition force between university and State.

1.2 State-University: Strict Surveillance Relationship (1980- Present)

Economically speaking, Mexico did not do as well during the 80s as it did in the previous decades. The main challenges during this decade were the decrease in oil prices in 1982, which greatly affected Mexico's financial position and in particular the government of Miguel de La Madrid that governed from 1982 to 1988. Considering that an important part of Mexico's economy was based on oil, this greatly affected the government's capacity to properly fund the public sectors and lead it to adopt a more rationed approach. Under these conditions, universities received the first hit through reduced funding and through the introduction of evaluation and planning as central methods of fund allocation (Grediaga, 1997; Mendoza, 2010). Student enrollment reached 850,000 during this decade and funding based as a percentage of National Gross Income went down considerably from 0.66% at the beginning of the decade, to 0.53% in 1984 and 1985 (Mendoza, 2010, p. 397). This drastic decrease was translated into considerable cuts and eventually affected the quality of education.

In 1984, the government introduced the concept of meritocracy and practiced it throughout the creation of SNI (The Researchers National System). The meritocratic logic, practiced through SNI, consisted of paying more to those who demonstrated –through the alignment to a set of rules— that they deserved more funding (Didou & Gérard, 2010). In this way the government justified increases to only a select group of professors, the salaries in general remained stagnant for several years.

The 1990s was definitely the decade in which these competitive patterns gained strength and got further systematized. The discourses in favour of developing a *culture of evaluation* went from rhetoric to practice. In 1989 Mexico created the CONAEVA (National Commission of Evaluation), the CIIES (Inter-institutional Committees of evaluation of Higher education), and the CENEVAL (National Center of Evaluation). All of these, as their names indicate, evaluated different aspects, participants, and activities of Higher education in such a way that there was not a single area left without evaluation. The results were always translated to economic terms.

In addition to introducing evaluation as a strategy to measure results and allocate resources accordingly, Mexican universities also introduced planning during this decade. There were several programs and centers that made planning happen, but

PROMEP (Program for improvement of professors), and PIFI (Comprehensive Program for Institutional Funding), together with the respective institutional planning systems developed by each university were particularly important tools to achieve this end (Mendoza, 2010, p. 411).

Apart from having developed these more thought-out strategies of fund allocation as a response to the financial crisis, national governments followed global patterns imposed and diffused by international bureaucracies such as the World Bank, the IMF and regional banks such as the BID. The global patterns, as is well documented, are consistent with neoliberal values, therefore, university policies in turn became more financially focused (Rodriguez-Gómez & Alcántara, 2003).

2. FINANCIAL TECHNIQUES: WHAT ARE THEY AND HOW DO THEY TRANSCEND THE FIELD OF HIGHER EDUCATION

With the shift of emphasis on resource management, administration, inputs and outputs, and efficiency, financial and accounting practices have acquired unique relevance across fields (education, medicine, athletics and arts) traditionally distanced from economics. What sparked the relevance of a financial approach in higher education, as pointed out earlier, was a less lenient relationship with the State, which ceased to fund even basic expenses. Clearly, with less funding, universities were lead to seek new sources and methods to raise and manage their scarce resources. Due to the overwhelming danger of disappearing if they did not pay attention to their finances, universities risked to neglect even the very pedagogic goals that should be the forefront of their mission. Our connection between a less lenient State and the priority universities gave to financial practices does not overlook the fact that the State was also responding to neoliberal trends imposed globally, where even its own autonomy was also compromised, as explained above.

Now, because education is being conceived, problematized, and practiced under an economic logic, and since the way we conceive education is the way we practice it, financial strategies have naturally invaded the policies, procedures, practices and even the mentality or *habitus* of both providers and beneficiaries.

A review of the literature indicates that financial techniques are strategies embedded in a web of other mechanisms and are a combination of accountability, budgeting, statistics, evaluations, planning, incentives, and numerations (Miller & Rose, 1990, p. 8). They work as indirect mechanisms to mould behaviour, re-structure the organizational culture without confrontation, encourage consent, and facilitate transformation. Financial techniques are also informing techniques given that they generate numbers that are utilized to make informed and objective decisions in the field where they are used.

Some of those financial techniques – at least the ones most utilized in the field of education –accountability, incentives, planning, competitions, meritocracy, and decentralization—are explained below and examples of how they impact the field of higher education in Mexico are also provided.

2.1 Accountability

Accountability, an activity traditionally linked with the world of finance, means more than giving an account for the use of monetary resources. Authors such as Sinclaire (1995), Ezzamel (2009), and Zumeta (2011) discuss the multiple meanings of accountability highlighting that the discipline that studies it, the time when it is studied, and even the way individuals experience it, influence how it is conceived (Sinclaire, 1995; Ezzamel, 2009; Zumeta, 2011,). Sinclaire highlights that "In its simplest sense, accountability entails a relationship in which people are required to explain and take responsibility for their actions" (p. 221). She also notes that in the university context, accountability became relevant because the reforms made it necessary. Ezzamel (2009) emphasizes their potential as tools to strengthen the positions of power held by the players involved:

> …accounting can function as a set of institutionalized practices that help sustain the status quo (Meyer, 1986), or as a ritual (Gambling, 1977) or a religious ceremony (Cleverly, 1973) with the aim of serving the interests of particular individuals or groups. In summary, accounting is a malleable set of techniques that can be appropriated and adapted by interested human agency to underpin a multiplicity of rationales. (p. 353)

In other studies of accountability in higher education, authors such as Jian Kai (2009), associate accountability with the evaluation of efficiency, effectiveness, and performance (p. 39). He argues that accountability is necessary given the significant amount of public funding granted to higher education. Through its evaluations, higher education demonstrates that it deserves the funds; accountability constitutes the core method or technique of justification (p. 42). Accountability practices, he explains, follow New Public Management theories, which in education are translated into techniques of control, where government intervention is decreased in procedural activities, but increased in evaluation of results (p. 43).

While many would argue that practices of accountability in Mexico were nonexistent before the second reform (Rama, 2006), senior professors indicate that although less structured and standardized, there has always been a modicum of accountability. This may also have been because before the second reform universities were focused on teaching; research and external sources of funding were so marginal that there had not been a need to implement a complex accountability system (Rama, 2006).

Once the third reform, as Claudio Rama (2006) refers to it, took place and universities veered from centers of learning to centers of knowledge production with a more distanced relationship with the State, a highly corporate orientation (where accountability was adopted to an extreme becoming more ingrained in daily academia) took place. Accounting as a financial technique became more complex. It introduced new players and power relationships into Mexico's higher education. Currently, practices of accountability are abundant and have infiltrated

all academic areas. In most Mexican universities professors fill out four or more major reports a year[1]. These are reports for project funding, for teaching, research, and administrative activities, for infrastructure and even for office material (De Vries, 2001). What is most outstanding is that the results of the reports may impact their capacity to obtain future funding and even a substantial proportion of the professors' base salary; this, among other reasons, is why we call it accountability to an extreme.

Apart from the fact that the very base salary is conditional, other factors such as the excessive use of virtual platforms (designed with abundant vagueness and with a very limited perspective of what has value), the lack of training of evaluation committees, the frequency with which they happen, the lack of transparency and ethics, and the time consumed by the reports, makes it so that the most utopian objectives of accountability are counteracted. Today, the major critiques of the accountability systems set in place are that they have contributed to the capitalization of academia (Torres & Schugurensky, 2001; Giroux, 2001; Giroux, 2007); professors focus their energy in activities that are more valuable for the system, rather than for the university, the students or for society, and that accountability focuses on end results (Kent, 1996; Giroux, 2007). By doing this, side effects of accountability are: the promotion of scientific mediocrity, consumption of valuable time that could be invested in actual academic work, work as a mechanism of control to incentivise the adoption of particular practices, promotion of competition, and individualism to compete for reduced resources that are not available for all, a focus on quantity not on quality. To add to the negative side effects, the tools used by accountability, such as the virtual portfolios and electronic forms, are poorly designed and only measure what can be converted into numerical accounts. All of these show that accountability, the way it is practiced and the tools it uses, mainly work as a mechanism to differentiate those who align with the rules from those who do not.

2.2 Incentives

An incentive is a driver arranged as a prize or a punishment for the display of acceptable or unacceptable behaviour (Baldwin & Krotseng, 1985). As a prize, it comes in the form of economic, symbolic or hierarchical promotion and compensation. As a punishment it comes in the form of a reduction or even removal of benefits, sometimes including the very position held by the individual being punished. Incentives represent the appreciation or the disapproval of the employee's conduct and are powerful governing tools in that their dispensing changes the position (for better or worse) of the individual (Baldwin & Krotseng, 1985; Foucault, 1979). By wanting to avoid punishments and achieve rewards, individuals subjected to incentives diminish their resistance and increase their consent towards set objectives; whether these are fair or unfair, reasonable or unreasonable, attainable or unattainable. Incentives are therefore gently coercive, easing the malleability and

transformation the system wants to achieve, thus facilitating governance (Baldwin & Krotseng, 1985; Foucault, 1979; Ocampo, 2003).

In the case of Mexican universities, incentives are particularly powerful because, as we pointed out earlier, the monetary and infrastructural conditions professors start with meagre; that means that professors are not paid a worthwhile salary until they compete and qualify for incentives (Ibarrola, 1994). Institutions on the other hand, receive a very small subsidy that barely allows for their functioning and in order to get more resources they have to compete for them. This makes it so that new hires start setting their minds on the incentive and doing the necessary adjustments to qualify for them. Similarly, senior staff and faculty and the institution itself function in such a way that their activities meet the expectation of the incentive so they do not lose the stability the incentive has afforded them.

Our major critique of incentives is that they are allocated under standards developed by the criteria of managerial teams that have not always identified or included components that have a social value. Similarly because they include elements that are easier to account for, social values and crucial activities that are difficult to account for are naturally excluded (Kent, 1996). In some cases, the designers of the incentives are alien to the field and are unaware of the necessary procedures to achieve a goal and unfamiliar with the real needs of the field. For example, the largest and most prestigious incentive professors in Mexican Universities can participate in, called SNI (National System for Researchers), was designed by men with standards that are more achievable by men (Bustos Romero, 2012, Didou & Gérard, 2010). The SNI has been recently criticized because men also evaluate, for the most part, the annual competitions since they are the only ones who can achieve the highest levels in the established scales. Olga Bustos analyzes the disparity with the following numbers:

> As far as evaluation or accreditation committees in different institutions go, women participation is minimal, despite the fact that many female researchers vastly meet the requirements. For example, out of a total of 14 members in evaluation committees per field, in 2010, women participation looked like this: only 1 woman (7%) in the field of engineering; 3 women (21%) in the fields of: medicine and health, biotechnology and agriculture; 4 (29%) in biology, chemistry, humanities, psychology and social sciences. Surprisingly, 5 women in physics, mathematics and earth sciences (36%) where the total of women is only 19%. (2012, p. 30)

Apart from the disconnectedness between policy makers and the field, we criticize incentives for focusing the attention of the targeted group mostly towards the achievement of the incentive. In cases where this happens, individuals to be incentivized strategically select to work only on the activities that will be rewarded setting aside and neglecting other activities that may have equal or greater social and institutional value. In other words, incentives produce individualism, competition, and reduce the work ethic by making individuals focus on the money more than on their work (Izquierdo, 2000).

2.3 Planning

Activities do not happen randomly, especially in a system where anything can be punished or rewarded. This has lead to the adoption of strategies that include microlevel planning. When the first external diagnosis of higher education in Mexico took place, one of the areas identified as more problematic was the lack of planning (OECD, 2002; Ornelas & Post, 1992, p. 280). Nowadays it is still common to hear the phrase "the problem is that we don't have a culture of planning" in conversations with university personnel. Notwithstanding the level of internalized guilt that the diagnoses have achieved, planning is nowadays a very important tool to achieve goals, to facilitate compliance, and governance.

In Mexico, universities and their personnel fill out at least three major planning documents: PIFI, PROMEP, and the specific productivity documents for each university. Some, like the PIFI require many hours of work and large teams of people that work in intensive planning periods, sometimes even renting hotels rooms to stay and work exclusively for 12 or more hours on the planning documents.

Planning goes in hand with accounting or reporting in that it builds the goals that the reports evaluate. Similarly, planning is another financial technique since the goals it aims to achieve are set with an explicit or implicit economic stance and are meant to enlist activities that will be later measured numerically. It is a governance tool too, in that the involvement of the personnel in the design of activities, times, methods, and means plays a pedagogical role that leads people to learn what to do and how to do it. Explaining the potential of planning, Oakes, Townley and Cooper (1998). write that "business planning should be seen as a profound mechanism of control, a pedagogic practice that can fundamentally change organizational identities by changing what is at stake: the capital –in Bourdieu terms—of an organizational and institutional field" (p. 248). In their research about the institutional transformation of art centers (museums), Oakes et al. discovered that planning works as a type of symbolic violence in that unknowingly the social agents involved give up control miss-recognizing the corporative value of their participation. They found out that museum personnel transformed not only their way to approach and understand their tasks, but also their language to address and describe their daily activities. Similarly, planning is another tool that is contributing to the transformation of the *habitus* in university personnel; it is a tool that needs to be kept under consideration when analyzing the effects of using this type of financial techniques in university settings.

2.4 Competitions and Meritocracy

Competitions, meritocracy, and incentives each aim at rewarding a select group that displays desirable behaviours –those who accumulated the merits. These techniques send a compatible and clear message: resources are limited and are only available to those who demonstrate (within a particular set of rules and standards set by those in power) their merit. In order to better understand the power of these techniques, one need

imagine how the system would be if those limited resources were distributed evenly among all of the members of an institution. Obviously, the rules would be powerless, and the aspirations eclectic. Based on what we have seen in the current order, we dare to speculate that without incentives we would see a different academic world, wherein there might not be credential inflation, there would be more cooperation, there would be diversity of goals and aspirations, participants would concentrate in the central activities of their position, the primary goals would concentrate on the production and reproduction of knowledge, there would be more horizontal organization and less hierarchy, and there would be less stress, illness, and broken family relations.

The chosen strategy of resource distribution is highly dependent on incentives and competition. However, this strategy does not necessarily produce the results it purports to encourage. Rather, it allows those in charge and those with the money to control universities and academics within their walls.

The main strategy used by Mexican universities to practice competition was to divide the funding into two types: ordinary and extraordinary. Ordinary funding is given without competition but 90% of it is used for salaries and basic operational expenses (Mendoza, 2010, p. 411). Extraordinary funding is allocated under diverse competition standards and it is utilized for the rest of the expenses incurred in a university: to complement salaries, for research, administrative and research assistants, infrastructure, office material, and so on. This makes it so that most of the needs are covered through contestable resources, creating a very competitive environment and converting competition and meritocracy into crucial financial and control techniques.

2.5 Decentralization.

Decentralization is another financial technique in that it does not only transfer managerial responsibilities from the State to individual institutions, but also the funding responsibilities. Calvo (2003) carries out an analysis where she points out what she sees as a strategy of the government to make it seem like it was generating a more democratic environment when in reality it abdicated its financial responsibilities and instilled neoliberal principles.

What happened in the Mexican case is that the federal government once funded and managed all levels of education. But when neoliberal reforms started to take place, it "decentralized", justifying the decentralization by emphasizing that the level of bureaucratization in a centralized system was affecting the efficiency since people spent time trying to relate to a central bureaucracy that was not only in a distant physical location but also very removed from the local needs, ideologies, contents, and methods. Similarly, it was argued that a more participative space was going to open, and that the central power to make decision was going to be spread among the different local actors, affording them more autonomy, and that more productivity, efficiency and quality was going to be achieved as a result of all of the above (Calvo, 2003).

The results were different from that. The federal government made state governments take responsibility for most of the funding, but not all state governments were able to inject similar resources to their universities; poorer states struggled with this new responsibility reproducing inequalities where poorer states had universities with lower salaries, more deteriorated infrastructure, and limited enrolment capacity. The Federal government created compensatory policies to continue funding, but implemented competition to allocate reduced resources to universities that met the criteria of each competition. Similarly, the traditionally free access to higher education was compromised, involving students in the expense of what was presented as a private privilege to university education. It is calculated that in public universities, students contribute between 2 to 10% of their universities annual budget (Rubio, 2006).

3. WHERE ARE WE?

A survey of 25-plus years of financially focused educational reforms shows that the system of public higher education has grown considerably but the resources have not. A comparison of the growth by students, schools and professors shows that the growth has not allowed for an appropriate ratio between students, professors and institutions (See figure 1).

Note: Teacher training schools are included.

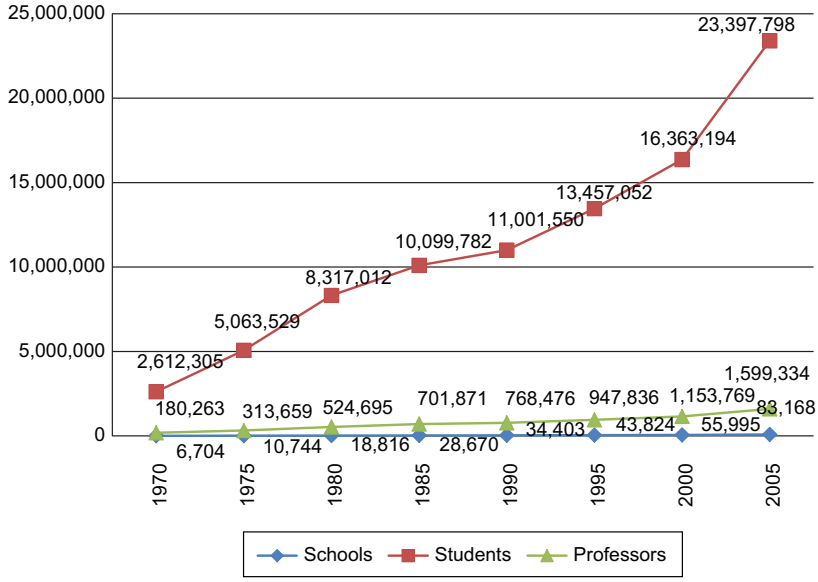
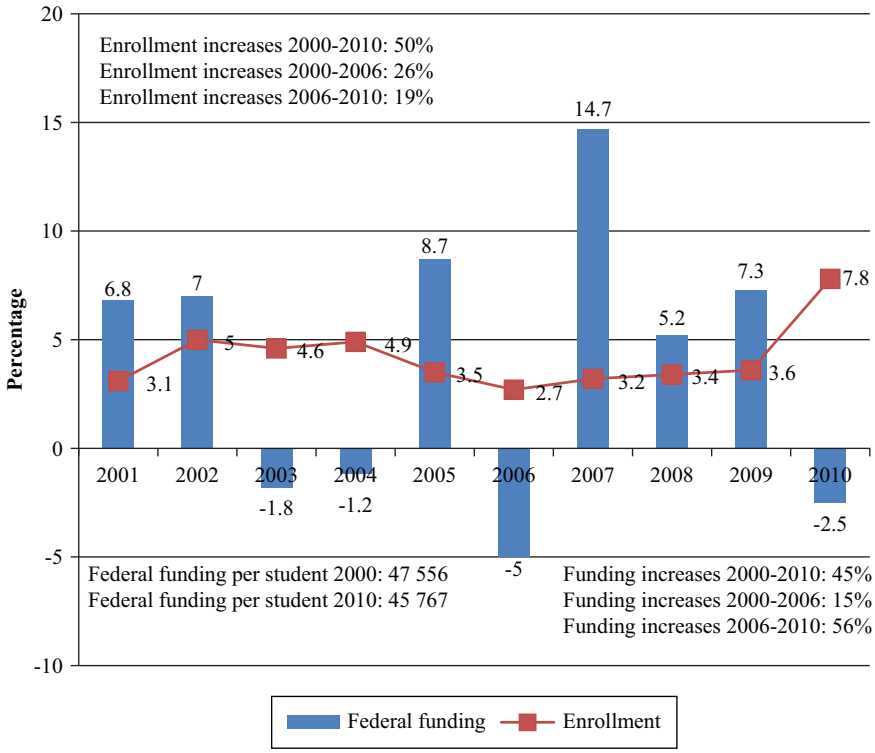


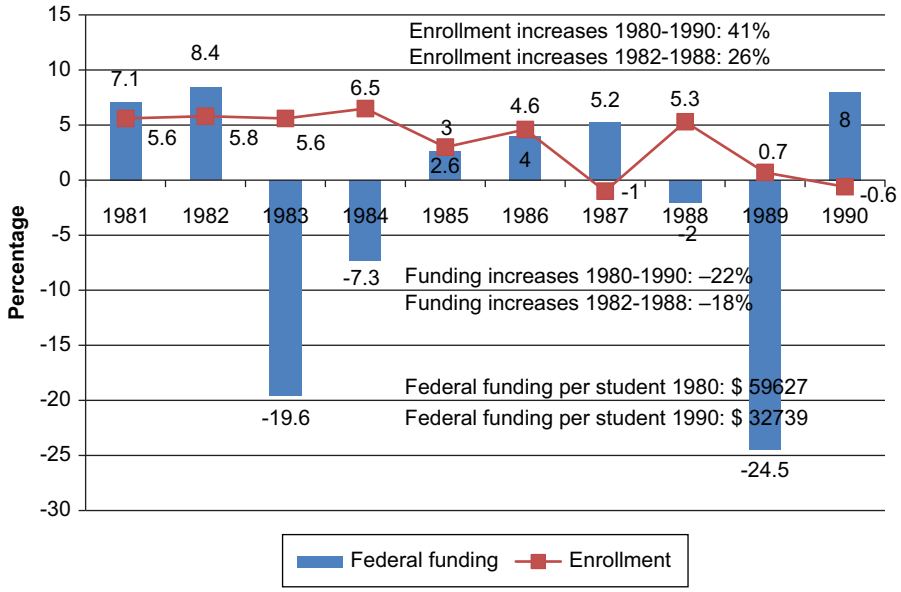
Figure 1. Number of Schools, Professors and Students in Higher education. Mexican Historical Data. Adapted from Sistema Nacional de Información Educativa. Estadísticas Históricas.

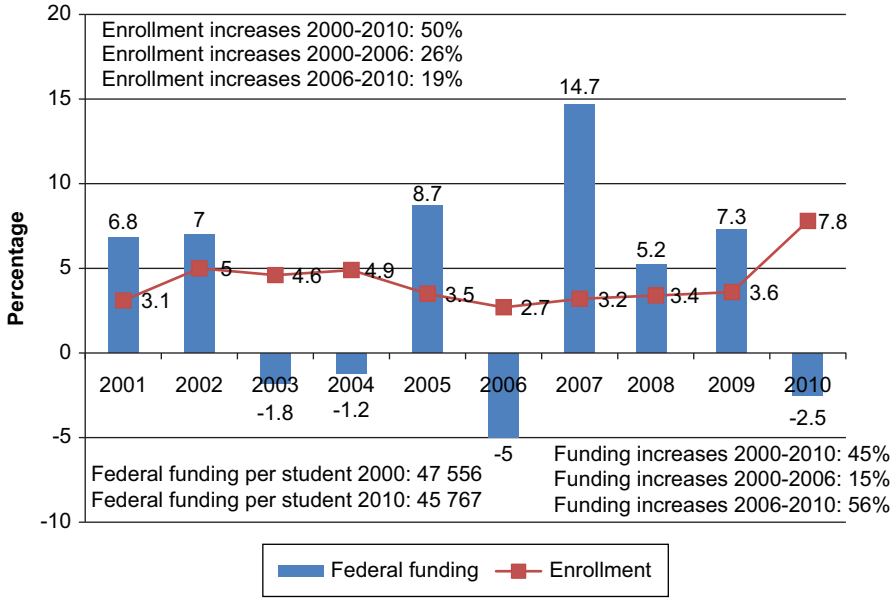
These numbers when translated into practice have meant overcrowded classrooms and an extreme disparity between professors, students and institutions that rather than allowing the achievement of quality goals, has led to a very impersonal education, focused on preparing students to pass exams but not to prepare for life nor even for work.

Similarly, Figures 2, 3 and 4 contrasts federal funding versus student enrollment showing that funding has not grown to match the increasing needs resulted from a much larger pool of students, further distancing universities from the much desired goal of quality.



The discourses of quality were key to justifying the introduction of all the reforms and the financial techniques. However, quality has been vaguely defined and regardless of how many measurements are implemented and standards set for professors and institutions to attain, financing continues to show up as the most important means in the achievement of quality. The approach of focusing on results does not leave space to analyse the means, including funding, used to achieve the goals. It diminishes the possibility of creating actual measurements to determine the


Enrollment increases 1980-1990: 41%
Enrollment increases 1982-1988: 26%
Funding increases 1980-1990: –22%
Funding increases 1982-1988: –18%
Federal funding per student 1980: $ 59627
Federal funding per student 1990: $ 32739
Percentage
1981
1982
1983
1984
1985
1986
1987
1988
1989
1990
Federal funding
Enrollment


Enrollment increases 2000-2010: 50%
Enrollment increases 2000-2006: 26%
Enrollment increases 2006-2010: 19%
Federal funding per student 2000: 47 556
Federal funding per student 2010: 45 767
Funding increases 2000-2010: 45%
Funding increases 2000-2006: 15%
Funding increases 2006-2010: 56%
Percentage
2001
2002
2003
2004
2005
2006
2007
2008
2009
2010
Federal funding
Enrollment

role played by funding and reduces the responsibility of the State when evaluating the achievement of goals.

Under these circumstances we have institutions with overburdened professors who split their energy and time between teaching, supervising, administrative, research, writing, competitions, and even secretarial duties. The amount of tasks, and the scale of them, makes it so that each task receives less attention than it requires, and, as a result, actual quality decreases.

CONCLUSION AND PROPOSALS

After over a quarter-century of having this model of conceiving, managing, and practicing education in place, we now have universities with a way more systematized structure, where tasks and procedures seem to be more organized than before, and where almost everything can be counted and compared. To fully understand the way universities function is a complex endeavour. One thing they have in common is their continuous search for homogenization and their focus on accountability. The homogenization has been beneficial for some students who claim to be able to change programs or even universities with more ease than before. Likewise, some professors feel that the method for accounting and rewarding activities has been beneficial, allowing them to be rewarded for activities they would not be rewarded for in the preceding system. The new focus on research has also benefited researchers since the way universities were previously conceived did not have the same considerations and privileges for their investigative activities.

We understand that in a society where the university has gained so much social and economic legitimacy, and therefore grown beyond the funding capacity of the State, that the State had to come up with creative ideas to keep it afloat. However, after more than 25 years of using the strategies described above, we think that it is time to start reconsidering whether the effects have been worthwhile and whether we need to start exploring new directions. Our first proposal is to point out that the changes, in order to be effective, have to take place at all levels and have all the actors involved, directly or, including, presidents, chairs, professors, students, their parents, and the employers. We also point out the need to do research about how credential inflation came to be and how to slow it down. Other proposals include: the need to rethink and rebuild the relationship between professors, students and society in such a way that this contributes to more democratic methods of achieving the educational goals (Giroux 2007, 2001); similarly, to break the doxic constructions about the way education is being conceived and about the use of financial techniques. Bourdieu defines *doxa* as the taken for granted ideas or practices and the adherence to the established order. Doxa allows the reproduction of the system as people do not even conceive a small possibility for questioning it. (Bourdieu, 1977).

In their analysis about the role played by universities in the reproduction of doxic practices, Nihel Chabrak and Russell Craig provide a very insightful description of universities:

> …schools and universities are powerful political instruments of social conservation. They help reproduce the dominant system of which they are the product. Their importance stems from a demand for the role they play in producing programmed social agents who are endowed with the same durable, transposable *habitus;* and thus, with common schemes of thought, perception and action. Universities and schools maximize the social value of the qualities and skills that the capitalist system produces, assesses and consecrates. (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977 as cited in Chabrak & Craig, 2011, p. 4)

It is this very role that needs to be challenged and reprogrammed and the "social agents" who participate in the university system need to start realizing the dogmatic circle they have fallen into in order to question it. These authors' analysis touches on some of the financial techniques we elaborated on in this chapter.

Academic consecration, credentialism and meritocracy are, in effect, modern forms of the nobility titles... Credentials ensure cultural capital is transmitted across generations and stamp pre-existing differences in inherited cultural capital with a meritocratic seal. They transmute social hierarchies into academic ones, which in turn are convertible into social (and economic) advantages. Examinations allegedly ensure formal equality…However, this apparent fairness in illusory. (Chabrak & Craig, 2011, p. 5)

Their view of credentialism, meritocracy, and examinations, coincides with our analysis of these being used as financial techniques of control and appearance. We are aware that the changes we propose may need a complete restructuring of the way education is conceived and practiced and of the expectations put on it. We want this chapter to be another contribution that questions and asks for alternative approaches to do see and practice education. We are aware that our questions might seem utopian to some people. However, we believe that questioning current perspectives about universities will facilitate a discussion about "traditional" and "natural" social constructs and open new possibilities.

NOTE

[1] The reports are filled for programs such as the *Sistema Nacional de Investigadores* (National System of Reserachers), the *Consejo Nacional de Ciencia y Tecnología* (National Counsel of Science and Technology), *Programa del Mejoramiento al Profesorado* (Program for the improvement of professorship) and the particular institutional programs named differently in every institution but measuring the professor's anual "productivity"

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ELIZABETH VERGIS

7. THE CHALLENGES FACING HIGHER EDUCATION IN INDIA

INTRODUCTION

The modern higher education system in India, although rooted in the British model, has also incorporated the oriental culture, where learning is valued for its own sake, without giving undue consideration to economic or other influential, external factors. Until Independence the Indian Higher education system remained relatively small. At the time of Independence in 1947, there were only 25 universities in all, with several hundred affiliated colleges, scattered throughout the Indian sub-continent. The higher education was perceived as a means by which the colonizers maintained and consolidated their grip on India to serve the economic, political and administrative interests of the British. The universities had very little research potential and intellectual life of their own but served mainly as examining and affiliating bodies (Jayaram, 2006)

When India gained its independence in 1947, the indifference that this country had towards research underwent a marked transformation. Jawaharlal Nehru, the first Prime Minister of India, believed that Industrialization was the only lifeline that could pull this country out of its poverty onto a path leading to prosperity. The university sector in India has grown significantly since then. The first government of independent India, however, decided not to change, but to preserve the boundaries set by the university system. It was their mandate to promote research in science and technology, in institutions which were outside the higher education sector. Therefore, several publicly-funded research institutions such as the Indian Institute of Technology (IIT), Indian Institutes of Management, Schools of Science and Schools of Law were set up outside the university system. These publicly-funded institutes, enjoyed greater autonomy, and were enviably labeled institutes of 'national importance.'

After independence, however institutions offering higher education mushroomed right across India, covering its length and breadth. This isomorphic growth in institutions propelled the Indian higher education system to fall under the influence of the higher education system in the United States, which was perceived as a powerful centre of learning. By and large, however, the basic academic system and its fundamental ethos – including factors such as the core principles adhered to, the administrative organizations established, the professoriate selected, the curriculum followed, the teaching methods employed, the examination systems used and the research organizations established – are still very similar to what is found in the

Kariwo et al (Eds.), A Comparative Analysis of Higher Education Systems, 89–109.
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older universities in Britain (Agarwal, 2009). Due to the long colonial relationship that India has had with Britain, the growth of higher education in India, has taken a "centre-periphery" and a "dominance-subordination" relationship, very distinct from the higher education growth observed in parts of East Asia, where growth is directly linked to economic development (Altbach, 1982). The Indian higher education system, as we know it today, is a loose conformation of various types of institutions, based mainly on the British model, but which also incorporates some aspects of the American model of higher education. The federal government has stipulated that the provincial government should control most higher education institutions. However, several well-reputed higher education institutions fall directly under the aegis of the national government. In the present climate in India, the private sector has added a new dimension to the higher education system, not only accelerating its growth but providing it with the much-needed funding. Consequently the higher education system in India has become both large and complex. Though the numbers of universities and of the students registered in them are impressive, they mask several of the challenges that face higher education in India today. In this chapter, the challenges that I intend to elaborate on are related to access, equity or inclusiveness and quality. My thesis is that these and the other challenges which the higher education sector faces in India could serve as opportunities which if seized, could improve and empower India to have one of the healthiest and biggest and most flourishing post-secondary education systems in the world, second to none.

GENERAL BACKGROUND

Approximately 150 years ago, the idea of a university as a popular institution was novel in India. The oldest university in India was the Nalanda University which was a center of learning since 427 B.C. It was a residential university which housed 10,000 students and 2,000 professors. Being one of the great universities in recorded history, Nalanda was devoted to Buddhist studies. It did, however, train students in a number of other fields such as fine arts, medicine, mathematics, astronomy, and politics. The remains of the Nalanda University in Bihar highlighted how this university was a masterpiece, both architecturally and environmentally. Nalanda was the most global university of its time, attracting students from Korea, Japan, China, Tibet, Indonesia, Persia and regions as far away as Turkey.

In those days, universities were small, chosen, reclusive places which had no political agenda and which were not obliged to turn out hundreds and thousands of graduates every year to fill up vacancies in government and other secular offices. When the first Indian universities opened its doors in Bombay, Calcutta and Madras, they were not bound by any social responsibilities or political commitments. The law and medical faculties opened up new horizons, both intellectually and institutionally, for India - a country which had stood still for centuries, bound within the firm clutches of conservative and hierarchical ideologies which moulded/dominated the region during that period. According to Béteille (2010):

> India had a rich intellectual tradition in disciplines such as mathematics, grammar, logic, and metaphysics, but that tradition had stagnated and atrophied partly because of the narrow and restricted solid channels through which it was reproduced and transmitted. (p. 42)

As these new universities opened their doors, they heralded a new and growing tradition of learning, and thereby paved the way to revive the intellectual energies of Indians lying dormant and under-utilized for several centuries. The universities were also small enclaves of modernity and progress, surrounded by a world governed by tradition and conservative ideologies. These universities had a progressive influence both intellectually and institutionally. Furthermore, this influence, seemed to be spreading, albeit very slowly.

UNIVERSITIES AND COLLEGES

The Indian higher education system is large and has the third largest enrolment in the world, coming in just after China and the United States (Agarwal, 2009). With nearly 18,500 higher education institutions, it has the reputation of being the country with the largest number of HE institutions in the world, coming in immediately after the US and Europe. India has more than seven times the number of institutions that China has, but the average size of each institution is quite small.

The average enrolment per institution is approximately 550. This having been said, there are only a few institutions with more than 10,000 students. Some have an enrolment of only a few hundred. One cannot presume that universities are large while colleges are small. Some colleges have a large number of students, while some universities have an enrollment of only a few hundred. In the metropolitan cities, there are about two hundred universities and colleges with a large student enrollment – around 5,000 students per institution. There may also be another 1,000 institutions whose enrolment ranges from 1,500 to 2,500. The remaining colleges, which are mainly in the small towns and the rural areas, have only a couple of hundred students. Many of these smaller colleges are under-staffed, under-enrolled and poorly-equipped. Overall, 66% of them do not meet the minimum requirements of the University Grants Commission (UGC), the most powerful body regulating higher education in India. Apart from the agriculture and medical universities, which are regulated by the Ministry of Agriculture and the Ministry of Health respectively, all other universities and colleges are under the control of the UGC. Taking India, as a whole, there are a large number of institutions offering higher education, and as a result, the average enrolment is very low, approximately around 500 students per institution. Consequently, the higher education scene consists of a large number of small, sub-standard, non-viable institutions dotted across the countryside. Although this does increase the access that interested students have to higher education, many of the colleges, especially in the rural areas, are poor in quality and non-viable in nature.

ACADEMIC STRUCTURE

Higher education in India encompasses all post-secondary institutions, beyond Class/ Grade 12, in all subject areas. Higher education also includes all professional studies such as technology, engineering, agriculture, medicine and so on (Agarwal, 2008). There are three levels of qualifications. The first and basic level is the bachelor's or undergraduate degree programme; the second is the master's or post-graduate degree programme; and the third are the pre-doctoral (Master of Philosophy, MPhil) and doctoral programmes (Doctor of Philosophy, PhD).

A bachelor's programme usually requires 3 years of post-secondary education, after completing 12 years of schooling. Some post-secondary institutions offer honours and other special courses as well, which are not necessarily longer but cover the respective subject areas in greater depth. In professional fields of study such as agriculture, dentistry, engineering, pharmacy, technology and veterinary medicine, the bachelor's degree takes four years. In architecture and medicine, however, the bachelor's degree takes five and five and a half years respectively.

The master's degree generally takes two years to complete. There are two options here. One can do a master's degree based just on course work without a thesis, or one can do one based on research culminating in a thesis. If one continues after the completion of the master's degree, in a pre-doctoral programme for two years, one will be awarded the MPhil degree. The MPhil degree can be either completely research based, or can incorporate some course work as well. To achieve a PhD, students are required to write a substantial thesis based on original research that they themselves have carried out. The PhD degree can be awarded two years after the MPhil degree.

The Indian higher education system has adopted the 3-2-3 year cycle of academic qualifications, followed in Europe after the Bologna process launched in 2010. The Bologna process facilitates students to choose from a wide variety and transparent range of high quality courses, and in addition, guarantees smooth recognition procedures as well, which is of great benefit to students. In India, however, a majority of institutions do not follow a credit system. Generally, there is a fixed curriculum, and the number of options available in each area of study, are limited (Agarwal, 2009). Efforts to shift to a choice-based credit system made recently, have been thwarted and only limited success has been achieved in this direction.

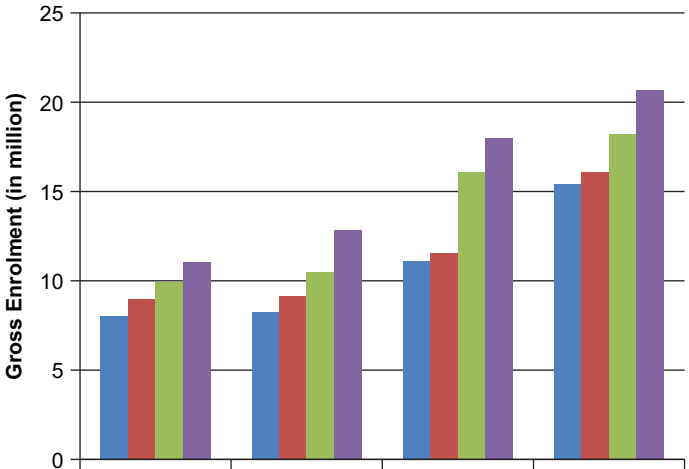
ENROLMENTS

In India, enrolment data in the higher education system are available from mainly four sources. These are:

1. UGC: The annual report published by the *University Grants Commission* has data on the trends observed in Higher education enrolment. For example, the UGC Annual Report of 2005-2006, contains the enrolment data up to 2002-2003, and the predicted estimate for the following years, until 2005-06.

2. SES: The Government of India publishes the *Selected Educational Statistics* under the Ministry of Human Resource Development, in the Statistics Division of the Department of Higher education. This enrolment data displays a time lag of approximately 2-3 years. For example, the SES for the period 2004-05 was published only in 2007.
3. NSS: Enrolment data can also be obtained from the sample surveys done by the *National Sample Survey* Organization. The last NSS was done in 2003-04, and the data from this survey can be accessed now.
4. Census: A headcount can also be obtained by an actual "house to house enumeration," and this can be another source of getting enrolment data (Agarwal, 2009, p. 8). The last census of this nature was conducted in 2001.

Using the above-mentioned four different sources, higher education enrolment for alternate years, since 1999-2000, is given in Figure 1. As seen from Fig 1, the estimates of enrolment vary widely from around 11.03 million to 20.7 million



	UGC	SES	NSS	Census
1999-2000	8.05	8.24	11.09	15.43
2001-2002	8.96	9.14	11.53	16.09
2003-2004	9.95	10.49	16.11	18.23
2005-2006	11.03	12.82	18	20.7

Figure 1. Higher education Enrolment.

in 2005/2006. The main reason for this kind of variation is the difference in the definitions of higher education used in the process of the actual measurement. For example, SES data also include the enrolment in distance education, while NSS and Census data incorporate non-formal, private, diploma and certificate courses as well in the number of higher education enrolment. The UGC, on the other hand, collects data directly from universities and colleges. The response rates are generally poor and lead to large gaps in these estimates.

Adapted from Agarwal, P. (2009). Indian Higher Education: Envisioning the Future. New Delhi: Sage Publications, p. 8.

UGC data, therefore, provide lower numbers than the other three methods, and hence can be a good representation of the lower limits of enrolment. The Census data based on headcount are the most accurate, but they include a significant amount of data from the non-university sector. Therefore, the Census numbers give a good idea of the upper limits of enrolment. The SES data are collected by the central government, by going through the state governments, and fall in between the lower end of UGC results and the upper echelon of the Census results. The SES results do not include the non-university sector and the UNESCO Institute of Statistics uses this data for making international comparisons.

Level-wise and Subject-wise Enrolment

The UGC Annual Report was used to provide the level and subject wise Enrolment Data for the year 2005-2006 (Agarwal, 2009). The level-wise enrolment has been summarized as Table 1 given below. As evident from Table 1, the greatest number of students is enrolled at the undergraduate level. Post-graduate programmes draw only 9.42% of the students, and only a meager 0.64% of students retain their enrolment in doctoral programmes. This leaves behind a remaining 1.03% of students, who are enrolled in a variety of diploma and certificate programmes, all "in the formal system of higher education" (Agarwal, 2009, p. 9).

Table 1. Level-wise Enrolment for 2005-2006

Level	*Per cent Enrolled*	*Number Enrolled*
Undergraduate	88.91%	9,804,977
Post-Graduate	9.42%	1,038,810
Doctoral	0.64%	70,716
Remaining	1.03%	113,517

Adapted from Agarwal, P. (2009). Indian Higher Education: Envisioning the Future. New Delhi: Sage Publications.

If one looks at the actual numbers, post-graduate enrolment is low (only 1,038,810) and has progressively decreased from around 13% in 1980 to approximately 9% in 2003. Similarly, the doctoral student enrolment has decreased from 0.88% in 1980-1981, to a meager 0.58% in 2003-2004. The overall provisions made for Doctoral education are very small. Hence, this doctoral education is the weak point in the higher education system in India.

Looking at the subject-wise enrolment, one cannot help noticing that the distribution is skewed, and that 83.58% of students are enrolled in either Arts, or Science, or Commerce and Management. This leaves only 16.42% who are enrolled in professional programmes. In the professional programmes, the majority are in engineering and technology followed by medicine. The enrolment in agriculture is only 0.58% and that in veterinary science is as low as 0.15%.

Gross Enrolment Ratio (GER)

The GER is obtained by finding the ratio of persons of all ages enrolled in higher education, to the total population in the 18-23 years range, which is the age group eligible to obtain any form of higher education. The National Knowledge Commission had declared the higher education GER to be 7 per cent, which is a gross underestimation. The latest SES report indicates that the GER was 9.7 per cent, while the corresponding GER using NSS and projected Census figures were 15.02 per cent and 15.6 per cent respectively (Srivastava, 2007). The UNESCO Institute of Statistics also published in its Global Education Digest, 2007, a GER of 11 per cent. This indicates, that just like the higher education enrolment figures, the GER data vary depending on the source from which they are gathered.

Table 2. Subject-wise Enrolment for 2005-2006

Subject	*Per cent Enrolled*	*Number Enrolled*
Arts	45.13%	4,976,946
Commerce & Management	18%	1,986,146
Remaining in Professional Programmes	16.42%	1,810,801

Adapted from Agarwal, P. (2009). Indian Higher Education: Envisioning the Future. New Delhi: Sage Publications.

At present, with a total enrolment of 12.8 million, the GER works out to be 11.4 per cent (Agarwal, 2009). Therefore, it would be most appropriate to take the GER as 11 per cent. This is a low GER, especially when one takes into consideration

the fact that high income countries have a GER of 67 per cent, and even the world average GER rests at 24 per cent. When one takes into consideration that India is still categorized as a low income country, according to the per capita income criteria set by the World Bank, a GER of 11 per cent seems reasonable, at this point in the country's development.

Diversity in the Student Population at Institutions of Higher Education

University campuses in India generally display limited diversity, and most higher education institutions serve students in their immediate neighbourhood. In 2004, 116 universities were surveyed in order to shed more light on the diversity of their student population (Agarwal, 2009). The results indicated that about 69% of students were from within the state where the universities were located; 18% of the student population were from neighbouring states; 22% were from other states in India; and about 1% was comprised of foreign students. On studying these data more closely, it was evident that non-professional and regional professional institutions showed little to no diversity in their student population, while national professional institutions having an entrance exam at the national level showed a fair amount of student diversity. Overall, when compared to other countries around the world, the foreign student population, partaking in India's higher education, is negligible.

India is a land with a wide spectrum of languages/dialects, customs, traditions, religions, music, art forms, dance, food, clothes and ways of living. If the students from all the 28 different states and 7 union territories of India, were represented in Indian institutions of higher education, an inter-regional understanding would be cultivated effectively among its youth. Students would be forced to develop their interpersonal skills, put aside their prejudices and be more tolerant. This would not only widen their horizons, and give them more multicultural awareness, but would instill in them "less parochial and rigid" ways of viewing the world (Agarwal, 2009, p. 11).

Enrolment of International Students

Although domestic students comprise the majority, in the academic year 2004-2005, there were 13, 627 international students, from over 145 different countries, studying in various Indian Universities and Post-Secondary Institutions. This number has steadily increased since then [AIU (Association of Indian Universities), 2007]. Of the International students who came to India, 67 per cent were from developing countries in Asia; 25 per cent were from different countries in Africa; and only 8 per cent were from Europe, Australia and the Americas. The major supplier of International students to India is Nepal, followed by Bangladesh, Malaysia and Kenya (Agarwal, 2008). Among the International students who came to India in 2004-2005, only 28 per cent were females (Agarwal, 2008).

One of the main reasons that International students come to India is to participate in short-term study abroad programmes that provide valuable cross-cultural

experience, in which once imbued, these participants are left with a leading edge when competing in the global economy (Agarwal, 2009). India, because of its newfound position in the global knowledge economy, is proving to be a popular destination for such study abroad programmes. This is most evident in the sudden surge of American students coming to India, which has increased remarkably from 703 in 2002-2003 to 1,767 in 2004-2005 (Open Doors, 2005, 2006). Unfortunately, however, most universities and post-secondary institutions in India are not set up to cater to International students. The greatest drawback is that most universities and post-secondary institutions in India do not have the semester-based credit system, which makes it less attractive and less compatible for International students.

Lately, India is trying to re-invigorate its international student recruitment strategy. This new initiative is coming from the private sector led by Manipal University, which hosted the highest number of International students (2,031 students) in 2003-2004. These efforts, however, are very meager when compared to the aggressive recruitment policies of several other countries, "emerging as magnates" in "attracting large numbers of international students" (Agarwal, 2009, p. 12). Some of these countries have set very ambitious targets to spearhead their International students' recruitment. For example, Jordan plans to increase its uptake of international students to 100,000 by 2020. Singapore intends to host 150,000 foreign students by 2015; China hopes to attract 300,000 by 2020; and Japan has set the most ambitious goal of increasing its International student population from its 120,000 in 2009 to 1 million by 2025 (Obst, 2008).

With such a great percent of the domestic demand for post-secondary education unmet, there is an ethical dilemma as to whether to encourage a very aggressive recruitment of International students. The current income from inward (i.e. coming to India) International student recruitment is USD 70 million each year, which amounts to only half a percent of the total annual expenditure on higher education in India (Agarwal, 2009). Even if the International student recruitment were doubled, the contribution this would make to the overall higher education finances would be negligible. Therefore, in the Indian context, the recruitment of International students would serve only as a strategy to (Agarwal, 2009, p. 13):

- Promote the quality of its own higher education system
- Create multicultural ambience on Indian campuses that promote diversity and international goodwill, and
- Fuel innovation and enterprise in the Indian higher education system by attracting bright students.

Overseas Enrolment

There is a large and growing trend among Indian students to study abroad, especially for their higher education. For example, in 2005-2006, there were over 160,000 Indian students studying abroad, with approximately 50 per cent of them going to

the United States to complete their Post-Secondary Education (Agarwal, 2009). At present, there are also other English-speaking countries such as the United Kingdom, Canada, Ireland, Australia and New Zealand trying to woo the Indian students. Even non-English speaking countries, such as Germany, France and Holland, have now begun to offer programmes in English, in order to allure more Indian students. Some prestigious institutions such as the best hotel management schools in Switzerland, and medical institutes in China, Russia and Eastern Europe, try to attract students from India to the programmes they offer.

Although most students from various countries in the world tend to go to the West for their Post-Secondary education, Indians find universities and colleges in Malaysia and Singapore just as good, much more affordable and closer to home. The dominant culture in these two blends well with the Indian culture. Therefore, Indian students do not face a culture shock and can fit in without much effort. For all these reasons, Malaysia and Singapore have witnessed a fast increase in the number of Indian students over the past couple of years (Agarwal, 2009)

The majority of Indian students have to pay their own fees. Several countries permit students to take up part-time employment. Most Indian students enrolled overseas, avail themselves of these opportunities to work, and thereby offset at least a part of their expenses. Indian students doing masters' and doctoral programmes obtain teaching or research assistantships in order to pay for their expenses. Although these assistantships are demanding, they endow Indian students with very useful, and much-needed, experience in teaching and research (Agarwal, 2009)

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Higher Education Growth

The higher education system in India has shown remarkable growth since India gained her Independence in 1947. The number of universities has risen from 25 in 1950 to 371 in 2006, and the colleges have increased in number from a mere 700 to 18,604 (Agarwal, 2009). The enrolment has flourished in leaps and bounds from a miniscule 0.1 million to a grandiose 11.2 million. The degree of expansion of the capacity for higher education over the period 1950-2007, is summarized in Table 3 below. As evident from Table 3 there has been a steady increase in the number of university level institutions, colleges, and the recruitment of teachers and in the enrollment of students. To appreciate this more deeply, we need to look at growth in pre-independence India, and compare that to growth in post-independence India.

Growth in Pre-Independence India

As discussed earlier, in ancient India, education was very advanced. This was due to the Buddhist monasteries that existed as early as 7th century BC, and the Nalanda University of 3rd century A.D., which was described earlier in this chapter. These

Table 3. Capacity Expansion

	1950-1951	*1990-1991*	*2003-2004*	*2006-2007*
University Level Institutions	25	177	320	371
Colleges	700	7,346	16.885	18,064
Teachers (in thousands)	15	272	457	488
Students enrolled (in millions)	0.1	4.9	9.95	11.2

Adapted from Agarwal, P. (2009). Indian Higher education: Envisioning the Future. New Delhi: Sage Publications, p. 17.

centres of learning were residential and encouraged intellectual debates. Historians view these centres as the fore-runners of the medieval European universities that came into being much later. Due to invasions and the ensuing disorder in the country, this ancient education system of India was slowly extinguished (Perkin, 2006).

Until the 18th century, three religions and the traditions they embodied, contributed immensely to advanced scholarship in India. These three distinct traditions were represented/sought expression in their respective religious schools, the Hindu *gurukulas*, the Buddhist *viharas*, and the Quranic *madarsas* (Agarwal, 2009). This continued until Britain colonized India in the mid-19th century, and laid the foundations of the modern higher education system. The colonial government preferred an "anglicist" orientation for higher education in the sub-continent and in 1818, founded the first college to impart western education, at Serampore, near Kolkata (Agarwal, 2009, p. 19). In the 40 years that followed, a number of colleges were established in various parts of the country. The first three universities in India were established in the three major cities of Mumbai (former Bombay), Kolkata (former Calcutta) and Chennai (former Madras). They were modelled in the style of the University of London, founded in 1836. These three universities acted mainly as affiliating and examining bodies, and had very little intellectual life to call its own (Jayaram, 2006). The courses offered in these universities were also biased, in that they favoured the languages and the humanities, over science and technology. The higher education framework that India inherited from its British colonizers, therefore, was "an anemic, distorted and dysfunctional" system (Raza et al., 1985).

Growth in Post-Independence India

In post-independence India, the growth in higher education occurred in two phases – Phase 1 and Phase 2. Phase 1 was from 1947-1980, while Phase 2 was from 1980 onwards. It was only half a century ago that the Government of India, actually drew up a plan to develop higher education in the country by establishing the UGC in 1953. This was followed by two high-profile reports known popularly as the Radhakrishnan Commission (or "University Education Commission") of 1948-49, and the Kothari

Commission (or "Education Commission") of 1964-66. These two reports served as landmarks in the development of the basic framework for the national policy on higher education in India, because they were the foundation on which the "National Policy on Education" was drawn up in 1986 and the Program of Action implemented in 1992. Then the vision of the Radhakrishnan and Kothari Commission was translated into five goals for higher education namely: greater access, equal access/equity, excellence in quality, relevance and promotion of social values. This paved the way to the present approach that the Government of India holds towards higher education. Presently, there are approximately 433 State Universities, which are mostly funded by the state governments, and 42 Central universities, which are maintained by the Union Government. Over the last five decades, the Government of India has not only provided supporting policy, but has also donated the funds needed to create one of the largest systems of higher education in the world. In spite of this the higher education system faces numerous challenges, and the ones elaborated on in this chapter are access, equity/inclusiveness and quality.

Increasing Access

The massive expansion of Indian higher education and the growing level of private shares in it have tremendous impacts on access and equity. The tremendous expansion increases access to higher education, but India's GER (Gross Enrolment Ratio) is poor when compared to developed nations and other developing countries. Until 1997, the main focus for the growth of higher education was on expanding and consolidating existing facilities, rather than making new universities, departments, centres for post-graduate studies, or the targeting of enrolment expansion.

It was only with the Ninth Plan (1997-2002), that any attempt was made for higher education institutions to reach remote areas, hill areas and border areas, and thereby eradicate regional imbalances (Agarwal, 2009). In this Ninth Plan efforts were made to address the higher education needs of under-represented social groups, such as Scheduled Caste/Scheduled Tribe candidates, women, the disabled and minorities. Although these attempts were laudable, the resources provided were inadequate to meet the need for access.

The Tenth Plan (2002-2007) had the same thrust as the Ninth. Although new universities and departments were created to accommodate the "under-represented social groups" this was done in an irresponsible manner, without giving due consideration to what resources would be needed to allow them to function successfully. As the higher education system expanded in this fashion, the academic standards were relaxed/lowered "in the name of equality and justice" (Agarwal, 2009, p. 41). However, the system acquired the advantage of becoming more socially inclusive. This improvement in social inclusiveness, translated into a large increase in numbers, without a corresponding increase in materials and intellectual resources to support the students in their academic endeavours. The result was that academic standards were jeopardized and unsettled until recently.

In the 1970s, the economic growth slowed down and there was lowered public investment, resulting in large scale unemployment of graduates. The prevalent view in that decade was that primary education, and to some extent secondary education, were more effective promoters of economic and social development. Therefore, even in the education sector, higher education was given a low priority, in the allocation of funding.

Over the last two decades, two parallel developments in the world economy have profoundly influenced the provisioning of higher education in India namely, the growth of the Internet, paralleled by an expansion of e-education, and the more pronounced role of the World Trade Organization (WTO) in dictating the trends in world economics. Higher education is also turning into a global business, and the days when it was controlled by national policy and government regulation are fast fading. For India, the availability of skilled manpower is a priority, especially for its budding service sector and its manufacturing sector based on specialized skills. Therefore, the impetus for the expansion of higher education over the past few decades has been economic reasons.

Specific targets for enrolment in higher education have been set in the Eleventh Plan (2007-2012). There has also been a significant increase in the public funding for higher education. The Plan makes a reference to China, implying that the plan recognizes the need for higher education for both social as well as economic development. It is planned to achieve this development by greatly expanding the institutions of higher education and creating new institutions.

In the last decade, countries around the world have seen a dramatic increase in private financing (Hahn, 2007). Although it is difficult to get reliable data on the increase of private financing in higher education, this increase is a global trend, which hinges on one factor – the explosion in the private demand for higher education. This explosion is due to two factors: demographics and improvements at lower levels of education have resulted in more people completing secondary education, and economics. Since the increase in private returns of higher education, more people are willing to invest in it.

The attitude towards private funding of higher education lacks clarity. It arouses suspicion because due to the opinion that all private activities are motivated by profit and greed. There is also a popular belief/argument that encouraging private financing would let the State off the hook, and enable it to dilute its constitutional responsibility. Although private funding for higher education is a controversial issue, it has become understood that some privatization is needed in order to expand facilities, without exerting too much pressure on public finances.

Promoting Equity

Equity is the quality of being fair and impartial in higher education. This means that students of all socio-economic backgrounds should be able to go to University, and other Post-Secondary institutions. In addition, the brightest students should be

able to study in the best universities, irrespective of their socio-economic status. However, the reality is that family status, class, places of residence, and socio-economic status, all influence access to university and thus to higher education. There are disparities in enrolment based on ethnicity and socio-economic status. Despite having taken great strides in improvement, women still continue to be under-represented in the enrolment in universities/colleges and other post-secondary institutions. In the Eleventh Plan, the government intends to address inclusiveness in higher education, by focusing on groups with lower enrolment ratios. According to Agarwal (2009), the disparities that need to be addressed are: rural and urban disparities, inter-state variations, gender disparities, inter-religious group disparities, social groups disparities, including income, and occupational disparities in rural and urban areas, and inter-caste disparities. Special attention should be paid to promote higher education among the Scheduled Castes (SC), Scheduled Tribes (ST), and Other Backward Classes (OBC).

Regional Imbalances

The distribution of universities and colleges and other post-secondary institutions is uneven. Some states have a minimum of 20 post-secondary institutions, while others have none. For example, 16 states in India do not have a single central university while two states – Uttar Pradesh and Delhi – have four each. Colleges too are not dispersed evenly throughout the country. Some states have less than 5 colleges per block, while others have ten per block (Agarwal, 2009). Such imbalances are even more pronounced in the professional colleges, which are concentrated in some states. This imbalance or skewed distribution is a worldwide phenomenon. Students in higher education are more mobile, and therefore, they can migrate from states or regions with poor facilities to ones which have better facilities. For example, students from Bihar and the North-Eastern states migrate to Delhi in large numbers to attend universities and colleges in that city. Student mobility is even more pronounced in the professional colleges, where it is facilitated because most post-secondary institutions have their own hostels. It is also important to note that having universities in remote areas, where growth is limited, can be more damaging than beneficial. Therefore, it is vitally important that policies for geographical distribution of post-pecondary institutions are crafted very carefully and thoughtfully (Agarwal, 2009).

Disparities in Enrolment

Disparities in GER based on gender; between Hindus, Muslims and others; between poor and non-poor from rural and urban areas; and between Scheduled Castes (SC), Scheduled Tribes (ST) and Other Backward Classes (OBC) are clearly indicated in Figure 2 shown below.

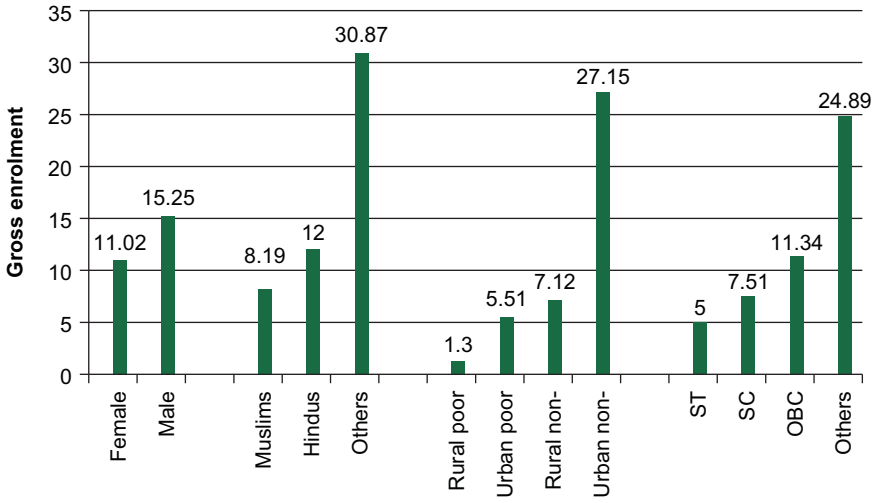


Figure 2. Disparities in Enrolment (Adapted from Agarwal, P. (2009). Indian Higher education: Envisioning the Future. New Delhi: Sage Publications, p. 54).

As seen from Figure 2 (below), the expansion of higher education, over the years, has made it more democratic. The enrolment of women has shown a steadily increasing trend from 10 per cent around 1950-1951 to around 40 per cent now, though there are still significant disparities in participation. The disparity is most striking for the poor, especially those in the rural areas, and the Scheduled Tribes. The average GER, according to NSS (2003), was 13.22 in Figure 2, but the rural poor had a GER of only1.3, while the urban poor GER fell at 5.51. Although the overall participation of women, of Scheduled Castes, and of Scheduled Tribes have increased, yet the representation of these three minorities, in professional, science and commerce programmes is significantly less.

It is evident, that although the enrolment in higher education in India as a whole is on the rise over the years, it shows a wide variation across the states. On further analysis these differences were attributed to variations in government funding, per capita income, percentage of people below poverty line, and extent of urbanisation, in the different states. Moreover, it is seen that states with higher ratio of urban population, and lower percentage of people in the "below poverty line" (BPL) have the higher enrolment in higher education (Anandakrishnan, 2004).

QUALITY MANAGEMENT

As the enrolment in higher education rises, all countries around the world, face the challenge of ensuring that academic quality is maintained. This process of maintaining academic standards is referred to as quality assurance, and is one of

the most talked about issues in higher education today (Agarwal, 2009). It is also one of the issues that is least understood, and therefore requires more research and attention. A conceptual framework for quality has to be established first, followed by an account of the quality assurance system that is in existence in India today.

Concept of Quality

Higher education has many stakeholders, who are students, employers, teaching and non-teaching employees, government, funding agencies, regulatory bodies, professional bodies and the accreditation agencies. Each of these stakeholders will have a different view about quality, stemming from their own interests in higher education. Therefore, what really counts as quality is a debatable matter. The term quality assurance is used in various ways by different countries. In the United Kingdom, for example, quality assurance is defined as: "the totality of systems, resources and information devoted to maintaining and improving the quality and standards of teaching, scholarship and research, and of students' learning experience" (Agarwal, 2009, p. 361). In many countries around the world, the responsibility to oversee the academic quality and standards rests with specific agencies set up to do that. With globalization being so prevalent, professionals and skilled workers are more mobile, and consequently, there is a much more incessant need to recognize their qualifications across national and international borders. It therefore becomes necessary for quality assurance bodies from different countries to work together, and create a system for implementing quality assurance "in a transnational context" (Agarwal, 2009, p. 361).

Quality Assurance in India

The rapid expansion of higher education in India has had a detrimental effect on its quality. There is a wide variance in quality across institutions in India. Although there has been an overall deterioration in quality, some institutions like the Indian Institute of Technology, the Indian Institute of Management, a few university departments, and some affiliated colleges have continued to maintain high standards. This deterioration in quality is most obvious in state universities, and affiliated colleges especially at the undergraduate level.

In 1966, the Education Commission noticed that the standards of higher education in India were not on par with the average standards in the educationally advanced countries. Since then low standards have become a serious problem. It found that the controls that were built in for quality assurance were not effective. To solve this problem, external quality assurance was perceived as a solution for the Indian higher education system. Three such external quality assurance agencies have been set up. The first one, the National Assessment and Accreditation Council (NAAC) – is an autonomous body set up by the UGC of India, to assess and accredit institutions of higher education in the country. The National Policy on Education emphasized

the need to uphold the quality of Education in India. Consequently, the Policy on Education (1986), and the Plan of Action (1992) advocated the establishment of an independent national accreditation body. Hence the NAAC was born in 1994, with its headquarters in Bangalore. The NAAC advocates 7 steps to maintain quality. These are quest for excellence, understanding the concept, action-orientation, learner-centric approach,
Innovation for change, training to build competencies, and year-round activity.

The second one, the National Board of Accreditation (NBA) was established in 1994 to accredit programmes in engineering and related areas. And, finally, the third body, the Accreditation Board (AB) was set up in 1996 to accredit institutions.

In India, in order to maintain good quality, there is accreditation at two levels - the institutional level and the programme level. Institutional accreditation can be carried out regionally. Programme accreditation, on the other hand, has to be done subject-wise, by professionals in their respective fields of expertise. The accreditation procedure is voluntary and cyclical in nature (Agarwal, 2009). However, although this accreditation procedure has made institutions offering higher education, more sensitive about quality, it has had only limited success in promoting accountability. In India, accreditation does not have the same "gatekeeper" role that it has in the United States. The higher education system, as large as India's, requires multiple accrediting bodies, with sufficient capacity to carry out cyclical accreditation. If accreditation is to be effective, it has to have consequences. The process of accreditation itself must be linked to the regulatory processes in place, in order to avoid duplication.

Similar to what is happening in several countries, a parallel system of institutional rankings and league tables have developed in India, over the past few years, outside the formal accreditation system. These rankings are largely based on surveys, done by print media (Agarwal, 2009). The institutional rankings and league tables are often blamed for being arbitrary, unreliable and biased. In spite of their deficiencies, there is a strong indication that these institutional rankings are used by prospective students in their choice of institution, and that they meet a public demand for transparency and information. Therefore, these institutional rankings are likely to persist.

For maintaining quality in higher education, it is essential to attract and retain quality teachers and to hold them accountable. For a system growing as rapidly as the Indian higher education sector, this could be a serious challenge. New technologies also have a far-reaching effect on "enhancing quality" and "improving access" in higher education in India (Agarwal, 2009, p. 401).

Promoting Quality and Excellence

A substantial portion of colleges and universities are not assessed for quality. Therefore, we do not have a full picture of the quality and excellence of the university and college sector engaged in higher education. Of the total number of 14,000 colleges, which are under the supervision of the UGC, only about 39% meet the minimum educational

standard. This leaves 61% of colleges - around 8,500 colleges - without having a proper assessment for quality undertaken on their behalf (Thorat, 2006). If the standard of college education in India is to improve, these unassessed colleges have to be brought under the umbrella of undergoing quality assessment on a regular basis.

In high quality colleges, there is a higher preponderance of teachers who hold a PhD or MPhil, when compared to low quality colleges. A sample study was done by the UGC of about 111 universities, and found that 31% of them fall under Grade A; 52% under Grade B; and 16% under Grade C (Thorat, 2006). The Grade A universities usually perform better with regard to a number of indicators such as: "number of departments, sanctioned faculty positions, filled up faculty positions, number of faculty with PhD, number of faculty members per department and number of books in library" (Thorat, 2006, p. 18). Grade B and C colleges need to upgrade to Grade A. This will require a big investment in opening up new departments, recruiting additional faculty members, supporting teachers without PhD to complete, and acquiring a number of new books for the libraries. There is therefore, an urgent need to improve the physical and academic infrastructure of these Grade B and Grade C institutions. This necessitates a "revival of the college and the state university sector" (Thorat, 2006, p. 18). The main reason why we have a limited number of universities, colleges and departments with a potential for excellence in India, is because the higher education sector here has suffered from a lack of adequate academic and physical infrastructure.

SEIZING THE OPPORTUNITY

India is a large, highly diverse country with many contradictions. Its population of 1.2 billion has a large proportion of children and young people, and, therefore, it must be reckoned with as "an engine of global growth" (Agarwal, 2009, p. 403). Since 1980, the economic growth in this country has transformed India from being ranked the 50th economy in US Dollars in 1980, to being the 10th largest economy in 2005. When a nation's purchasing power parity, is used as a measure of its income, the Indian economy ranks fourth in the world, placed after the United States, Japan and China (Agarwal, 2009). In addition, to its growing income, India increasingly portrays an outward orientation, which accords it the status of being an important, player in the global economy - a player with an optimistic view of its own economy. This optimism springs from its success in various sectors such as software, IT-enabled services, pharmaceuticals, biotechnology, dairying and milk processing, where India has proved that it can be competitive globally. Many Indian software firms have attempted to achieve various quality certifications. Several of them have attained the SEI CMM (capability maturity model of the software engineering institute of the Carnegie Mellon University) Level 5 certificate (Roy, 2005). Compared to a decade ago, the Indian economy today is far more open to investment, external trade and technology. For example, the private investment rate expressed as a per cent of GDP rose dramatically from 10.8 per cent of GDP in 1970-80 to 18.2 per cent of GDP in 2000-2005 (Agarwal, 2009).

CHALLENGES FACING HIGHER EDUCATION IN INDIA

In terms of the number of students, India's education sector is the third largest in the world, next to China and the United States. Besides, knowing English has given India a competitive advantage in the global economy. India has the added advantage that English is the primary language of its higher education and research. Yet, in spite of this decisive edge, in the 2009 Times Higher Education Quacquarelli Symonds (QS) World University Rankings, no Indian university was ranked among the first 100. There was no Indian university in the QS rankings from 100 to 200 either. It was only when one moved from 200 to 300, that the Indian Institute of Technology (IIT), Kanpur, was placed at 237; IIT, Madras, at 284; and the University of Delhi at 291 (Asia One, 2010). What is it that ails higher education in India, then? There are several challenges that the Indian higher education system has to face today.

First, India lacks the critical mass in higher education. India has a GER of a mere 11 per cent compared to China's 20 per cent, the USA's 83 per cent and South Korea's 91 per cent. This consequently means that when compared to India, China has twice as many students pursuing some form of post-secondary education.

Second, India has a large population of uneducated children, and the Constitution has promised free and compulsory education up to the age of 14. In keeping with the Millennium Development Goals, India is committed to provide free, universal, primary education by 2007 (Kaul, 2006). This is a herculean task requiring enormous resources. As the government cannot deny this fundamental, Constitutional right to the children of India, it will not be in a position to substantially increase the funds budgeted for higher education. Funding post-secondary education is a capital intensive process. Besides, it can be argued that higher education contributes more to an individual's career building, rather than the general public good (Kaul, 2006). India still has a wide gap when it comes to providing primary and secondary education to the masses. According to Kaul (2006):

> The ignominious medal for the largest absolute number of illiterates in the world hangs heavily round our national neck. So the urgent and competing demand on public educational resources from primary, secondary sectors is great. In the light of these circumstances, private funding of higher education is not only possible but desirable. There is a need for the government to accept this in spirit, letter and practice. (p. 54)

Third, not only does the government have to accept the reality of private funding, but it needs to devise loan programmes for students who may not be able to provide security collateral. If this were implemented, no deserving student would be left out because of poor parental resources.

Fourth, it is not mandatory for educational institutions to get accreditation, and consequently there is no ranking. In spite of having bodies such as the NAAC (National Assessment and Accreditation Council), the NBA (National Board of Accreditation), and the AB (Accreditation Body), it is only 30 per cent of the universities, 16 per cent

of the colleges and 10 per cent of the management institutions which are accredited. As a result, there are too many students competing for a handful of institutions; this in turn has led to the mushrooming of sub-standard post-secondary institutions, with mediocre faculty and poor infrastructure, such as science laboratories and libraries.

Fifth, who regulates higher education in India? There are two agencies in India regulating higher education: the UGC set up in 1956 and the AICTE (All India Council for Technical Education) established in 1987. Both these agencies are under the Ministry of Education, and they tend to make the process of accreditation a strenuous and bureaucratic exercise. Although the UGC and AICTE are concerned about the poor quality of the colleges that spring up, the problem in India is that the university authorities lack "a proper monitoring and surveillance system for colleges" (Kaul, 2006, p. 55).

Sixth, most post-pecondary institutions, including the IITs, experience shortage of faculty. Very often, this has resulted in the freezing of full-time appointments and the increase in part-time teachers, which demoralizes the academics. The system gives no incentive to the academia to perform at their best: there is no reward for academics who excel, and no attempt is made to weed out the non-performers. Since there is no accountability, there is no evaluation of the teaching and the research.

Seventh, it is shocking that Indian students spend about $7 billion a year to go abroad and study in foreign universities, because of the poor quality of higher education at home. Until a couple of years ago, 86 per cent of students in the fields of science and technology, who obtained degrees in the USA, did not return to their homeland. Roughly 30 percent of undergraduates pursuing science and technology in Indian universities and colleges, shift to an MBA degree, because salaries are higher. Because of a lack of incentives and guidance, the very best opt out of the pure sciences, which lay the foundations of a growing, productive, sound and viable, research-oriented higher education organization. One solution could be for the government of India to encourage foreign universities to come to India and set up independent operations or collaborate with existing Indian institutions. Open Universities also need to be promoted to offer quality programmes at minimal cost. This has the potential to become the most cost-effective way to provide higher education, especially technical and vocational education (Kaul, 2006).

Finally, the Indian state has two important features: a federal structure addressed by the country's Constitution and a parliamentary democracy (Agarwal, 2009). Both affect the public policy and the process by which these policies are arrived at. Some policies are controlled only by the national government while others are under the jurisdiction of the state government. Many other policies fall in the Concurrent List, where the national and state governments have to consult and thereby formulate policy. Education belongs to the Concurrent List. Getting consensus on matters in the Concurrent List (such as educational issues) is difficult, especially if the central and the state governments are not governed by the same political party. In India since 1967, the central and the state governments have been under different political parties.

The defects and deficiencies of the higher education system in India need to be addressed urgently to make it more professional and creative, and less bureaucratic and political. This chapter described the funding arrangements that exist and suggested ways of addressing concerns of access and equity. All the current issues in higher education, related to skill shortages, quality of graduates and the country's emergence in the global economy, are all linked to its role in the formation of skills in Indians (Agarwal, 2009). The research-based universities in India have to compete with the world's best institutions. A transformation of higher education would have a major impact on the quality of output and competitiveness of all sectors of the Indian economy. In the new knowledge economy, the source of competitiveness is talent. The countries, therefore, that can nurture talent, by adopting progressive policies in higher education will be the winners. India can overhaul its higher education system, craft progressive policies, seize this golden opportunity, and shape a bright future for the country – the choice is hers to make.

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MOON SOOK JEONG

8. THE ROLE OF THE STATE IN NEOLIBERAL REFORMS OF KOREAN HIGHER EDUCATION

INTRODUCTION

Higher education[1] in South Korea has made a remarkable development since a Western-style university system was introduced in the late 19th century. All throughout the 20th century, there has been a great increase of student enrolment in South Korean higher education[2]. Along with this quantitative expansion, the quality of higher education has been developed as well. This dual progress of Korean higher education was accomplished by strategic efforts of the national government as well as social support from stake holders.

Facing globalization and a worldwide industrial change towards a knowledge-based economy in the late 20th century, South Korean higher education turned itself into a stage of neoliberal reform. Substantive educational reforms such as restructuring, research culture fostering, institutional governance and curricular change were implemented in South Korean universities over the last two decades. The major motivation of these reform practices has been financial rewards administered by the ministry of education.

In this chapter, I aim to examine recent reforms of higher education in South Korea and highlight the role of the state in the process of these neoliberal reforms. Political sociology of education will help me demonstrate the characteristics of the state in neoliberal education reform and the importance of political implication in education reform.

STATE AND EDUCATION

State generally refers to a political and administrative structure (Appadurai, 1996) or a supreme form of political association (Kukathas, 2008). According to Rizvi and Lingard's recent conceptualization (2010), *state* in this chapter can be understood as "the bureaucratic administrative structure" as a political entity and "an authoritative monopoly over the subjects and institutions" in its territory (p. 13). State does not show a unitary form of governance structure across countries, but rather different institutional types. For example, the type of democratic welfare state is outnumbered in the West while authoritarian states still exist in third world countries.

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With respect to an educational policy formation process, political sociology of education presents a viable approach towards educational policies and outcomes in relations to the role of the state. Political sociologists of education explore:
[w]hy a given policy is created; how it is constructed, planned, and implemented; who are the most relevant actors in its formulation and implementation; what are the impacts of such policies for both specific clienteles and society at large; and what are the key systemic and organizational processes involved in policy formation are fundamental issues at stake for a political sociology of education (as cited in Moralez-Gomez & Torres, 1990).

Scholars in political sociology of education claim that the capitalist development of one country shapes educational policy and the state role is vital for finding out political implications in neoliberal education reform (Arnove, Torres, Franz & Morse, 1996). In this respect, Torres (2002) considers that the state "as a pact of domination and as a self-regulating administrative system, plays a central role as mediator in the context of crisis of capitalism" (p. 369). Thus, it is important to consider "what type of state and political regime supports what kind of education for whom and for what purposes" (La belle, 1986, as cited in Arnove et al., 1996, p. 140).

The role of the state in neoliberalism[3] seeks to create and preserve an institutional framework appropriate for neoliberal economy (Harvey, 2005). That is to say, the characteristics of a neoliberal state is *capitalist-friendly,* while being tied to a liberal economy and political conservatism. Policy reform is backed up with political concerns and mediated by political legitimization process. Consequently, neoliberal education reform implies that policy makers prioritize the economic rationality, which is supported by particular political interests (Apple, 2000).

NEOLIBERAL REFORMS OF SOUTH KOREAN HIGHER EDUCATION

Encountering a new millennium, South Korea was bent on transforming itself to get ready for a new global society. Like many other countries in Asia, South Korea has carried out full-scale educational reforms in order to respond to the fast-changing global political economic environment (Mok, 2003; Mok, 2006; Mok & Welch, 2003). Scholars analyze the reasons for neoliberal reform of Korean higher education as i) external pressures: global competition after joining the OECD membership and the IMF crisis[4] and ii) internal challenges: demographic decline and perceived educational quality issues such as uniform curricular and low international competitiveness (Shin, 2005; Yu, 2001). Without doubt, neoliberal principles have been rooted in the restructuring process of Korean higher education. In this chapter, I discuss the impact of neoliberal principles, competition and market activities on university campuses and the role of the state in promoting these activities.

The following is a short description of recent reform policies in Korean higher education sorted by political regime. The briefs of recent neoliberal reforms in Korean higher education illustrate the explanations about what has been implemented by

each regime, indicating a clue that South Korea has consistently privileged neoliberal principles for its higher education reform. Each policy item will not be discussed nor even described in great detail. A linguistic consistency found in policy documents will be identified further.

Escaping from three decades of military rule, the first civilian government of Kim, Young-sam (YS: 1993-1998) embarked on designing a new millennium educational plan. This plan was an opportunity for the YS regime to reshuffle the Korean education system and get it ready for the new era. Under the *Segyehwa* (translation of globalization in Korean) policy initiative[5], the Presidential Commission on Education Reform (PCER) published the 5.31 Education Reform report in 1995 with the framework of diversification and specialization (Park, 2000). Through four revisions (May, 1995, Feb. 1996, Aug. 1996, June, 1997), the YS administration stressed educational policy reform along with an imperative need to accommodate a globalization process and knowledge-based economy (PCER, 1998). The policy outcomes of the YS administration were mostly about the distributed autonomy on university curricula and management. Subsequently, educational opportunity was expanded with the new system of part-time studies, credit banks, and minimum credit. Both undergraduate and graduate programs began to become diversified, specialized and internationalized under the banner of institutional excellence.

The next regime, that of Kim, Dae-jung (DJ: 1998-2003) took over and continued the key thrust of the former regime's reform plans. This regime carried out educational reforms with neoliberal principles through two presidential commissions and seven revisions of reform papers (December 1998, July, 2000, June 2001, December 2001, April, 2002, November 2002). The minister of education (Lee, Hae-chan) in DJ regime clearly stated that "We will drive educational reform in a way that increases competition and the quality of education by means of introducing neoliberal market principles" (Korean Teachers Union as cited in Jo, 2005, p. 50). The DJ administration focused on the enhancement of institutional and global competitiveness under the initiative of *Kookje-hwa* (translation of internationalization[6] in Korean).

To cope with the IMF crisis (which occurred during YS regime), the DJ administration was primarily concerned about a labour market and strove to modify higher education reform to nurture human resources in a knowledge-based industry (Ban, 2003). To highlight the link between higher education and the labour market, the DJ administration changed the name of the Ministry of Education (MOE) to Ministry of Education & Human Resources Development (MEHRD) and appointed the minister of education as the deputy prime minister of South Korea. In order for academic capacity building, this regime created a governmental funding program, Brain Korea 21[7] (BK21) which promotes research productions from graduate programs. The basic assumption of this funding project is in line with the nature of neoliberalism because BK 21 is based on institutional competition[8].

In the following regime, the Roh, Moo-hyun administration (Roh: 2003-2008) refreshed the goals of the preceding reform efforts, targeting the adjustment of detailed reform policies. Reform policies were established and run by the Presidential Committee on Educational Innovation (PCEI) with the initiative of *Chamyeo wa Jayulsung* (translation of participation and autonomy in Korean). The Roh administration mainly considered educational equality while sticking to three-NO policy[9] and low SES quota admission. In addition, this administration highlighted the transparency of institutional management that has been one of the major problems of Korean higher education, especially in private universities. In effect, this regime amended the Private School Act so that private universities were obliged to open budgetary documents and balance sheets the public every year since 2006.

Despite Roh's political orientation (egalitarian ethos), neoliberal principles were prominently featured in the restructuring process of higher education. In this time, M & A between national universities, foreign university (branch campus) establishment in Economic Free Zones, and profit-seeking private capital investment on campus were legislated and came into action. Besides the continued of previous reform plans, it is noticeable that the Roh administration began two new national funding projects, the New University for Regional Innovation[10] (NURI, 2004-2008) and the World Class University[11] (WCU). By combining new funding projects with existing reform plans, the Roh administration emphasized the "human resources competitiveness and world class scholars fostering for the benefit of economic growth" (MEHRD, 2007) for Korean higher education. In consequence, the policies in Roh's time showed no big departure from those of previous administrations. The Roh administration encouraged a tight link to economy, market activities in education, and competition-based ideology, maintaining strong educational governance through funding.

The current government under the president Lee, Myung-bak (MB: 2008-2012 present) is not dissimilar to the former governments in prioritizing the neoliberal reform of higher education. In fact, the MB administration is stronger than those prior in terms of neoliberal orientation. This regime regards university capacity as identical to national competitiveness and its reform committee (Presidential Advisory Council on Education, Science and Technology, PACEST) is directly managed by a presidential office. The MB administration emphasizes a high investment in advanced technology in education[12]. The Ministry of Education & Human Resources Development (HEHRD) was integrated with the Ministry of Science and Technology in 2008 and has been run as the Ministry of Education and Science and Technology (MEST) up to the present, 2012.

Higher education reform initiatives of the MB administration are *kyoyuk eu soowolsung* (educational excellence), *jayul gua chekmusung* (autonomy and accountability) and global *kyoungjaeng-nyuk* (global competitiveness). To actualize these goals, the government introduced the new systems to promote educational excellence (e.g. admission officers, the projects of Advancement of College

Education (ACE), and Leaders in Industry-University Cooperation (LINC)) and carried out restructuring (e.g. incorporating national universities and a poorly-performing school closure[13]). University advancement (educational quality and system improvement) and specialization are still important pillars of higher education reform for this administration. Keeping up existing funding projects, the Lee administration recently announced the project of Excellence and Competitiveness Endeavor for Leading Universities (EXCEL)[14]. This project is more than the double size of funding sum of BK21 and WCU. In doing these, the MB regime urges the solutions for both structural and managerial problems of Korean higher education. At the same time, the government reinforced a strong influence over institutions with financial rewards.

As shown above, Korean higher education has gone through the neoliberal way of reform in recent years, which means that the government has prioritized competition-based and marketization-favoured policy and practice. Over the past three political regimes, there exists "a consistency and continuity implementation (Yoo, 2006, pp. 23-24)" of reform policy direction in South Korea. Needless to say, the current regime is on the same track as shown above. Shin (2012) describes this consistency as incrementalism. Each regime's reforms contributed some positive results to Korean higher education: introducing research culture to Korean universities, diversifying undergraduate and graduate school programs, expanding educational opportunities, and specializing human resources in a new global environment (Yoo, 2006).

However, there have been some criticism of these reforms. The reform policies have generated a mismatch in educational practice (Ban, 2003; Jeong, 2002; Shin, 2005) so that controversy and dissatisfaction have kept surfacing from educational stakeholders (Brender & Jeong, 2006). There have also been critiques about governmental reform ideology which pursues a neoliberal principle in contrast to the traditional internal ideology (i.e., egalitarianism in Confucian philosophy) (Jo, 2005).

Shin (2005) and Yoo (2006) construe that these negative policy outcomes came from a closed top-down way of policy making (referring to 1995-2003 reform results) together with many reform plans remaining unimplemented. Yang (2012) also criticizes that there has still been a top-down way of reform policy implementation in Korea so that policy agenda setting and implementation tools are problematic. Yang strongly argues that strategic communication between policy makers and universities is needed to develop the quality of Korean higher education.

STRONG STATE

What allows this top-down way of policy making and implementation? Top-down policy making and implementation is usually viable in the condition of strong government and a weak civil society. Although South Korea is a politically democratized state (which may bring the strong voice of civil society to the policy making process), the bottom-up ground for policy making process is not likely to be feasible. I would like

to propose that this strong central power is ascribed to a historical legacy, a tight link to economic development, and a policy implementation method.

Historical Legacy

Described as a developmental state (i.e. a dirigiste state character in proceeding country's macro-economic plan), the South Korean government has taken a vital role in the economic development of the country (Amsden, 1989; Evans, 1995). Likewise, the Korean government has also played a critical role in educational development. The historical record (two thousand years history before the country officially became the Republic of Korea) shows that the central authorities had exerted an absolute power over people's education (Lee, J.K., 2000). The central government has also had a tight control over education in South Korea in modern times, from the 19th century to the 21st century (Mok, 2006; Kim & Lee, 2006; Lee, J.K., 2000a). The decisions on admission quotas, curricula, entrance exams, tuition fees, degree requirements, qualifications of teaching staff and so forth have been in the hand of the government before neoliberal reforms. This centralized power can be justified by the long period of Confucian legacy, the bureaucratic vestige of Japanese colonization and a three-decade military rule (Kim, 2004; Park, 2003). Kim (2005) characterized this feature of Korean educational governance as *statism* moulded particularly in the context of Korean politics[15].

Economic Rationale

It is noteworthy that the South Korean government made use of its higher education for the national reconstruction and the economic prosperity of the country. Since the Korean civil war (1950-1953), the Korean government has produced in both society and industry workers such as teachers, engineers, etc., through higher education while replacing modern bureaucrats and scholars from Japanese colonial manpower. The Korean government regulated university and college enrolment and administered the national entrance examination based on the analysis of the industrial demand. As a result, Korean higher education supplied each field of industrial manpower, enabling social mobility of individuals (Kim Y.H., 2000; Lee N., 2000). In turn, national leaders have regarded higher education as a generator for human resources and an apparatus of social mobility. Even under the neoliberal reforms, education has been regarded as a driving force for national economy with the rhetoric of global competitiveness of human resources in a knowledge-based economy.

Funding Mechanism

Although the Korean government claimed a minimal state intervention for neoliberal competition and released a certain level of institutional autonomy, the strength of central power has not been decreased. Rather, the government power has

grown through financial rewards of nation-wide research projects during neoliberal reforms. As explained in earlier pages, the Korean government implemented national research projects (e.g. BK21, NURI, WCU) and other types of projects (e.g. LINC, ACE) during the neoliberal reform period (1993 – present). The reward for these projects is funding allocation. As universities' major financial source is student tuition[16], a governmental funding through project competitions and institutional evaluation is the most influential subsidy for individual universities. Therefore, this funding mechanism is the *de facto* contributor for state power enhancement during implementation of higher education reforms.

RATIONALIZATION

Along with policy formation, there is a necessary task for the state government to initiate and continue reform policies. Besides political consensus (voting), the government must obtain agreement from civil society. Otherwise, policy reform has no validity. In order to persuade the public, especially educational stakeholders, the Korean policy makers (political leaders and the reform policy committees) need to rationalize higher education reform and justify a *neoliberal* way. Thus, an ideological[17] rationalization process should not be overlooked in examining the state role in neoliberal education reform.

How has the South Korean government been able to rationalize neoliberal higher education reform? I would say political rhetoric, mass media, and scholastic debates worked well. In a capitalist world order, the biggest political agenda is an economic condition. In this sense, electoral pledges imply the economic utility (generating industry-demand human capital and economic surplus values) of higher education in a competitive knowledge-based global economy. In other words, political leaders who confronted the urgent plan for national economy defined higher education as an economic engine and rhetoricized *neoliberal* principles of higher education reform for their political achievement – winning elections. By politicizing the need of higher education reform for the national economy, a particular discourse (verbal and written words, texts, and conversation) was formulated and circulated through mass media and academes.

Linguistic and Perceptual Necessity

Policy is a product of the text in which political values are underlying (Taylor, Rizvi, Lingard, & Henry, 1997) so that policy can be understood as a means of legitimization for specific political values or ideologies. Under the name of reform, Korean policy makers have favoured specific languages which reflect their political values.

> …The changes in the marketplace engendered by technological advance and globalization have rendered labour-intensive manufacturing obsolete and no longer dependable as an initiative factor in economic growth. In this vein, the government regards higher education as a prime motivator for the

> establishment of a high-quality manpower system as well as for the extension of national power. As an emphasis is placed on occupying a competitive edge in the international marketplace, educational reform, especially higher education is now considered a viable option for the new century…" (Educational Reform toward the 21st Century in Korea, MOE 1998, as cited in Lee, J. K. 2000b, p. 3).

> …Education reform is the most urgent task before everything else. Uniformed government-administered education, closed university entrance system should be transformed to an autonomy, creativity, and competition-based educational practice. Education reform should also accommodate global standards… Autonomy in higher education is the key to the advancement of Korean society as well as national competitiveness. By increasing the capability of education and research, Korean higher education should compete with world's universities and stand at the front of knowledge-based society…" (From the president's inaugural address of Myung-bak Lee, Feb. 25, 2008)

The above examples of the official announcements of Korean political leaders address the necessity of higher education reform. The fundamental ideas of these announcements were reflected on policy documents and implementation reports. Throughout the documented discourse within the period of 1993-2012 present, the strategic highlights on particular terms and words are likely to justify the rationale of neoliberal reform in the context of Korean higher education. Namely, a discourse about neoliberal reforms appears as a linguistic and perceptual necessity in Korean policy documents, other related written texts and media reports.

Being treated as neoliberal principles, certain words have frequently shown up in policy documents, mass media sources and policy analyzing researches and reports. The following words are the most frequently repeated and spotlighted for reform policies and political leaders' official speeches: i) educational excellence, global competitiveness, autonomy, diversification and specialization, life-long learning, and learner-centered in the YS administration (1993-1998), ii) human resource, autonomy and accountability, national competitiveness, research-oriented, information society, consumer-oriented, world-class, creativity in the DJ administration (1998-2002), iii) reform and integration, participation and consensus, (regional) balanced development, and decentralization[18] in the Roh administration (2002-2007), iv) human talents, global standard, competition, autonomy, national competitiveness, advancement of society, creative capacity, and autonomy and excellence in the MB administration (2007-2013). *Globalization* and *knowledge-based economy or knowledge-based society* have been mostly uttered words in common.

CONCLUSION: STATE AS A STRICT REGULATOR AND A CAPITALIST MEDIATOR

It is obvious that South Korea has gone through *neoliberal* higher education reform over the last two decades. Although each regime has different political tendencies—YS and Lee regimes are the conservatives juxtaposed with DJ and Roh's regimes

which are the liberal and progressive liberal—, all four regimes recognized the urgent need of educational reform for higher education and selected a neoliberal way. This neoliberal way embraces and stresses market principles in education.

Two important questions are raised about the role of the state in these neoliberal education reforms. One is whether the state power is weakened or enhanced. In the era of globalization, there was a consideration that statist governance in Korean education would have become unviable (Kim, K. S., 2005). However, I found that the statist nature is unlikely to disappear during continual reforms of Korean higher education. The drivers of policy reform are both external and internal, yet neither is directly able to set up and mandate reform plans for Korean education on its own. It is the state government that is responsible for the policy reform of one country. Accordingly, the role of the state is destined to remain vital in local policy making, especially in global capitalism because of the state's regulatory controls (Carnoy, 2001; Holton, 1998). Kim, T. (2008, 2010) also argues that the Korean government has kept a role of strong *regulator* in recent higher education reforms. By looking into the recent reforms of Korean higher education, I discovered that the Korean government made the powerful beginning of neoliberal reform in a short time, owing to a historical legacy of strong educational governance and a tight link to economic development. Combined with these two, a funding distribution method has enabled the Korean government to push ahead reform practices over two decades.

Another question is how the Korean government has convinced the public to accept recent educational reforms and a neoliberal path? I would argue that there exists an ideological rationalization work done by policy makers (political leaders and their policy making brain groups). By creating and repeating a specific discourse through political events (e.g. election) and the use of expertise (e.g. both local and international brain networks), the Korean government has been able to justify the need of neoliberal education reform. What is the pervasive discourse on neoliberal reform for higher education in Korea? It is the economic rationale – *the enhancement of universities' and students' competitiveness through competition and market involvement would enrich not only national economy but also individuals' well-being in a globalized knowledge-based industry*. For the last two decades, the Korean government has emphasized this idea and the public has taken it for granted. Mass media and scholastic debates have helped this discourse become disseminated and reinforced. Why economic rationale? Because South Korea is one capitalist developing country and the primary concern of state politics is economy.

To sum up, the Korean government has mobilized domestic political capacity to make and implement neoliberal higher education reform in the following ways: 1) accessibility of information (access to the global discourse created by a supranational network and the use of domestic expertise), ii) capability of addressing reform issues and needs (chosen electoral pledges and presidential committee by elected presidents), iii) viability of policy reform ((ad)ministerial collaboration and weak domestic veto power), and iv) centralized control over educational spending. This political capacity is a *post-authoritarian* characteristic that can be shown in

other developing countries. The next inquiry should explore other countries that had the same journey as South Korea (economic rationale with strong central power) to implement neoliberal education reform.

NOTES

[1] Higher education in South Korea is composed of 202 four-year universities and 147 junior colleges. I conducted my research focusing on 4-year universities. (Country Index, 2012)

[2] Starting from only 19 institutions of approximately 27,000 students (including North Korea boundary) in 1945 (the year when the Republic of Korea began after 36 years of Japanese colonial rule), the number of higher education institutions in South Korea now reaches 349 with 2,985,346 registered student number as of 2011 (Country Index, 2012). Statistics data is drawn from 1945 when the Republic of Korea government was established after the Japanese colony.

[3] As a political-economic ideology, neoliberalism justifies economic and social policies of individual countries. Quoting Harvey's conceptualization, I consider neoliberalism as "a theory of political economic practices that proposes that human well-being can best be advanced by liberating individual entrepreneurial freedoms and skills within an institutional framework characterized by strong private property rights, free markets and free trade (Harvey, 2005, p. 2).

[4] The IMF crisis is known as the Asian Financial Crisis in 1997 and refers to the time of financial turmoil in Asia. The crisis started from Thailand and stretched to other South and East Asian countries including South Korea. An increasing foreign capital flow rendered Asian financial market vulnerable to dollars and local currencies devalued. As a result, Asian developing countries faced insolvency for foreign debts in dollars. The IMF lent those Asian countries emergency rescue loans which conditioned structural adjust plans. In Korea, the crisis is commonly called an IMF crisis that brought economic and societal restructuring after the IMF aid.

[5] In Korean context, Segyehwa policy implies the strategic state response to financial capital deregulation and international labour flow rather than the description of globalization phenomena.

[6] The internationalization strategy stresses cultural integration.

[7] The first round of BK21 project was from 1999 to 2005. The second round (2006-2012) is ongoing. The project aims at bringing selected major university research projects to world-class level. U.S $1.3billion investment was allocated to 120 institutions to run 440 projects.

[8] The principle of BK21 competition is called selection and concentration so that only selected universities received funding for their group projects.

[9] No allowance of university managed admission exam – bongosa administered by individual universities, donation-based admission, nor high school ranking for educational equality.

[10] NURI project is for regional universities and colleges to nurture human resources readily adaptable to the industry. US $1.24 billion was invested over a period of five years (2004-2009). It is a Korean version of triple helix model (British) of university—industry-regional government partnership (Kim, T., 2010). The underlying purpose of this project is about educational equality. By constraining research funding to regional universities, the Korean government attempted to reduce the institutional gap between in-Seoul universities and regional universities in research funding distribution.

[11] WCU funding project encourages universities to invite world-renown foreign scholars and provide high quality education in South Korea. This project is 5-year plan (2008-2012) with the financial support of 33 universities (140 projects). The ultimate purpose of this project is to nurture at least 10 Korean universities in 100 world ranking.

[12] The Lee administration invested KRW 16.6 trillion (approx. USD 15 billion) on the advanced technology projects by 2010. For example, the project, "high risk, high return pioneer research project" strategically invested in basic research and advanced technology, R&D in biotechnology, nanotechnology and brain research.

[13] Based on evaluation such as the employment rate of graduates, the yearly enrollment rate and the number of full-time instructors, the Korean ministry of education has announced an annual university blacklist since 2010. Universities on the list had penalties: government subsidy cuts, the reduction of student loan and student quota. The ministry informed nonviable universities (five as of 2012) to shut down.

[14] The MB administration intends to nurture excellent human resources from graduate schools and list at least seven world class research universities (especially in a high-technology field) in top world 100 university rankings. As of 2012, only one or two universities are ranked in some international rankings.

[15] South Korea experienced authoritarian politics (Rhee: 1948-1960, Park: 1962-1979, Chun: 1980-1987) in modern times, following Japanese imperialist colonization (1910-1945). These authoritarian regimes influence the statist culture of education policy.

[16] About 80% of Korean universities rely on private ownership and only 3% of private university expenditure comes from government funding.

[17] Ideology is here understood as a set of beliefs in one's actions.

[18] Decentralization is here considered as institutional autonomy and accountability in Korean context

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TATIANA GOUNKO

9. REVIVING RUSSIAN SCIENCE AND ACADEMIA

In October 2010, the Royal Swedish Academy of Science announced the laureates of the Nobel Prize in physics. Andre Geim and Konstantin Novoselov jointly received this award for groundbreaking experiments regarding the two-dimensional material called graphene, which, according to science experts, will have a wide range of practical applications in the future. The research duo has been working together for over a decade. Born in 1974, Dr. Novoselov is the youngest scientist to be awarded the prestigious Nobel Prize since 1973. He first worked as a Ph.D. student with Dr. Andre Geim in the Netherlands and subsequently joined him in the United Kingdom. Both scientists are currently conducting their research at the University of Manchester. Needless to say, the University of Manchester administration expressed its delight with the news by calling the prize "a truly tremendous achievement" and "a testimony to the quality of research that is being carried out in Physics and more broadly across the University" (University of Manchester, 2010, p. 1).

Most of the press releases and on-line publications devoted to the prize-winning duo briefly mentioned that Drs. Geim and Novoselov were Russian-trained researchers. Dr. Geim, who had received his doctorate at the age of 29 and worked for a number of years as a researcher at the Institute for Microelectronics Technology in Chernogolovka (Russia), left the country in 1994 to continue his research career in the Netherlands and later in the United Kingdom. Dr. Novoselov graduated from the Moscow Physical-Technical University in 1997 and joined Dr. Geim in 1999 at the University of Nijmegen, the Netherlands, where he received his doctorate in 2004.

As the news about the Nobel Prize winners was spread across the international media, Russia cheered but also recognized its losses from a devastating brain drain after the demise of the Soviet Union and subsequent economic crises, which forced many scientists to leave the country. Russian President Dmitry Medvedev said that he was pleased that Russian-born scientists had won the Nobel Prize in physics, but regretted that the laureates were currently working abroad. Mr. Medvedev criticized the government for failing to improve research facilities and to provide attractive conditions for scientists to work in the country after graduation. According to Antonova (2010), hundreds of young scientists, especially those working in applied fields that require expensive equipment and experiments, have left Russia and continue to leave in order to continue their scientific work. Dr. Novoselov, the youngest Russian national to ever win the Nobel Prize, also holds a British passport. Dr. Geim has not worked in Russia since the early 1990s and is now a citizen of the Netherlands. President Medvedev said that, Russia was offering "decent grants" to

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scientists but was still struggling to maintain the quality of its research facilities. Most laboratory facilities have not been improved in recent years and are critically outdated.

Russian scientists, thrilled about their former colleagues' achievement, also acknowledged the pitiful state of Russian science, which suffers from a lack of financing, archaic research facilities, bureaucracy, misguided funding, as well as the scientists' "living and working misery" ("Nobel Prize Win," 2010). The announcement of the Nobel Prize winners restarted the debate about the state of Russia's research and higher education system and the need to modernize the system and to reverse the brain drain. While nobody knows exactly how many researchers have left Russia during the past two decades, the government estimated that since the 1990s, over 35,000 scientists have left Russia and that approximately the same number, although officially affiliated with Russian institutions, are permanently working abroad. According to another official report, between 1990 and 2005, the number of researchers dropped by 58 per cent, so that Russian science lost more than one million people to internal and external brain drains. The emigration of scientific personnel (even of a small number of scientists) was recognized as a grave loss for the country. Some scientists moved abroad not only to improve their material conditions, but also to have a chance at self-realization. The exodus of scientists is greatly affecting the quality of Russia's intellectual capital and will have a dramatic impact on the future development of the nation ("Brain drain issues," 1994).

Despite two decades of social and economic reforms and a number of positive developments in the education sector and sciences, the Russian government has not been able to reverse the negative situation in research and the sciences. While many projects have been introduced to restructure Russia's science sector, scientists are still expressing their concerns about the on-going brain drain and the "looming collapse" of science in the country (*RIA Novosti*, 2009). Research institutions and universities are struggling to preserve the traditional strengths of the academic system while trying to adapt to the requirements of the new order. The deteriorating situation of academia is caused primarily by the lack of appropriate financing that has plagued Russian science and universities since the 1990s and by the absence of effective research structures. These issues are directly connected to the recruitment of a new generation of scholars and are likely to have long-lasting effects on Russian higher education and science.

The purpose of this chapter is to analyze the current government initiatives designed to integrate research and teaching into Russian universities and to restructure the science and higher education sectors. This investigation is preliminary in that it addresses the current legislation and policies guiding these processes, thereby establishing the basis for the subsequent empirical work to examine the implementation of these policies and how Russian academics perceive them. As the process is still continuing, a final assessment of the results of these programs and initiatives cannot yet be written. My intent is to discuss recent government initiatives to establish national research universities and integrate research and teaching vis-à-vis the global context

in which top research universities are increasingly becoming an integral part of the global higher education environment. According to the World Bank tertiary education coordinator, Jamil Salmi (2009b), top research universities possess: (a) a high concentration of talent (faculty and students); (b) abundant resources for research and learning; and (c) favourable governance that encourages leadership, strategic vision, innovation, flexibility, and resource management without cumbersome bureaucracy. In reforming higher education and establishing research universities, many countries are invariably looking at successful research universities emulating an informal global research model, which is essentially based on the U.S. research university (Altbach & Salmi, 2011).

In discussing the current initiatives, I also draw on my personal experience in Russian and Canadian universities. For 10 years, from 1990 to 2000, I held tenure at a Russian university which I left in 2000 to pursue a doctoral degree in Canada. Since 2001, I have been engaged with Canadian universities, both as a graduate student and faculty member. My experiences allow me to appreciate the challenges associated with the integration of research and teaching in Russian universities and the problems facing academics during the implementation of the government programmes.

Publicly available policy documents provided the main data for this discussion. The examined policy documents include the *Research and Pedagogical Cadre for Innovative Russia* (2008), *the Law on Education* (1992), *the Federal Law on Higher and Post-Graduate Professional Education* (1996), and *the Strategy for the Development of Science and Innovation in the Russian Federation until 2015* (2006). Additional information was obtained from primary and secondary sources such as Russian government press releases, on-line communications, newspaper publications, and research articles related to science and research.

The legal basis of higher education in Russia lies in the country's federal laws on education and higher education, as well as the labor laws and the Constitution of the Russian Federation. During the past several decades, education legislation has been often amended to reflect new government initiatives in response to developments in the global economy and tertiary education.

THE STATE OF RUSSIAN SCIENCE AND RESEARCH

In order to appreciate the challenges facing Russian science today, one should be aware of its unique organization and structure. In the Soviet Union as well as in the present-day Russia, scientific research has been distributed among three so-called "pyramids": the university system, the academy of sciences system, and the industrial and defense system (Graham & Dezhina, 2008). Most fundamental research has been conducted by the Academy of Sciences, the most prestigious scientific institution in the country. Universities have had a narrower pedagogical mandate and carried out mostly applied research. This research organization is noticeably different from that found in many Western countries such as Canada and the United States, where universities perform most of the fundamental research.

In the Soviet Union, for decades, the central government and its ministries managed universities, which were fully subordinated to the state and had little autonomy in academic matters. The state determined student quotas, the number of academic positions, and the curriculum; it also set university budgets, and faculty and staff salaries. The centralization of power and prominence of the communist ideology significantly limited institutional self-governance and academic freedom. To receive an academic appointment, a candidate was often required to have a recommendation letter from a communist party organization at the higher education institution to which she or he was applying (Smolensteva, 2003). Under the state-centered model, which shaped higher education in the Soviet Union and Russia, universities have been considered state-operated institutions. According to Dobbins, Knill, and Vögtle (2011), universities in such systems are "subject to the formal administrative control of the state and granted relatively little autonomy" (p. 6).

ISSUES OF THE PAST AND THE PRESENT

During the Soviet period, the higher education system was uniform and centrally planned and governed. Before the 1990s, the country had approximately 40 classical universities and hundreds of polytechnic and specialized institutes offering undergraduate and graduate degrees. In the past two decades, many new types of institutions, both public and for-profit, have been opened in the Russian Federation. According to the Russian education statistics, in 2005, Russia had 328 state universities, 43 of which were members of the Association of Classical Universities. Since 2006, the government has attempted to consolidate state universities by establishing new categories of institutions such as "the national research university" and "the federal university." The state officials appoint the rectors of the federal universities. The government envisions that a new university model and new systems of management will be implemented throughout Russia. The federal universities will become integrated complexes of education, science and business, as well as centers of innovation, technological development and personnel training. By establishing these Russian 'ivy league' universities and concentrating its resources, the government hopes that Russian universities will be able to rival the world's best universities (Holdsworth, 2008).

In Russia, the failure to fully fund higher education in the 1990s negatively affected academics, who often were not paid on time and were forced to look for additional employment outside of universities and, in some cases, to leave the country. In fact, the government's policy for wages and salaries was cited as one of the most important factors causing the intelligentsia to emigrate (Naumova, 2005; Naumova & Jones, 1998). Financial problems, insufficient and delayed payments, and uncertainties undermined the dedication of higher education staff to their institutions and profession. That higher education institutes continued to turn out high-quality graduates for some time was due largely to the dedication, professionalism, and ingenuity of the professorate. Russian academics have been

considered a major asset of the Russian higher education system (OECD, 1998). However, in order to survive, many professors had to seek employment outside their universities, supplementing their insufficient income by teaching courses in private institutions and tutoring prospective students. Researchers (e.g., Kastueva-Jean, 2006; Kniazev, 2002) pointed to the distressing situation in higher education where the wages of young professors were below the subsistence level. Consequently, those who are able to find better-paying jobs are leaving the state-funded universities. The low salaries paid to academics have already forced many to leave universities and may prevent future generations of scholars from choosing research and teaching careers. As some experts have argued, with such wage policies in place, the university system will inevitably experience a period of steady decline in its quality as well as decreasing control over key academic functions (Altbach, Reisber, & Rumbley, 2010; Naumova, 2005).

In the new millennium, the Russian government announced its return to funding education and promised to increase budget allocations for higher education and research. While the government has been constantly stressing the need to implement new mechanisms for the financing of higher education and science so that the system can better adapt to labor market demands, the problems of inadequate financing and low university wages still remain unresolved. Dr. Molodin, the Deputy Chair of the Siberian Branch of the Russian Academy of Sciences, stated that Russian teachers and professors had been working under such inadequate conditions that monuments ought to be raised to honor these educators. In his opinion, unless educators are fairly paid, no radical changes will ever take place (Shcherbakova, 2002). The 2004 sociological survey showed that the main reasons why Russian scientists and intellectuals were choosing to emigrate included low wages, the decline in the prestige of intellectual work, lack of opportunities for professional growth, absence of social safety nets, and concerns for their children's future (Ivakhnyuk, 2006).

Other serious issues affecting Russian universities include the aging academia and low internal mobility. According to the 1999 OECD report, at some universities, the average age for professors was 60 years, which is the official age of retirement for males in the Russian Federation; the females' retirement age is 55. Since 2002, the number of researchers between the ages of 30-49 has decreased significantly (Government of the RF, 2008), and the teaching cohort aged 35 to 50 is the cohort most likely to leave state educational institutions. Due to the existing salary level and working conditions, universities have difficulty attracting talented graduates to junior academic positions.

Although modeled after the French and German systems, the Soviet science and higher education establishment had unique institutional characteristics. The distinct structure was a result of the centrally planned economy and direct state control over education. University teaching, scientific research, and industrial production were institutionally separated, which later proved to be detrimental to research activities in these institutions and to Russia's research and development in general (Gounko, 2008). With rare exceptions, universities and various polytechnic institutes were

involved primarily in teaching. Most fundamental research was conducted in the specialised research institutes of the Academy of Sciences. For many years, national and international bodies criticized this situation. Specifically, in the 1999 OECD report, the review team noted that the quality of Russian higher education had been negatively affected by the absence of strong financial support for research, the limited infrastructure, and the intentional separation of research and teaching.

In the past two decades, the organization of Russian science, its integration into universities, and financing has been on the government agenda continuously. As a result, the governance system of higher education and science has been streamlined. In April 2004, Russia's Cabinet of Ministers established a new Ministry of Education and Science with four internal bodies: the Federal Agency of Education, the Federal Agency for Science and Innovation, the Federal Education and Science Supervision Service, and the Federal Service for Intellectual Property, Patents and Trademarks. The Ministry of Education and Science is responsible for developing state policy and drafting legislation, approving the budget, staffing, and performance indicators for subordinated units; the Federal Agency of Education deals with policy implementation, property management, budget disbursement, and student quotas. The Federal Education and Science Supervision Service monitors and controls reforms and outcomes. According to Timoshenko (2011), the merger of the education and science portfolios into a single Ministry of Education and Science was intended to facilitate the integration of research into universities. Among other measures to promote this integration, the government established research universities and university complexes to link research, innovations, and training. By incorporating various research and training organisations and industrial firms into leading research universities, the government hopes to create 'centres of excellence' that will transform Russian higher education and research into a world-class system.

Despite these continuous efforts to reform higher education and science, the government has lacked a clear strategy for higher education reform. The 2007 OECD report noted that Research and Development (R&D) in higher education institutions faced many unresolved problems including weak cooperation among science institutions, education institutions, and industry; lack of appropriate financing for R&D, and the business sector's low involvement in funding science and research in HEIs; inadequate research and development infrastructure; absence of a legal framework and an effective evaluation system for institutional research; and insufficient commercialization of the R&D activities conducted by HEIs.

CURRENT GOVERNMENT INITIATIVES

The long-term objective of integrating research and teaching was stipulated in the *Strategy for the Development of Science and Innovation in the Russian Federation until 2015* (adopted in 2006). According to this strategy, a number of specific initiatives would be implemented. These initiatives were designed to support research and teaching in HEIs; laboratory infrastructure improvement; research grants for

young scholars; research teams and students' research in HEIs in order to attract young scientists; the establishment of research-teaching centres and the integration of research, education and industry; and the development of Ph.D. (*aspirantura*) programmes and institutional management. By implementing specific measures to broaden research and innovation activities in universities, university centres, and HEIs, and to increase infrastructure development and improve research and teaching based on long-term contracts, the government hopes to raise leading universities' share in research and innovation to the level found in the major developed countries.

FEDERAL UNIVERSITIES AND NATIONAL RESEARCH UNIVERSITIES

In the beginning of the 2000s, the Russian government grew concerned about the large number (approximately 1000) of universities and other institutions that had been opened across the country. Some of these institutions were of questionable quality and were essentially "diploma mills." At the same time, the pressure to build world-class universities, which are considered essential for global competitiveness and economic growth, and the proliferation of international league tables in the past several years prompted many governments to provide additional funding for various "excellence initiatives" (Altbach & Salmi, 2011). According to Salmi (2009b), a government can follow three basic strategies to establish world-class universities: upgrade a small number of existing institutions (pick winners); merge and transform existing institutions into new universities (use the hybrid formula); and create new world-class universities from scratch (using the clean-slate approach).

Following these trends, in 2006, the Russian government started to consolidate higher education institutions by merging several institutions across the country, establishing new federal universities, and initiating a competition for federal funding among the existing universities. The government wanted to create a new university model that could be replicated throughout the country and to concentrate its resources on the top institutions that would climb up the league table of world universities (Holdsworth, 2008).

Since 2006, a Federal University has been established in each of the seven federal districts of Russia. The new universities are the Southern Federal University, the Siberian Federal University, the Northern (Arctic) Federal University, the Volga Federal University, the Urals Federal University, the Far Eastern Federal University, and the Northeastern Federal University. Moscow State University and Saint Petersburg State University, two of the oldest and most prestigious institutions, acquired Federal University status in 2007 (Timoshenko, 2011). The strategic mission assigned to a Federal University is to form and develop competitive human capital in the federal districts in accordance with the federal and regional programs of social and economic development.

In addition, through a government-held competition between existing universities, 27 institutions were granted the status of a National Research University. According to the National Training Foundation (2012), National Research Universities (NRU)

are expected to generate knowledge, train highly qualified specialists, develop new programs for life-long learning, conduct fundamental and applied research, and transfer knowledge into the national economy. The integration of teaching and research makes these universities central to the development of the knowledge economy and the human capital necessary for Russia to compete in the global economy.

Since federal and national research universities are crucial to integrating research and teaching and ensuring the competitiveness of the Russian economy, the government has pledged additional funding for them. Forrat (2012) suggested that the shift in the government funding policy in the second half of the 2000s may be explained by the concerns about the low quality of education and the inefficient use of public resources. Instead of wasting limited resources to support institutions providing a poor education, the government decided to fund a smaller number of leading universities which could carry out world-class research and teaching, contribute to the modernization of Russia's economy, and represent Russia internationally.

It is expected that the new university model will be adopted throughout the Russian regions. The universities will introduce new management systems and integrated complexes of education, science and business, and build centres of innovative technology and human capital development. According to the government forecast, within 5-6 years, a new university model will be adopted by at least 10 leading universities in Russia, and, by 2020, Russian universities should be among 100 best universities in the world (National Training Foundation, 2012).

ADDRESSING THE PROBLEM OF ACADEMIC PERSONNEL

The issue of academic personnel development is central to the improvement of the knowledge and economic potential of Russia. As Altbach and Salmi (2011) argue, world-class universities require well educated academics to perform their teaching and research responsibilities at the highest level. Since the 1990s, the problems of the aging academia and the brain drain have permanently figured in the Russian literature on science and higher education, but the Russian government waited until 2008 to adopt a specific program to attract a new generation of scientists to the nation's universities. Acknowledging the need to preserve research traditions in a wide range of disciplines and to avoid a "catastrophic" situation in science, the government proposed a series of measures to support research and innovation and increase the pool of talented academics.

The Ministry of Education and Science introduced a Federal Programme called the Research and Pedagogical Cadre for an Innovative Russia to promote the training of scientists and pedagogical personnel and to attract and retain promising young specialists in the sciences, education, and ICT. This programme complements another government initiative, the Strategy for the Development of Science and Innovation in the Russian Federation, which deals with reforms of the administrative,

organizational, and legislative structures of public research and higher education institutions. By allocating over 90 billion rubles (approximately 2.3 billion Euros) between 2009 and 2013 for the Federal Programme, the government expects to achieve the following results: (1) to raise the quality of research and teaching personnel, (2) to attract young talented researchers, (3) to increase the number of researchers and university professors with the highest qualifications (with Candidate of Sciences and Doctor of Sciences degrees), (4) to raise the quality of research publications, and (5) to increase the number of research and educational institutions implementing the methods of the international top research universities. Approved by the Russian government in July of 2008, the programme is expected to create the necessary conditions to promote the renewal of researchers and the professorate by attracting young specialists to the fields of science, education, and high technology. In the opening paragraphs of the document, the government acknowledges the grim situation in Russian science and higher education. Despite many previous initiatives to attract young people to academia, the government has not been successful in combating the external (to other countries) and internal (to other sectors of industry) brain drains and in making science and higher education more appealing to the new generation of researchers. As these issues cannot be resolved solely by market mechanisms, which the federal government once viewed as the only means to make education and science competitive in the global market, the current government argues for a comprehensive approach to the renewal of Russia's science and research.

In this regard, Minister of Education and Science, Andrei Fursenko, stated that in order to make higher education attractive to the new generation, the following priority issues should be addressed. First, researchers' and professors' salaries should be increased. Second, working conditions should be improved; modern research facilities and access to international research should be made available to young specialists to fulfill their professional aspirations. Third, opportunities for professional growth and career advancement should be provided. Finally, living conditions for young scientists and professors should be improved (Government of the RF, 2008). The success of the program will depend on addressing these issues, which Russian sociologists consider to be of the outmost importance for young researchers. Mr. Fursenko noted that the government was aware that salaries and conditions in science research and higher education needed to become comparable to those in the economically developed countries. Career progress should be based on clear procedures and reflect real professional achievements. New specialists should be able to acquire their chosen position via a fair competition.

One of the stated measures of the Programme involves the improvement of internal staff mobility in research and educational centers. The government proposed the development of comprehensive hiring and evaluation procedures in order to increase the number of young talented people in science and academia. Another important issue directly related to internal mobility is the availability of housing for novice researchers. The government pledged to provide funds for new facilities and halls of residence at 28 universities across the Russian Federation.

The proposed reforms support the overall socio-economic development of Russia "in response to the economic demands and science innovation policy" (Government of RF, 2008, p. 7). The government wants to foster effective cooperation between science and higher education and private sector organizations in order to bring the Russian economy in line with other knowledge-based economies. The active participation of scientists and university researchers, whose preparation and retention must accompany structural reforms, is considered a necessary requirement. In order to attract and retain young specialists in the fields of science, higher education, and technology, the authors of the programme proposed four sets of measures. The first set promotes research projects by teams that include senior and young researchers from university research centres; fosters researchers' mobility between institutions; invites international scientists to participate in research; and supports the retention and renewal of researchers and academics. The second set of measures, designed to develop an infrastructure for retaining young specialists, includes organizing national and international conferences and academic competitions among young scientists, sharing information about research and education, supplying leading research institutions with state-of-the-art equipment, and establishing core National Research Universities. The third set of measures is intended to ensure investments for training science and higher education specialists and for building appropriate housing (e.g., halls of residence). Finally, the fourth set of measures is intended to ensure the programme's implementation by providing technical information and analytical support for government grants and contracts (NTF, 2012).

In April of 2010, the Russian government approved the allocation of 3 billion rubles (approx. 72 million Euros) from the federal budget, with an additional 5 billion to be allocated in 2011, and another 4 billion in 2012 for the program called the Measures to Attract Leading Scientists to Russian Educational Institutions. According to the official government press release, the program funds would be made available through a competitive grant process. Scientists of all nationalities and countries of residence would be eligible to apply. Upon the approval, the researchers would be expected to form a research team which would include members from a Russian host university who had advanced academic degrees, as well as graduate and undergraduate students. Applications would be peer- reviewed in accordance with international standards. The grant board consisting of internationally renowned Russian scholars would determine the priority research areas and evaluate the submitted proposals. The government officials stated that the program would provide up to 150 million rubles (approx. 3.7 million Euros) for each research project in 2010-2012, with opportunities to extend the research period by another 1-2 years (Ministry of Education and Science, 2010).

Since the beginning of the program in 2009, a number of research grants have been awarded to international scholars and teams of researchers. In October 2010, the Grant Council announced the first 40 winners, who had been given "mega-grants" through the open public competition which had received more than 500 applications. The selected winners, conducting research in chemistry, biology,

mathematics, physics and mathematics, were both Russian and foreign nationals. These researchers were leading investigation teams in various national universities. In 2011, the Grant Council awarded 39 grants to a second group of international scholars that included two Nobel Prize laureates.

The Grant Council identified the specific research fields that would receive government funding: astronomy and astrophysics, nuclear technology, biological sciences, ICTs, mathematics and engineering, medical sciences, nanotechnology, psychology, economics and sociology, physics and chemistry. The preference was given to the so-called "STEM" (science, technology, engineering and mathematics) fields.

In May 2012, in one of the first decrees signed by President Putin, the Russian government expressed its commitment to continue the current course of reforms. Issues addressed in this decree included the funding of science and higher education: they were to receive more federal funding to support research, and, by 2015, such funding would account for 1.77 per cent of the GDP. These measures were intended to increase research productivity and the number of publications in internationally recognized journals by 2.44 percent.

DISCUSSION AND IMPLICATIONS

Russia's economic instability and the erosion of the research and higher education resource base have negatively affected vital areas of the education system, institutions, and the people within their walls (Scott, 2002). Although the government guaranteed the financing of research and higher education, budget allocations steadily declined throughout the previous two decades. While during the last several years, the federal government has provided additional funds for institutions and scholars, an academic career in Russia rarely provides a quality of life compatible with that in Western countries. Regarding Russia's reform implementation, the World Bank (2004) stated that the fossilized governance system for higher education, at both the federal and the institutional levels, was closed to the external environment and to university insiders, and was a major barrier to the modernization process. Merely updating legal and regulatory frameworks is not enough to create a new research culture. New concepts and pronouncements will not change entrenched practices, which *could* be changed by sustained efforts and long-term commitment.

In Russia, the insufficient financing of higher education has led to a deteriorating infrastructure, "catastrophic" conditions, "historical and cultural trauma," and a brain drain. Researchers (e.g., Bain, 2001; Bucur & Eklof, 2003) noted that for more than a decade, at many Russian universities, the professors had been demoralized because most of the faculty had been paid minimal wages; peer reviews and merit-based competitions for research money were virtually unknown, and accounting procedures were laughable. In order to ensure the survival of their families, most able and talented faculty were forced to take on two or three jobs in addition to "the one that once used to pay their bread" (Neave, 2006, p. 282). In fact, to earn a

living, the majority of Russian academics had to work at several jobs. Inevitably, this situation undermined the quality of teaching and research in universities.

Despite the policies adopted to attract the leading researchers to Russian universities and, to encourage the return of those who have left, some experts (e.g., Abankina, 2010) argue that the current federal programme, like the previous ones, does not include strong mechanisms for implementation. According to Professor Abankina (2010), after the programme's introduction, faculty salaries at the leading universities did not increase even though low faculty compensation results in the most talented graduates leaving either academia or the country. The university administrators controlled most of the available resources and used them to improve the university infrastructure. While infrastructure spending is important, the retention of the leading academics, researchers and post-graduates is equally important for Russian universities. So far, no significant changes have taken place at the leading federal and research universities.

The OECD (2007) report stated that the impact of the socio-economic changes and reforms on the human resources in the HEIs appeared to be negative. The evidence for this conclusion was the decline in the professors' prestige, primarily due to low wages, the decrease in young teachers and, as a result, the aging teaching staff, heavy teaching loads, and inadequate resources, which seriously inhibit the pursuit of research in many university departments. The decline in incomes and the quality of living has also led to a sharp increase in the teaching loads of Russian academics, who often have several jobs. Their teaching loads remain high compared to those in Western research universities where professors have modest teaching responsibilities and enough time to undertake and publish research. Altbach and Salmi (2011) pointed out that where teaching loads are relatively high, as is the case in many developing countries, research commitment and productivity tend to be relatively low. According to Froumin (2011), some leading Russian universities with close contacts with the Academy of Sciences have been able to attract researchers from the Academy to become part-time professors and engage graduate students in research activities. However, such cases are exceptions, as in most Russian universities, the integration of teaching and research is slow due to the existing barriers.

According to the OECD (1999), the teaching loads of university teachers should be at the average level in an international context, in order to reduce teaching responsibilities and provide time for research and independent work. Presently, the Russian education laws stipulate a high teaching load for academics, up to 900 hours per annum. The teaching load in Russian universities is calculated based on the amount of time spent on course preparation and actual teaching hours including those for lectures, seminars, and student advising. Approximately two-thirds of this load is comprised of actual time spent in classes. In my personal experience at Yakutsk State University, which has become a Federal University (and is currently called the Northeastern Federal University), my teaching responsibilities left no time for research and professional development. Moreover, the university did not have

separate professors' offices, which professors need to prepare for classes and conduct research. Offices were allocated for deans and department chairs, while instructors had to share a common office where they could leave their class materials. Unlike the institutes of the Academy of Sciences, most universities have limited research space for professors and students.

Since the 1990s, universities have been giving faculty five-year employment contracts, which also inhibit the current attempts to attract and retain talented faculty. As department chairs in Russian universities have considerable influence in hiring and promotion, cases of power abuse have occurred. At the same time, a critical factor in the Russian system is that competition for positions is generally conducted internally, whereas North American universities place their advertisements and hire professors internationally. Traditionally, Russian universities hire their own graduates and, thus, reproduce themselves and protect internal norms. Hiring for administrative positions is also done similarly. Due to internal recruitment and regional disparities, faculty mobility in Russia remains rather limited. According to Stromquist et al. (2007), in Russia, the labour market is more regional than national, and the mobility of academics across regions is limited. The low supply in the academic labour market can also contribute to the relative homogeneity of academic staff, because the absence of competition imposes no pressure on the profession and thus does not foster change. Policy makers believed that the present system, which grants no permanent contracts or academic tenure, would create an open competition to enhance effectiveness, renewal, and accountability. However, not only has this practice changed virtually nothing, it has made academic jobs even less attractive to the younger generation due to the lack of job security and the threat of losing an existing position if one's opinion differs from that of the administration.

Academic mobility is also limited in Russia because of the traditional distribution of higher educational institutions (most of them are in the central part of Russia, in Moscow and St. Petersburg), patterns of migration, difficulties with finding accommodation, and the culture of inbreeding (defined as hiring faculty with degrees from the local institution), which is widely accepted in Russian universities. While extensive empirical evidence suggests that inbreeding negatively affects faculty promotion, academic productivity and professional recognition, it is rarely discussed in Russian universities. According to Yudkevich and Sivak (2012), not only is inbreeding considered a normal practice in Russian universities, but 62 percent of department chairs, who usually influence employment politics, believe that universities should hire their own graduates. These institutional practices have been in place for many decades and are likely to continue due to the existing hiring policies.

Altbach and Salmi (2011) argued that for a research university to be successful, "the academics must enjoy conditions of employment that will permit them to do their best work" (p. 19). These conditions include full-time employment with adequate salaries to support themselves and their families and reasonable security

of tenure. Currently, tenure contracts are not permitted under the Russian legislation (Froumin, 2011). According to the OECD (2007), the low prestige of research and university teaching, the weak regulatory environment for individual contracts, and the gaps in pension legislation adversely affect university staffing in Russia (OECD, 2007). These conditions make the task of attracting and retaining talented academics and the implementation of current government initiatives extremely difficult.

Regarding the current initiatives, Fedyukin and Froumin (2010) noted that no government document clearly states the goals and performance indicators for federal and national research universities. Two years after establishing the first two federal universities, the Ministry of Education and Science provided a vague description of the federal university programme, and the Ministry did not write specific development programmes for the first two federal universities until *after* granting them their new status and funds. Moreover, Fedyukin and Froumin argued that the choice of national research universities lacked transparent criteria and procedures. Although the extra resources that the universities received were supposed to improve teaching and research, there is evidence that the universities did not spend their new funds on faculty and graduate students. In evaluating the implementation of the latest government initiatives, Professor Abankina (2010) suggested that the performance of the universities was rather disappointing as they had not implemented any structural changes or new management approaches, and also had failed to invest in human resources. These failures clearly indicated a gap between the policy goals and the policies' actual implementation. To eliminate this gap, universities would need to adapt modern resource management, develop their research capacity, change the faculty compensation system, and focus on attracting leading researchers and young academics.

Despite the generous government spending on research grants for international scholars, the mega-grant recipients expressed their concerns about a number of issues including visa applications, endless paperwork, spending restrictions, lack of equipment and qualified staff and administrative support, issues related to copyright and application of their research in Russia, and uncertainty about schedules (Krainova, 2011). For example, as many as eight researchers gave up their grant and did not begin working at the laboratory of algebraic economics at the Higher School of Economics because they "were unable to cope with … filling out endless papers" (p. 2). While everybody agrees that the general idea of the grant programme is necessary for the development of Russia's research potential, old legislative frameworks and red tape make this programmme's implementation grueling. This problem brings to mind the words of the Russian- born 2010 Nobel Laureats, Andrey Geim and Konstantin Novoselov, who described the education received in the Soviet Union as "one of the best in the world," but also publicly refused an invitation to work in Russia, saying that they were happy with their well-oiled research laboratory in Britain. Specifically, Dr. Geim noted that Russia had "neither the facilities nor the conditions" for research, and that Russia's "bureaucracy, corruption and idiocracy" were unacceptable (*Moscow News*, 2010). These poignant remarks indicate the

amount of work still required in order to make Russian science attractive to leading international researchers.

CONCLUSION

At the turn of the new millennium, the Russian government introduced a number of initiatives meant to align Russian higher education and science with worldwide trends including "the relentless logic of the global knowledge economy" (Altbach & Salmi, 2011, p. 14), the expansion, internationalization and competitiveness of higher education, the growing academic mobility, and the dominance of the research university model. Specifically, the government merged its education and science portfolios into the Ministry of Education and Science in order to integrate education and research and foster economic innovation and competitiveness. In responding to the rising competition among world-class universities, the government has established new categories of leading universities, Federal Universities and National Research Universities, which are receiving the targeted support. In addition, the government has introduced competitive grants to attract international scholars and raise the profile of science and research, and has adopted a set of policies to revive Russian academia.

While it is still too early to evaluate the full impact of these programmes, one can appreciate the efforts required and the barriers to their implementation. One of the significant barriers to Russia's modernization process, noted by the World Bank (2004), is the fossilized governance system of higher education, both at the federal and institutional levels. Further reforms in funding, management, organization and governance are still needed, especially in merging teaching and research and continuing efforts to develop leading research universities, where both STEMs and social sciences are treated as equally important (Graham & Dezhina, 2008).

Because the academic community is central to any research university, creating the necessary conditions for attracting and retaining talented specialists is a work in progress that involves a long-term commitment at the national and institutional levels. This commitment is especially important in an environment where university professors often collaborate with colleagues from different countries and are becoming increasingly internationally mobile. Research examining the challenges associated with the implementation of the new government initiatives and their implications for institutions and academics will be particularly valuable for assessing the impact of the reforms.

For the time being, the government must continue its work in this direction as the cultivation of Russian scientists and academics cannot be left to the market. The revival of Russian science and academy calls for a comprehensive approach and the participation of all stakeholders. If the professional and living conditions of Russian academics are not comparable to those of the academics in leading international universities, Russia will neither be able to reverse the loss of its intellectual potential, nor will she dream of having its own Nobel Prize laureates.

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BUDD HALL

10. KNOWLEDGE DEMOCRACY, HIGHER EDUCATION AND ENGAGEMENT: RENEGOTIATING THE SOCIAL CONTRACT

"European research must focus on the grand challenges of our times, moving beyond current rigid thematic approaches" The Lund Declaration, 2009

"*The responsiveness of universities cannot only be economic in character; it has to be of a wider social character*." Saleem Badat, Vice-Chancellor, Rhodes University

INTRODUCTION

Higher education and publically supported higher education in particular is a space of social and political contestation. Higher education institutions play powerful roles in all our societies producing the leaders in all our fields of professional and scientific endeavor. Society has further given higher education institutions the mandate to manage knowledge on its behalf. This second role as knowledge producer and knowledge disseminator has taken on more and more importance as knowledge itself has increasingly been seen as a key of contemporary economic development. The narratives of a knowledge economy and a knowledge society abound in the mission statements of universities, of Ministries of higher education and international bodies dealing with higher education. There are upwards of 7,000 universities throughout the world and millions of students, billions of research funds, vast networks for sharing knowledge and significant physical resources often within the urban centres of our nations.

Market interests, private and corporate interests, have been active over the past 30-40 years influencing higher education institutions to produce the kinds of flexible skilled workers needed in the global economy. The research and development capacities of higher education institutions have been sought or bought by multinational corporations in such fields as pharmaceuticals, engineering, software development, and medical research. They have sought to bring the capacities of the post-secondary sector closer to the needs and interests of the for-profit world generally with considerable success.

But the role of universities as contributors to the public good also has strong historical roots in the European and North American traditions as well as the traditions of higher education in the majority world. In the past 20 years, the debates

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and actions about higher education and engagement and outreach has taken on new energy. On one hand the various organisations working in physical communities and regions nearby universities in many countries of the world have realized that living in their midst are scholars, students, network administrators, scientists and intellectual innovators whose skills and capacities, if focused on complex local issues could make a significant impact on the quality of life. In addition, the persistence of global challenges such as social inclusion, food security, economic inequality, violence against women, ecological destruction, and housing affordability raises the challenge to higher education institutions to see how they can use their knowledge, students and instructors, networks, skills and capacities to take on the global challenges of our times.

This chapter focuses on the renegotiation of the social contract between society and higher education that is represented by the discourses of knowledge democracy and community-university engagement. I begin with five stories about knowledge followed with an elaboration of the concept of knowledge democracy before turning to a discussion of aspects of the contemporary discourses of community-university engagement.

THE SOCIETY FOR PARTICIPATORY RESEARCH IN ASIA (PRIA)

In the late 1970s a young Indian academician by the name of Rajesh Tandon, educated in the elite universities of India and the USA found himself deep in rural Rajasthan working as a researcher with Tribal farmers on rural development issues. He found on every issue of rural development that he encountered, that the unschooled women and men in rural Rajasthan were more knowledgeable than he, not marginally, but deeply so. A few years later when he had the opportunity, he created the non-governmental research organization that today is known as PRIA, the Society for Participatory Research in Asia, with the aim of supporting the development of grass roots knowledge with the urban and rural poor for social change.

THE HONEY BEE NETWORK

In the late 1980s in the state of Gujarat in India, a knowledge network was created dedicated to countering what they noted as a pernicious culture of knowledge asymmetry. Knowledge asymmetry occurs when the people who provide knowledge do not benefit from the gathering and organizing of that knowledge.

> Knowledge, they said, has been extracted, documented without any acknowledgement to the source. The documented knowledge has not been communicated to the knowledge holder for feedback. These practices have not only impoverished the knowledge holders by pushing them further down in the oblivion, but also have hampered the growth of an informal knowledge system, that is robust in nurturing creativity. (2013)

They called their project the Honey Bee knowledge network, based on the metaphor of the honey bee which does two things that scholars, often don't do. It collects pollen from the flowers without exploiting or hearing a complaint and it connects flower to flower through pollination so that in the end life itself continues.

MPAMBO AFRIKAN MULTIVERSITY

In the late 1990s, a Ugandan intellectual and civil society activist, Paulo Wangoola returned home to his Kingdom of Busoga after 25 years of work in various parts of Africa and abroad to report on the state of the world as he had experienced it. His message to his Elders was this.

> You sent me out, one of the lesser young people of my generation, to gain Western knowledge and to work in the structures and organisations of the Western world, to learn what I could from these experiences. I have been to their universities, have worked with their governments, have created Western style organisations here in Africa and now I have come home to share what I have learned. I come to tell you that we, the children of Busoga Kingdom, the children of Afrika will never realize our full potential as people in our communities and as contributors to the global treasury of knowledge if we continue to depend wholly on the content and ways of knowledge of the European peoples. Our way forward must be linked to the recovery, replenishment and revitalization of our thousands of years old Indigenous knowledge. (2009)

With those words came a decision by Wangoola to withdraw from the western world economic structures, to return to a subsistence life style and to dedicate himself to the creation of a village-based institution of higher education and research that is today known as the Mpambo, Afrikan Multiversity, a place for the support of mother-tongue scholars of Afrikan Indigenous knowledge.

MPUMALANGA TRADITIONAL KNOWLEDGE COMMONS

Early in the 21st century, eighty traditional healers living in Mpumalanga province in South Africa, women and men whose health and medical knowledge has been learned through traditional apprenticeships created a biocultural knowledge commons for the systematic sharing of their knowledge amongst each other for purposes of better serving the health needs of the people living in their province.

In doing so they described knowledge as, "An outcome of virtuous relationships with the land, the plants and the animals. It is not property to be bought and sold. It is simultaneously cultural and spiritual and its movement and application promotes a kind of virtuous cohesiveness" (Abrell, 2009).

UNIVERSITY OF ABAHLALHI BASEMJONDOLO

In 2005 in Durban South Africa some of the inhabitants of the tin-roofed shacks of the city created a blockade on Kennedy Road to protest the sale of land originally promised to the poor for house building, to an industrialist for commercial purposes. This movement of those living in these shacks has grown into, Abahlali baseMjondolo, the shackdwellers movement. But what is unique to this social movement is that they have created their own University of Abahlali baseMjondolo, a space for the creation of knowledge about survival, hope and transformation where the shack dwellers themselves are the scholars, the Professors and the teachers. They create and share knowledge through song, 'live action debates' and discussions and document the knowledge in a web based archive (2013).

LANGUAGES OF THE LAND

My final story begins with a young Indigenous woman from the Lil'wat First Nation in what is today called British Columbia, Canada. Her name is Lorna Williams, and in the 1960s she was chosen by her community to work as a research guide for a non-Indigenous linguist who had expressed an interest in working on the development of an alphabet for the St'át'imcets language. She was successful in this challenge and her people have made use of this alphabet since that time.

Flash forward to 2010 and this young woman is the leading authority on Indigenous Languages in Canada, holder of a prestigious research chair in Indigenous Knowledge and Learning at the University of Victoria in Western Canada. But the fate of the language of her community and the fate of most of the Indigenous languages of Canada has not fared as well. The impact of colonial domination of western language traditions has resulted in linguicide, the death or near-death of these carriers of our global cultural heritage.

And while the tragedy of the loss of these forms of cultural heritage remains as a sorrow deep within, Prof. Williams, in her role as Chair of the First People's Cultural Council has developed a highly innovative partnership with the internet giant Google, to create a global portal for Indigenous leaders of language communities around the world to work together for the preservation of these languages of the land (First People's Cultural Council, 2013).

KNOWLEDGE DEMOCRACY

In each of the stories that I have just shared with you knowledge is central. Knowledge is the star of each drama. Knowledge is dynamic, active, engaged and linked to social, political, cultural or sustainable changes. PRIA's co-constructed knowledge is linked to a variety of social movements in India. Mpambo's mother tongue scholars are stimulating an unprecedented reawakening of Afrikan spiritual knowledge and sharing in Uganda. The shack dwellers of Durban and beyond have

boldly taken the word university as their own and turned the knowledge hierarchies upside down in the service of justice for the poor. The Indigenous language champions working with the First People's Cultural Council have staked a claim to epistemological privilege over the western trained non-Indigenous linguists through the use of Google as a carrier of a different drumbeat. The healers from South Africa have staked their claims to knowledge superiority not to settle any epistemological scores with western science, but in their commitment to better serve the health needs of their people.

These knowledge innovators have all facilitated various means of creating, sharing and accessing knowledge that is not part of what is often called the western canon. For a variety of justice, cultural, spiritual, environmental, health reasons, the application of knowledge from the western canon in each one of these stories was seen as insufficient. The contexts, conditions, values, uses, politics of knowledge in each of these stories called for an opening outwards of our comfortable assumptions about whose knowledge counts and what the relationship between knowledge and life might be.

The development of the discourse of knowledge democracy has been emerging in recent years to help us to understand the relationship of knowledge to a more equitable world for at least two reasons. First we have found the use of the concepts of the knowledge economy and knowledge society to be wanting from the perspective of justice. Second we have seen a more general loss of confidence in the capacity of western white male euro-centric science to respond to the profound challenges of our times. As Tony Judt writes in the first sentence of his book, Ill Fares the Land, "Something is profoundly wrong with the way we live today" (2012, p.1)

As Cristina Esgrigas, the Executive Director of the Global University Network for Innovation has said. It is time to, review and reconsider the interchange of values between university and society; that is to say, we need to rethink the social relevance of universities. Humanity, she goes on to say, "Is now facing a time of major challenges, not to say, serious and profound problems regarding coexistence and relations with the natural environment. Unresolved problems include social injustice, poverty and disparity of wealth, fraud and lack of democracy, armed conflicts, exhaustion of natural resources and more. (2008)

Knowledge democracy refers to an interrelationship of phenomena. First, it acknowledges the importance of the existence of multiple epistemologies or ways of knowing such as organic, spiritual and land-based systems, frameworks arising from our social movements, and the knowledge of the marginalized or excluded everywhere, or what is sometimes referred to as subaltern knowledge. Secondly it affirms that knowledge is both created and represented in multiple forms including text, image, numbers, story, music, drama, poetry, ceremony, meditation and more. Third, and fundamental to our thinking about knowledge democracy, is understanding that knowledge is a powerful tool for taking action to deepen democracy and to struggle for a fairer and healthier world. Knowledge democracy is about intentionally linking values of democracy and action to the process of using knowledge.

VOICES OF KNOWLEDGE DEMOCRACY

In 1813, Thomas Jefferson, wrote the following:

> If nature has made one thing less susceptible than all others of exclusive property, it is the action of the thinking power called an idea, which an individual may exclusively possess as long as one keeps it to oneself; but the moment it is divulged, it forces itself into the possession of everyone, and the received cannot dispossess themselves of it. Its peculiar character, too, is that no one possesses the less because every other possesses the whole of it ... That ideas should freely spread from on to another over the globe, for the moral and mutual instruction of humanity...seems to have been peculiarly and benevolently designed by nature...like fire, expansible over all space, without lessening its density at any point, and like the air in which we breath, move and have our physical being, incapable of confinement or exclusive appropriation. (Howkins, 2001)

Peter Levine, a scholar working on notions of knowledge commons, says that if we recognize that,

> ...The process of creating public knowledge is an additional good, because such work builds social capital, strengthens communities and gives people skills that they need for effective citizenship. If this is correct than we should aim to include as many people (and ways of knowing) in the collaborative creation of "free" or open access knowledge...ordinary people should be recognized as knowledge creators. (2007)

Martin Hall, Vice-Chancellor of the University of Salford, suggests,

> That the most useful way of understanding how knowledge is constructed is to see a continuum between tacit, localised knowledge, often passed on orally and confined to a small expert group, and codified and generalised knowledge forms that are recorded and can be transmitted and shared very widely. This approach does not require any concept of containment of knowledge within an organization such as a university and there is no reason why tacit and localized knowledge originating outside the university should remain uncodified and therefore of low general utility, or why knowledge originating outside of its bastions should be of any particular threat to the continued existence of the university as an institution. (2011, p. 21)

ECOLOGIES OF KNOWLEDGE AND COGNITIVE JUSTICE

Boaventura de Sousa Santos', a Portuguese sociologist and legal scholar, has a narrative that begins with his observation that in the realm of knowledge we have created an intellectual abyss which hinders human progress. Abyssal thinking, he notes, "consists in granting to modern science the monopoly of the universal distinction between true and false to the detriment of … alternative bodies of knowledge" (2007, p. 47).

The global dividing line that he is referring to is the one that separates the visible constituents of knowledge and power from those who are invisible. Popular, lay, plebeian, peasant, indigenous, the knowledge of the disabled themselves and more cannot be fitted in any of the ways of knowing on 'this side of the line'. They exist on the other side of the 'abyss', the other side of the line. And because of this invisibility they are beyond truth or falsehood. The 'other side of the line' is the realm of beliefs, opinions, intuitive or subjective understandings, which at best may become, "objects or raw material for scientific inquiry" (p. 52). De Sousa Santos makes the link between values and aspiration tightly in saying,

> Global social injustice is therefore intimately linked to global cognitive injustice. The struggle for global social justice will, therefore, be a struggle for cognitive justice as well.

He sees a way forward in the concept of 'ecologies of knowledge'. Post-abyssal thinking is linked to the notion of subaltern cosmopolitanism, or what he also refers to as an "epistemology of the South", an ecology of knowledges centred in the knowledges from the 'other side of the line' and based on the idea that the diversity of the world is inexhaustible. If the diversity of the world is inexhaustible then we need a form of epistemological diversity, which allows this diversity to be acknowledged. The contribution of knowledge, he suggests, is to be measured through knowledge as intervention in reality rather than knowledge as representation of reality. "The credibility of cognitive construction is measured by the type of intervention in the world that it affords or prevents" (2007, p. 57). The achievement of post-abyssal thinking will depend according to de Sousa Santos on the achievement of a radical co-presence of all knowledges with an understanding of the incompleteness of knowledge.

Saleem Badat, Vice-Chancellor of Rhodes University in South Africa in a recent set of remarks on the challenges facing universities concerned with engagement strategies notes that, "our concerns must also extend to important epistemological and ontological issues that are associated with research, learning and teaching, curriculum and pedagogy". He goes on to refer to the writing of Boughey who argues that to reduce 'teaching to that of simply conveying knowledge…fails…to acknowledge the need to develop a citizenry which can be critical of knowledge which has been produced and which can contribute to processes of knowledge production itself.'[1]

Shiv Visvanathan, an Indian intellectual linked to the environmental movements of India, contributes to this discourse with concept of "cognitive justice".

He notes that,

> The idea of cognitive justice sensitizes us not only to forms of knowledge but to the diverse communities of problem solving. What one offers then is a democratic imagination with a non-market, non-competitive view of the world, where conversation, reciprocity, translation create knowledge not as an expert, almost zero-sum view of the world but as a collaboration of memories, legacies, heritages, a manifold heuristics of problem solving, where a citizen takes both power and knowledge into his or her own hands.

These forms of knowledge, especially the ideas of complexity, represent new forms of power sharing and problem-solving that go beyond the limits of voice and resistance. They are empowering because they transcend the standard cartographies of power and innovation, which are hegemonic. By incorporating the dynamics of knowledge into democracy, we reframe the axiomatics of knowledge based on hospitality, community, non-violence, humility and a multiple idea of time, where the citizen as trustee and inventor visualizes and creates a new self reflexive idea of democracy around actual communities of practice (Visvanathan, 2009).

John Gaventa, a Canadian-based activist scholar working on issues of power and citizenship, was the first person in our experience to speak of social movements using a 'knowledge strategy' as the core of a political organising strategy (Gaventa & Cornwall, 2008). His early work in Appalachian Mountains of the United States involved among other things the support of citizen researchers to go to local courthouses to find out the ownership of local coalmines. Absentee landlords owned all of the mines in question from as far away as New York or London. And while profits were good, taxes were very low for these absentee landlords so that revenues were not sufficient to cover the costs of good schools, health services or other social services to allow the mine workers and their families to flourish. These citizen researchers used their self-generated data for organizing, pooled their knowledge across six or seven Appalachian states and produced an important study on mine ownership, which had an impact on changing tax structures in some of the states in question (Cable & Benson, 1993).

In a recent contribution he has clarified his vision of knowledge democracy. He says that,

> any vision of democracy that includes meaningful participation of people in decisions that affect their lives, also much consider their participation in the production of knowledge itself. Without consideration of how, why and for whom it is produced, knowledge is not necessarily a force for democracy. (Gaventa, in press)

HIGHER EDUCATION AND SOCIETY

Higher education institutions are the structures to which society has entrusted the main responsibility for knowledge management. As the awareness of the role that knowledge plays in economic development has grown, so too has the strategic importance and investment in higher education grown. A quick look at some of the trends that can be seen in the field of higher education might be helpful for our discussion. I have found David Watson and Hans Schutze to be useful sources for understanding what we are facing. Their list of trends include: advancement in communications technologies and increases in on-line learning, the development of a global market for students, 'marketisation' more broadly, creation of worldwide

ranking systems—the so-called league tables, commercialisation of knowledge, rise of 'managerial' or 'entrepreneurial' models of governance. To these trends we would add the decline of state support for public education in the older economies and the extraordinary growth of enrolments in the emerging economies, the so-called 'massification' of higher education.

Our contemporary debate on inequality and higher education has been enriched by a paper by Martin Hall, the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Salford and published by the UK Leadership Foundation for Higher education. Hall offers a comparative study of inequality and poverty in South Africa and England and asks what role higher education can play in turning these trends around., "… universities have been and continue to be, ambiguous institutions, both gatekeepers and enablers and providers of private benefits and public goods" (2012, p. 33).

Also, we should mention the proliferation of private universities throughout the world. In Africa for example there are over 60 private universities in Ethiopia, over 20 in Tanzania and more than 32 in Nigeria. The numbers of private universities in Latin America, India and elsewhere in Asia would run in the thousands.

COMMUNITY UNIVERSITY ENGAGEMENT AS A SPACE OF CONTESTATION

Universities, public universities, are like other publicly funded structures, locations of contestation. Neo-liberal economic interests have quite successfully influenced higher education over the past 30 years in the interest of creating more flexible workers for the global system of production and distribution. But the combination of on-going concerns about the state of world, the crisis in confidence in the Western Canon, the interest in accountability by political regimes the discovery that the huge resource base of skills, people and knowledge that a university has for increased regional economic and social impact is also one of the global trends. We can see this in the creation of specialist structures such as the National Coordinating Council for Public Enterprise in Higher education in the UK, the emergence of eight or more global networks serving this constituency including the afore mentioned ACU Extension and Engagement Network, the Talloires Network, the Living Knowledge Network, the Global Alliance for Community Engaged Scholarship and more. There has been a veritable explosion of writing on community-university engagement over the past five to six years. Ernest Boyer laid down the conceptual foundations with his development of the concept of "engaged scholarship" (2006). The Kellogg Commission on the Future of State and Land-Grant Universities (1999) shifted the terms research, teaching and service to the words discovery, learning and engagement.

In Canada, partially as a result of the leadership of the David Johnson, a former university vice-chancellor who is now the Governor General of Canada an initiative named the Community Campus Collaboration Initiative has taken hold with leadership from the Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada, the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council, and Imagine Canada of the voluntary

sector. They have usefully described the world of community-university engagement as consisting of four sets of activities: knowledge mobilization…making sure that knowledge that is created in a university reaches the public in the interest of impact, university policies on issues of annual review and performance assessment, student engagement through what is often called service learning and community-based research, the co-creation of research through partnerships with community groups.

On May 13-15 in Barcelona, the leaders of all of the global networks concerned with community-university engagement will be coming together for a conference, organized by the Global University Network for Innovation with support from Rajesh Tandon from our UNESCO Chair in Community-Based Research platform on *Knowledge, Transformation and Higher Education.* GUNi is calling on people to become *knowledgiastic,* a term which they define as showing enthusiasm for the creation of transformative knowledge for social change.

SEVEN QUESTIONS FROM A KNOWLEDGE DEMOCRACY PERSPECTIVE FOR HIGHER EDUCATION.

I close this chapter with seven questions that we need to ask ourselves if we are to move forward in transforming the ways that we create and use knowledge and the ways that we understand the potential of the remarkable institutions that are our universities.

The first three are courtesy of Dr. Saleem Badat of Rhodes University in South Africa; the last four are my own.

1. How do we 'decolonize', 'deracialise,' demasculanise and degender our inherited 'intellectual spaces?'[2]
2. How do we open up spaces for the flowering of epistemologies, ontologies, theories, methodologies, objects and questions other than those that have long been hegemonic, and that have exercised dominance over (perhaps have even suffocated) intellectual and scholarly thought and writing?
3. How do we build new academic cultures and, more widely, new inclusive institutional cultures that genuinely respect and appreciate difference and diversity – whether class, gender, national, linguistic, religious, sexual orientation, epistemological or methodological in nature?
4. How do we create the new architectures of knowledge that allow co-construction of knowledge between intellectuals in academia and intellectuals located in community and social movement settings?
5. How might we understand what excellence looks like in the new practices of knowledge?
6. How do we reward new forms of democratic knowledge scholarship for purposes of career advancement?
7. Within a new architecture of knowledge democracy, what are the ideal forms for the sharing and dissemination of knowledge?

And finally a piece from a poem written in 1916, but which remains current far into the 21st century. It is written by the Nobel Prize winning poet of Bengal, India and founder of his own university, Rabindranath Tagore,

I know what a risk one runs…in being styled an idealist in these days when the sound that drowns all voices is the noise of the marketplace, and yet…I feel that the sky and the earth and the lyrics of the dawn and the day fall are with the poets and the idealists and not with the marketmen

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11. UNIVERSITY, COLLEGE PARTNERSHIPS AND COLLABORATIONS IN CANADA: A CRITICAL ANALYSIS

INTRODUCTION

There is an increasing interest in developing college and university partnerships and collaborations in Canada. However, these concepts remain problematic due to the multi-perspectives adopted by stakeholders. There are several factors that influence partnership development, which include role perspectives, group affiliation, institutional context, power relations, the organizational culture of the partnership, and the societal perceptions of social problems addressed by the partnership (Strier, 2001)

As a result there are several types of partnerships and collaborations and in this chapter the focus is on the following partnerships; university - university; university – college, university-community; and university – industry partnerships as well as national – international initiatives. We analyze the factors that determine successful partnerships by critically examining some case studies in Canada. We attempt to define the terms "partnership" and "collaboration" to provide a conceptual framework for the analysis because these terms are sometimes used interchangeably. In the literature reasons for collaboration vary (Russell and Flynn, 2000). The reasons include; fulfilling the institutional mission; responding to external pressure to pursue collaboration, and using collaboration as a vehicle to put in place practices and programs that are of benefit to the college, school, or department's students and constituents. In the wake of reduction of public funding for the post-secondary sector there are possibilities for gaining efficiencies such as sharing resources when partnerships are developed. There are additional benefits for students who will realize wider access to post-secondary education and reduced bottlenecks when credit transfer is harmonized between institutions. Increasingly students want the benefits afforded by study at both a college and a university. Anecdotal evidence shows that many individuals have been and still are being accepted as transfer students, but too little credit is given by the receiving institution for courses taken at the sending institution.

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

The Merriam Webster dictionary defines a partnership as, the state of having shared interests or efforts, such as in social or business settings. The relationship involves close cooperation between parties having specified and joint rights. Collaboration is

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the process by which people/organizations work together to accomplish a common mission. On the other hand a partnership is relationship between two or more persons who agree to pool talent and money and share goals and processes to achieve agreed outcomes. Carnwell and Carson (2009) list some of the attributes of partnerships and collaboration. They proffer the following;

a. Partnerships - as trust and confidence in accountability; Respect for specialist expertise; Joint working teamwork; blurring of professional boundaries; Members of partnerships share the same vested interests; Appropriate governance structures.
b. Collaboration - Trust and respect in collaborators; Joint venture team work; Intellectual and cooperative endeavor; knowledge and expertise in planning and decision; nonhierarchical relationship; sharing of expertise; respect for specialist expertise; joint working teamwork; willingness to work together towards an agreed purpose.

Partnerships are commonly defined as voluntary and collaborative relationships between various parties in which all participants agree to work together to achieve a common purpose or undertake a specific task and to share risks, responsibilities, resources, competencies and benefits (UN Secretary-General, 2005).

Table 1. Attributes of partnership and collaboration

Partnership	*Collaboration*
Trust and confidence in accountability	Trust and respect in collaborators
Respect for specialist expertise	Knowledge and expertise more important than role or title
Teamwork	Teamwork
Joint working	Joint venture
Members of partnerships share the same vested interests	Willingness to work together towards an agreed purpose
Blurring of professional boundaries	Intellectual and cooperative endeavor
Appropriate governance structures	Non-hierarchical relationship
Common goals	Inter-dependency
Transparent lines of communication within and between partner agencies	Sharing of expertise
Agreement about the objectives	Participation in planning and decision making
Reciprocity	Low expectation of reciprocation
Empathy	Highly connected network

Source: Carnwell and Carson (2009)

A partnership can exist in many forms: formal or informal, public or private, large or small, individual or organizational (Walker, 2009). Partnerships and collaborations may be local (e.g. provincial), regional (e.g. Canada-wide), or international (e.g. global relationships).

Educational partnerships can broadly be classified as supportive, competitive, or collaborative (Fahey, 2011). A supportive partnership exists to benefit the mission and operations of only one of the partners. A competitive partnership begins with the clear understanding that the partners are competitors, but that they share similar goals. According to Fahey (2011), true collaborative partnerships in education are both rare and even more specific than a competitive partnership. Some partnerships may exhibit combinations of characteristics.

In this chapter, the analysis is based on this type of relationship: university - university; university – college, university - community relationships and university – industry partnerships and National - International Partnerships. Yong (2000) put forward the idea that partnerships can further academic collaboration between academics and industry that include: "…to gain knowledge for practical problems useful for teaching, to test the practical application of one's own research and theory, and to create job placement opportunities."

LITERATURE REVIEW

There are several studies that have been done in Canada on partnerships. Decock (2006) examined the profile of the 'typical' college-to-university transfer student in Ontario. Thompson (2007) and (Kirby, (2007) reported the lessons learned from Ontario's government-imposed collaborative nursing experience, the result of making a Bachelor of Nursing Science the entry to practice. Some empirical research from business has demonstrated how critical factors for success have affected the ability of businesses to reach agreements on cooperative ventures. For instance, businesses consider each other's reputation before approaching partners. Some research on joint ventures has shown that they arise from self interest, with trust developing later as the relationship proceeds (Boersmaa, Buckley & Ghauri, 2003). Partnerships may be vulnerable to failure when the partners are also competitors. The financial incentives in a joint venture may discourage cooperation (Jean-Froncois, and Zeng, 2005) and that failure may arise because the partners have no internal procedure for jointly solving problems. This literature advances a number of reasons to explain the difficulties in forming and maintaining cooperative relationships. Some of the problems include Imperfect information: The potential partners may be unaware of each other's goals and capacities, and learning such information may be costly or impossible; Uncertainty and immeasurability: The partners may not be able to accurately assess the quality of each other's potential contribution and so may tend to undervalue it. This literature informs the way college-university partnerships may be conceived. The following are possible barriers to successful partnerships.

Table 2. Educational Partnership Types and Characteristics

Characteristic	*Supportive Partnership*	*Competitive Partnership*	*Collaborative Partnership*
Environment	One dominant culture and leadership style	Multiple cultures, leadership styles	Multiple cultures, Shared leadership
Shared Vision	Possible Shared Vision	Shared Needs	Shared Mission
Membership	Participants embrace project, but are neither engaged nor committed to anything beyond the project. Partners embrace stakeholder role, but engagement limited to specific task committed to anything beyond the project. Partners embrace stakeholder role, but engagement limited to specific task.	Partners are willing to commit resources. Partners are engaged with a shared mission.	Partners embrace stakeholder role and are willing to commit resources.
Process/Structure	Independent operations and governance, Reactive decision making	Independent governance, Project-dependent operations, Some shared decision making	Governance equity, Formal operational structures, Shared decision making
Communication	Very limited communication	Strong communication at institutional level, Communication at staff level limited to project or operation	Strong communication at institutional and staffing levels
Resources	Lopsided resource commitment	Equity in resource commitment	Equity and transparency in resource commitment

Source: Fahey, 2011

- A partner may be reluctant to conclude an agreement with a partner if the relationship negatively effects how the partner is perceived by customers or other influential actors and so causes losses for the partner exceeding the gains from the relationship.
- The partners may be reluctant to make contributions to the relationship that cannot be reversed if the relationship ends. Sharing of intellectual property is one contested area.
- Partnerships are facilitated when the partners can see points of likely agreement even before they communicate with each other. For example, precedents or common interests may make certain points of agreement seem natural or obvious.
- The governance processes of one or both parties may allow constituencies within the organization to veto arrangements that might otherwise produce a net benefit for the organization as a whole.
- The nature of the relationship may be such that it cannot be fully described in a contract that could be enforced by law. This means that the parties themselves must find ways to resolve disputes.

There are barriers to partnerships that include government funding formulae that differ between the college and university sectors, differing academic traditions and differing institutional governance structures. (Stanyon, 2003; Renaud, 2000). However, there are several critical success factors in partnerships (Table 3). Some common factors accounting for success include communication, mutual respect, trust, and governance. Barriers to effective partnerships and collaborations may arise from lack of some of these success factors. Strier (2001) demonstrated that successful university relationships are partly dependent on balancing unequal power relations and building trust between stakeholders including some of the marginalized ones such as the social sectors that may have been excluded.

Parkinson (2006) cites several advantages of collaboration. They state that diverse stakeholders who may not otherwise meet are able to come together. By collaborating partners pool together both tangible and information-based resources and share ideas and information. There is the diversification of talents and capabilities of individuals between agencies; the lifting of overlap in services and the coordination of existing services. There is also need for research and analyses that are broader in scope and more expansive in detail than those done by a single organization in isolation; a unique chance to gain a better understanding of other organizations in the community.

Effective cross-sectoral partnerships can make it possible to overcome challenges that are too difficult or complex for one organization or sector to address alone. Partnerships can also make efforts more effective by combining resources and competencies in innovative ways. Establishing a partnership thus provides an opportunity to share skills, effort, cost and resources for mutual benefit. The process of partnership building is highly affected by several variables, such as lack of symmetry between partners, different perceptions of partnership, role conflicts,

Table 3. Success factors for effective collaboration/partnership

Russell and Flynn (2000)	*Czajkowski (2007)*	*Badiali et al (2000)*	*Parkinson(2006)*	*Aka (2001)*	*McMaster University/ Mohawk College*
Mutual respect	Trust and partner compatibility	Having and articulating mutual interests that transcend self interest	Mutual respect, understanding and trust	Trust	Rate of growth – start small and build on successes
Willingness to listen to other partners	Common and unique purpose	Creating and sustaining positive, trusting relationships that make it possible to pursue mutual interests.	Members all see the collaboration as in their self-interest	Common vision, overarching goals, and shared norms	Impetus for program – professors from both institutions engaged in program development
Long-term commitment	Shared governance and joint decision making	Having a durable structure that can survive changes in individuals regardless of their leadership role.	Ability to compromise	Complementary resources	Governance
Frequent communication	Open and frequent communication	Maintaining a web of such relationships that allow for equal participation (opportunities for leadership) and complete reciprocity.	Open and frequent communications	Compensatory resources	Communication
Flexibility in ways of working together (regarding types of goals and strategies)	Clear understanding of roles and responsibilities	Having freedom to make decisions that work for each unique school setting.	Development of clear roles and policy guidelines	Extraordinary results	Building on particular strengths

Careful initial selection of partners	Adequate and financial human resources	Having adequate resources, human and material.	Shared vision	Institutional support
		Having advocates with energy, good ideas, and creative problem-solving capabilities.	Skilled leadership	Status of students – students in collaborative programs treated as full-time students of both institutions
		Sharing public demonstrations of accomplishments and celebrations that acknowledge progress.		Geographic proximity
		Successful partnerships depend on collaboration, perhaps the single most important factor of all.		Models for collaboration – integrated programs produce seamless and high quality student experiences

Sources: Russell and Flynn (2000);Czajkowski (2007);Badiali et al; Parkinson (2006); Aka (2001) and McMaster University/Mohawk College

Table 4. Crucial Features of Good Working Relationships in an Effective Partnership

a common vision	effective leadership	clear, achievable outcomes
an action plan	fair division of power	no hidden agendas
fair distribution of responsibilities and risks	adequate time spent in drawing up arrangements	defined roles and responsibilities
clearly expressed compliance requirements	induction procedures for new members	agreed and realistic goals
willingness to accommodate the partner's organizational culture	established and documented support networks behind each partner	industrial relations issues identified and information disseminated
agreed strategies to share information and resources	Commitment from managers/supervisors/ committees/unions	continuous revision of partnership arrangement
compatible and effective ways of communication	ability and willingness to change when necessary	measures of progress and criteria for success

Source: Commonwealth of Australia, 2001.

organizational cultures, institutional context, professional views, and unequal access to decision making processes (Strier, 2001).

Collaboration is a mutually beneficial and well-defined relationship entered into by two or more organizations to achieve common goals (Mattessich *et al*, 2001). The relationship includes a commitment to mutual relationships and goals; a jointly developed structure and shared responsibility; mutual authority and accountability for success; and sharing of resources and rewards (ibid). Corrigan (2000) differentiates between cooperation, coordination, and collaboration. Collaboration is perceived to be a higher level activity. Whereas individuals and groups can cooperate and coordinate without changing what they are doing, in collaboration, the expectation is that the new collaborative entity produces something that individuals or organizations could not produce alone. Collaboration is a formal inter-organizational relationship involving shared authority and responsibility for planning, implementation, and evaluation of a joint effort. Collaboration can enable organizations to better achieve their own individual objectives through leveraging, combining and capitalizing on complementary strengths and capabilities.

Comprehensive collaboratives are the most sophisticated and fully developed partnerships. They are broad-based, involve multiple organizations, and require long-term institutional commitment. They proceed with commonly shared visions, goals, and objectives developed through consensus, shared authority and decision making, new roles and relationships for the various players, integrated delivery of multiple services, and cross institutional activities.

UNIVERSITY – UNIVERSITY PARTNERSHIPS

Canadian research is largely driven by the research programs of Canadian universities. In many fields, including nuclear and particle physics, the scientific quest for a greater understanding of nature exceeds the resources of any single institution. A national laboratory, working closely with the university community and drawing together the strengths and capabilities of many institutions, is required. In the context of the Canadian nuclear physics community, this requirement led to the founding of TRIUMF. Launched in 1968 by three universities as a local facility for intermediate-energy nuclear physics, TRIUMF has now grown to be a nationwide effort. The laboratory has also expanded its fields of research from nuclear physics to include particle physics, molecular and materials science, and nuclear medicine.

As part of the subatomic physics community, TRIUMF scientists participate with university-based physicists in developing the Natural Sciences and Engineering Research Council (NSERC)'s long-range plans for subatomic physics. TRIUMF uses these community-based plans, which discuss the long-term objectives of the field, to develop its own priorities. TRIUMF's decisions about which projects to undertake are also guided by its policy of supporting only those projects that have been independently peer reviewed and endorsed by the scientific community.

The mix of resources at TRIUMF is very different than at a university. In fact, TRIUMF's main strength is that it has a range of resources, both human and hardware. University-based researchers want to work with TRIUMF because these resources simply are not available at their home institutions. Scientists at TRIUMF become the key points of contact for their research. This contact helps foster collaborative partnerships among Canadian researchers and between Canadian researchers and their international colleagues. TRIUMF also provides salary support (in whole or in part) for about a dozen scientists resident at Canadian universities. In addition, as an active research centre, TRIUMF maintains an atmosphere that promotes intellectual activity through seminars, visitor programs, and workshops. Tying it all together is a management structure geared to maximizing the science impact for Canada.

UNIVERSITY – COLLEGE PARTNERSHIPS

Increasingly students want wider access to both college and universities. The problem has been the acceptability rate of credits from sending colleges to receiving universities. Three types of partnerships are identified in the literature there:

- Bilateral agreements: Students seek to apply some portion of the credits earned toward a college diploma toward a degree program at a university. Institutional agreements are deliberately designed to coordinate and govern the flow of students from a diploma to a degree program.
- Multilateral (or 'open') articulation strategies: A single university opens its doors to accept diploma graduates from a select group of programs into a specific degree

program. This may or may not involve a formal agreement with the colleges sending students.
- Concurrent use campuses: Colleges in this model work in collaboration with one or more universities to locate joint diploma/degree programs and/or degree articulation opportunities on the college.

Ontario has several examples of successful initiatives and partnerships. These include University of Toronto and Sheridan College. In this partnership the art and History program offers concurrent academic experiences through studio training at Sheridan College and art and history at the University of Toronto. Another example is the partnership between Seneca College and York University. This has been cited as a ground breaking relationship between a college and a university which resulted in a unique agreement where they developed a seamless transition into a baccalaureate degree for college students. (CUCC, 2013)

While Ontario universities colleges have a long history experience of academic partnerships, there remain great challenges in establishing a system-wide framework. This is because the movement from a college program to a university involves complex issues such as student readiness selection of appropriate courses and the duration of programs that will fit students and faculty expectations let alone parents' expectations. Some highlights from the McMaster University and Mohawk College provide examples of some of the efficiencies gained and best practice.

"Our partnership has permitted us to be very efficient in the use of equipment because we share major expensive items rather purchasing duplicate items for our two institutions. This is for example a key way to save costs associated with our innovative and capital intensive Medical Radiation Sciences program"

The program is accredited by the Canadian Medical Association and graduates are certified by the Canadian Association of Medical Technologists. This case study underscores some of the advantages of partnerships which are; relevancy of curricula, successful joint management by partners, increased mobility between college and university and high quality graduates who are in demand in a fast growing sector in Ontario.

In Ontario, the bilateral partnerships typically offer advanced standing to students with previous academic training in a given discipline. For college graduates, this may entail achievement of a particular academic average in their diploma studies as a precondition to acceptance into a university program, subject to availability of space. Articulated students then study alongside direct-entry university students. Participating institutions report that, by working bilaterally on a range of programs, the participants from each institution have gained experience with the culture and processes of the other, and this experience has facilitated the addition of new programs to the relationship. Typically, in a partnership of this nature the two institutions are geographically close and draw on a large urban commuter shed. This proximity provides convenient access for a large pool of potential students, and so these arrangements can function well without expanding them to include other institutions.

The multilateral articulation arrangements offer entry to the third year of university for college graduates from a large number of colleges who achieve a specified academic standard, subject to availability of space. They focus on a single program or group of closely related programs. In both of the cases we studied, interviewees cited an institutional commitment to providing access for qualified college graduates as a motivation, and they noted that admissions are selective and that the college graduates who are admitted tend to perform well academically. In each case the university devotes considerable effort to keeping informed about college programs and working collaboratively with colleges to ensure that students can transfer successfully.

In the case of Lakehead University's transfer arrangement in Engineering, this effort involves almost all Ontario colleges with an Engineering Technologist diploma program (reflecting the relatively small local pool of potential students in northwestern Ontario), and it is carried out in the level of detail necessary to satisfy the national engineering accrediting body. In the case of Ryerson University's transfer arrangement in Business, the effort focuses on the colleges in the Greater Toronto Area, who provide an estimated 85 per cent of the college graduates entering the program. For the concurrent-use campuses, the purposes are more complex. The Georgian College University Partnership Centre has the mission of providing university degree opportunities to the largest urban area in the province lacking a stand-alone university. It does so by hosting several universities, each offering a selection of programs based on its own strengths. The University of Guelph-Humber began with the primary purpose of providing university-bound students with distinctive programs that combine theoretical and applied education and that would lead to both a university degree and a college diploma. A secondary purpose was to extend the availability of a University of Guelph degree to commuter students in the Toronto area. Overtime, the offering of transfer opportunities to college graduates has become an important purpose as well. The University of Ontario Institute of Technology (UOIT) was created to help meet specific economic needs, and its legislation calls on it to offer programs with a view to creating opportunities.

Another example is the partnership between the University of Guelph and Humber College. This is a joint initiative where the initial enrolments in 2002 were only 200 but have since grown phenomenally in Business and Media Studies programs, Justice Studies, Early Childhood Education, Family and Community Social Studies, Kinesiology, Computing and Telecommunications, and Psychology.

Alberta

The government of Alberta appears to be much more interventionist in its efforts at inter-institutional cooperation. The Alberta Council on Admissions and Transfer (ACAT) was created in 1974. Its role is to provide support and improve communication between institutional actors as they work towards new or more expansive transfer agreements (ACAT, 2013). However, two recent government-led

initiatives have a profound impact on the province's higher education system and its coordination. The first of these initiatives was "Campus Alberta", introduced in 2002, followed by the Alberta government's response to a 2006 sector review titled "A Learning Alberta". The cumulative effects of these initiatives are more clearly defined roles for Alberta's institutions of higher education in relation to one another. All of Alberta's institutions fall into one of six tiers: Comprehensive Academic and Research Institutions; Baccalaureate and Applied Studies Institutions; Polytechnics; Comprehensive Community Institutions; Independent Academic Institutions; Specialized Arts and Culture Institutions.

Each of these institutional types has specific functions and goals within Alberta's higher education sector. Transfer and articulation is intended to occur between all levels and in all directions. However,

i. Comprehensive Community Institutions have been given primary responsibility for university
ii. transfer/academic upgrade programming. Overall, transfer and articulation within Alberta has evolved to include strong government coordination.

Athabasca University (AU) has a long-standing practice of working collaboratively with other Canadian and international post-secondary educational institutions, with professional associations and employer groups and with First Nations institutions and communities to facilitate access to university-level study. The university reports that over 350 formal collaborative agreements are now in place. Athabasca University uses online distance education model. Students enrolled at other post-secondary institutions make extensive use of courses and educational services offered by AU to help them complete their degrees.

This is an example where educational partnerships provide real opportunities for students whose situations and schedules cannot be supported by being physically fulltime on campus to study. Through AU's partnerships with other post-secondary institutions, enable students to add AU courses to a students' program at a partner institution. Students can also take classroom versions of AU courses at a partner institution or enroll in AU programs while studying at or working for a partner institution. The University of Athabasca's partnerships have gone a long way to facilitate access for students through established transfer agreements. The university recognizes previous education that students may have obtained through colleges, technical institutes or professional organizations. Block credit transfer arrangements have been established with numerous educational providers across Canada, granting program graduates a specified number of credits toward particular degrees.

UNIVERSITY – COMMUNITY PARTNERSHIPS

Most universities have partnerships with the community because they need to undertake research in these communities which benefits the institutions as well as

the communities themselves. Community and participatory research tends to yield very practical solutions to problems. One of the central mandates of universities is service and this is evident from the amount of research and consultancies done in the community.

The University of Alberta has a long history of university-community partnerships. Some examples are the CUP Partnerships for the study of Children, Youth and families in the Faculty of Extension. The vision behind this initiative can be summarized as follows;

- To generate, share and mobilize new knowledge
- To indentify and promote the use of evidence based policies and practices for optimizing child and family development
- To nurture a culture both in the community and the university, in which rigorous research, evaluation and practice are valued highly as critical components in efforts to understand and optimize development

In collaborative research of this nature the idea is to have the community make an input by bringing ideas that are relevant and useful to them. In this partnership the Lifelong Learning portfolio is dedicated to providing capacity-building opportunities on collaborative research in support of child, youth, and family development. There is a Graduate Certificate offered which is unique to North America. Knowledge translation has become an important feature in all participatory research and the success of these partnerships rests on how effective knowledge is translated into reality within the communities involved.

UNIVERSITY – INDUSTRY PARTNERSHIPS

Academic partnership relationships with industry that universities need are to do with building partnerships for community based research, action research and other related research such as consultancies. There is always a need for knowledge to deal with problems that require practical solutions. Santoro and Bretts (2002) state that,

> Based on a continuing study of relationships between industrial firms and university research centers, we find industry–university partnerships can be beneficial in helping firms generate knowledge and new technologies, i.e. tangible outcomes that include new products and processes. (p 42)

Many universities have developed programs or courses that are relevant to industry, which benefit membership of a partnership. Industry receives well trained graduates and at the same time the graduates have higher chances of gaining employment. Quite often companies will support both the students and the institutions with funds for buildings, equipment, bursaries and research projects where a successful relationship exists. Traditionally university–industry partnerships were in the engineering field but they have now spread to other disciplines.

There are examples of funding available from government, which include awards in the Natural Sciences and Engineering. At university level these awards provide opportunities for undergraduate and graduate students and postdoctoral fellows to work with industrial partners in addressing private-sector challenges. The tools are intended to integrate students into the business sector, allow them to apply their theoretical knowledge and skills towards solving practical industrial problems, while benefitting businesses by providing them access to relevant research expertise.

The government also supports students from colleges through the College and Community Innovation (CCI) Program which provides funding to colleges to strengthen their applied research capacity, and carry out applied research and technology transfer activities (in collaboration with, and to the benefit of, industry, in particular small and medium-sized enterprises) in one area where the college has recognized expertise and that meet local or regional needs.

NATIONAL - INTERNATIONAL PARTNERSHIPS

The Canada-California Strategic Innovation Partnership (CCSIP) is a partnership of universities at the national and international level. In 2010 the initiative involved 23 Canadian universities, the university of California, more than 49 companies and laboratories in Canada and the US. Peter Van Loan, Minister of International Trade, stated that "Our joint projects will lead to advances in many fields, from carbon storage and new bio-fuels to energy efficient computers and better border crossings." The CCSIP is a catalyst for collaborative Research, Development and Delivery (RD&D) between two innovation-intensive jurisdictions.

Another example of national collaboration is the Canadian Virtual University. This is a collaboration of 12 Canadian universities committed to facilitating transfer credit and providing students with more flexible options in accessing university education.

CONCLUSION

In the foregoing discussion several issues came up that are important when considering developing partnerships. The nature of the relationship was highlighted as a critical factor in gauging success. As postsecondary institutions increasingly receive less public funding, partnerships will be one way to avoid reduction in quality of the education provided at these institutions. Partnerships can be used to increase efficiencies across systems within a province or wider regions. These efficiencies are gained from a reduction in duplication of services, improved access for students, and the development of relevant curricula which leads to greater employability.

Some of the arguments raised in the Ontario cases on the barriers to successful partnerships hinged on the role of government. If government does not give financial

support to the initiatives then the challenges are greater. In Ontario, governments historically have not been willing to offer enhanced operating funding for the costs of collaborative programs; instead they have expected programs to operate based on the normal per-student grants and tuition fees that fund other postsecondary programs. Governments have also been reluctant to introduce special legislation or regulations to facilitate collaboration. These decisions have been justified on the grounds that special operating funding and legislation were unnecessary and might create an unwarranted policy bias favoring collaboration over single-institution programs. If the task of maintaining partnerships is left with institutions then chances are that the partnerships will not succeed because of capacity constraints.

It has been argued that where partnerships are essentially voluntary, there are strong theoretical reasons to believe that the role of formal partnerships (as measured, for example, by number of students enrolled) will be small relative to the role of single-institution programs. In the US, some colleges participating in Completion by Design announced strategies for creating clear, structured routes through college for more students, often referred to as accelerated, structured pathways to completion. These strategies contain elements unique to each college, but all drive toward helping students enroll early in program streams that lead to a major, and keeping students engaged and progressing until they complete credentials with labor market value. To that end, the strategies include interventions such as strategic dual enrollment, mandatory orientation, improved advising, acceleration of developmental education, early enrollment in programs of study, and close monitoring of student progress. This experience is useful in the design of successful partnerships because it provides a broad framework which benefits all stakeholders and even leads to employment of graduates.

Strengthening the nation's research capacity is central to national and global economic growth. Recent econometric evidence continues to emphasize the importance of building both research and innovation. Only recently have policymakers and postsecondary education leaders acknowledged and begun developing strategies for two-year college–research university collaborations. The challenges in building effective collaborative arrangements and creating the necessary incentives in postsecondary education have been in the traditional differences between colleges and universities.

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SHELANE JORGENSON

12. COMPETING FOR ADVANTAGE: A DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF INTERNATIONALIZATION POLICY IN CANADIAN AND GHANAIAN HIGHER EDUCATION

INTRODUCTION

In the race towards becoming the best institution whether it is in Ghana, Africa, North America or the World, post-secondary institutions are trying to gain a competitive advantage through the policies and practices of internationalization. The decline in public funding for higher education and increased demand for it have led to crisis that has made way for neoliberal reform. Through internationalization strategies of attracting differential fee-paying international students, sending students abroad and forming partnerships with various institutions and corporations around the world, universities are finding ways for income generation and prestige. But in the wake of these activities, higher education is shifting from a public good into an economic good that is being redefined by the market. At the University of Ghana, where I spent three months collecting data for my doctoral research, neoliberal reform expressed in its "Corporate Strategic Plan" has made way for the reshaping of higher education along principles of competition, the knowledge economy and building human resources; analogous to the policies and practices at my home university, the University of Alberta. Utilizing a discourse analysis of policy documents from higher education in Ghana and Canada, this chapter illuminates the ways in which higher education is being discursively constructed as a service provider for its increasingly global consumers and more importantly, what is at risk in these endeavors.

NEOLIBERAL GLOBALIZATION AND HIGHER EDUCATION

As the world has become more integrated through global financial networks, the reign of the market as an agent of managing economies and institutions has intensified. The neoliberal paradigm that we increasingly see ourselves inscribed within comprises a shift towards unregulated markets, a decline and de-regulation of public services and social subsidies (McLaren & Farahmandpur, 2005) and an increase in competition for these resources. It differs from previous paradigms, such as classical liberalism, in that the state has become an "active agent" that "creates the appropriate market by providing the conditions, laws and institutions necessary for it operation" (Olssen, 2003, p. 199). Resulting is the development and coordination of conditions, rules and players by the government and corporations for

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a competitive consumer game. Although the vestiges of the invisible hand discourse have carried on from classical liberalism, its recent formation can be seen more aptly as *manipulation* by the state to create a consumer that is "perpetually responsive," (Olssen, 2003, p. 199) competitive and enterprising.

Higher education, which has always been connected to the economy in educating citizens to participate in both contributing and challenging the economic landscape, has become increasingly affected by economic globalization and neoliberal reform. During the Thatcher/Reagan era of the 1980s, new discourses such as the "new knowledge economy" and "human capital" were introduced to "reduce all knowledge to commodity form for international trade in a conceived new 'borderless' world of 'globalization'" (Smith, 2010, p. 3). The repercussions of this transition, Smith (2010) observes, were universities became an industry and site for the production of knowledge, subject to market forces:

> Because market logic is structured on a foundation of human competitiveness, education became articulated as the task of preparing students, defined as 'human capital,' for 'global competitiveness.' Schools and universities became subject to global ranking measures, with those 'falling behind' subject to threat of state-funding…Students at both school and tertiary levels have come to see educational institutions as 'service providers' for which they themselves are clients or customers with highest priority rights for personal satisfaction. (p. 3)

From the pursuit of knowledge to the pursuit of rankings, prestige and money, universities worldwide have been forced into competition with one another, marketing their products and reviews to students (often referred now as consumers or clients) globally. The relations of exchange that the consumer/service-provider model has engendered have had a profound effect on the nature of higher education and vice versa. In addition to driving the marketization of higher education, neoliberal ideologies have also influenced the creation and implementation of policy, contributing to the commodification of knowledge (Davidson-Harden, 2009). The knowledge economy, a discourse introduced by Drucker (1969) and popularized by the World Bank, constructed knowledge as a product that ought to be determined and controlled by the market and competition. Davidson-Harden (2009) argues that education vis-à-vis its relationship with the knowledge economy is being steered to meet economic needs and objectives by "cultivating the behaviour of faculty and the policies of universities to conform with market models, needs and demands" (p. 171). Thus, neoliberalism has done more than mandating marketing principles in education, it has exerted its "hegemonic discursive impact" (Chan-Tiberghien, 2004, p. 193) on educational policy and practice, and pressuring educational systems around the world to produce a competitive citizenry to respond to competitive global labour markets (Daun, 2002). These global demands and realities of the economy have propelled the rise of internationalization of higher education, which I turn to next.

INTERNATIONALIZATION OF HIGHER EDUCATION

Globalization, often depicted as a multi-directional agent and reality of the increased intensity and extensity of global movement of capital, people and ideas (Held, 1999), has accelerated the exchange and imposition of educational policies and practices. Internationalization, literally meaning "between nations" is often used interchangeably with globalization to depict the cross-border effects (Marginson, 2010) of knowledge, people and goods. One of these effects is the collusion of local/global dimensions wherein the interdependence of the global on the local has become an important consideration for all disciplines. Marginson and Rhodes (2002) have captured this evolving reality through the term "glonacal," (*glo*bal+*na*tional+lo*cal*) suggesting that universities are continually negotiating local institutional realities with national and global dimensions and pressures. For instance, students have to negotiate multiple layers of global, national and localized institutional policies and practices in order attend university in another country. How institutions and nations respond to this movement, by charging differential fees or (not) granting VISAs and citizenship to individuals from certain countries are part of a complex glonacal dynamic.

In response to global pressures, universities have constructed and implemented "internationalization" policies, by "integrating an international, intercultural or global dimension" (Knight, 2004, p. 11), into their vision, principles and objectives. In practices, these internationalization policies fall on a spectrum, ranging from neoliberal paradigms to more socially just approaches. Hanson (2010) illustrates this through two forms of internationalization. One is a market model "wherein internationalization is centrally about increasing the global advantage of academic institutions through strengthened competitive position" (p. 72) and another that is based on social transformation which rejects market supremacy and calls for "recognition of the reality that globalization leads to increased marginalization of significant groups of people around the world" (p. 73). Although each model may advocate for similar practices such as sending students abroad or taking in international students, the social transformation model undertakes a critical social analysis of the inequities between different global contexts and advocates for the "principles of mutuality and reciprocity to be established through networks or partnerships" (p. 73).

The impacts of internationalization policies and policy processes are manifold. Some of these impacts are upheld for their contributions to make post-secondary institutions more profitable and competitive, whereas other effects, highlighted by internationalization critics, reproduce the growing disparities and inequities between have and have-nots (Kehm & Teichler, 2007; Odora Hoppers, 2001; Marginson, 2004). Behind much of the motivations for internationalization of higher education, critics have argued, are deeper rationales associated with investment in human capital for the global knowledge economy and workforce. As research conducted by Brustein (2007) suggests,

> it is imperative for universities to produce globally competent students who have the ability to work effectively in international settings; awareness of and adaptability to diverse cultures, perceptions, and approaches; familiarity with the major currents of global change and the issues they rise; and the capacity for effective communication across cultural and linguistic boundaries. (p. 383)

The fostering of these competencies, Brustein argues, will help students successfully contribute to the demand for globally competent workers. As students have begun to seek global competencies, institutions have become more competitive to attract students by offering such programs. This has transpired into a competition between institutions for their potential student consumers.

INTERNATIONALIZATION IN CANADA: ANALYSIS OF NATIONAL, PROVINCIAL AND INSTITUTIONAL POLICY

The preceding discussion illustrates that while internationalization is perhaps an empty signifier, indicating an ever-expanding spectrum of possibilities, the way it has become connected to the political economy globally, nationally and locally has produced effects that can be detected and analyzed. Examining internationalization at the University of Alberta by analyzing federal, provincial and institutional policy, one can see how the different levels of policy interconnect in a collective and coordinated response to global economic pressures. What is most evident is the shared aspiration for a competitive, globally competent student who will take his or her place at the top in the global workforce.

According to several reports and studies conducted by the Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada (AUCC), internationalization is of increasingly high importance in Canadian post-secondary education. In the past few decades, various internationalization policies have been constructed to guide internationally-based practices and policies undertaken by higher educational institutions. Many statements speak of the need for institutions to remain relevant and responsive to the changing global realities spawned by globalization and the responsibility to prepare students for the global workforce. Analyzing documents across Canada, Knight (2004) identified five key rationales of Canadian universities to internationalize: 1) international profile and reputation; 2) student and staff development; 3) income generation; 4) strategic alliances; and 5) research/knowledge production. What is noted by these rationales is that social, political and academic rationales are being increasingly overshadowed by economic (institutionally, provincially and nationally) rationales to develop and brand an international profile and generate revenue. Knight (2004) states that these internationalization endeavours are part of the race to "compete in a more competitive environment," attain a "competitive advantage" (p. 21), and "attract the brightest of scholars/students, a substantial number of international students, and, of course, high-profile research and training projects" (p. 26).

Correspondingly, the provincial and federal ambitions to become competitive internationally have looked to higher education to fulfill this role. In *Alberta's International Strategy*, published by the Government of Alberta in 2010, the stated goal is to advance Alberta's international relations, reputation and markets to create better opportunities for Albertans. To accomplish these goals, the policy states that "internationalization of Alberta's education system" is important to provide students with "international and intercultural skills and knowledge" to excel in the global workplace and "take their place in an increasingly competitive world" (p. 12). The economic rationale for internationalization is clear in this document, but is not alone in its foci. Examining Canada's economic policy *Advantage Canada: Building a strong economy for Canadians* (2006), Metcalfe & Fenwick (2009) similarly demonstrate the marriage of federal economic priorities and post-secondary institutions. Their findings suggest that Canada's goal to be "globally competitive" economically is intrinsically linked to the need for post-secondary institutions to develop appropriate human capital. Global competency through international programming such as study and working abroad are cited as important practices for Canadian citizens to compete and "take their place" in the global market.

Looking at *Alberta's International Education Strategy* from 2001, the same rationales and rationalities are at play in engendering internationalization policy and practices to increase the province and its citizens' competitive economic advantage. The Vision statement, "Alberta will be recognized as a leading provider of education, skill development and industry training, and Albertans will be well-prepared for their role in the global marketplace and as global citizens" (p. 3) provides an overarching goal of its internationalization strategy, but the correlating lists of principles and objectives provide a more contextual understanding of the neoliberal rationalities propelling this vision. The cited aim of the international education strategy is similarly focused on ensuring that Albertans "are able to enjoy fully the benefits and opportunities of their global community, can participate fully in the economic growth associated with international education... and can compete successfully in the global economy" (p. 2). The document continually speaks to the need for a "coordinated approach" of business, government and educators to work together to meet the stated objectives, including: increasing international learning opportunities to improve Albertans' global competencies, exporting educational services, attracting international students and increasing the mobility of knowledge and skills. The international marketing strategy outlined in relation to the stated objectives illustrates the narrow focus on how certain activities of sending students and the Alberta curriculum abroad help Alberta's students obtain a competitive advantage: "individuals who are familiar with other languages and cultures may establish networks of contacts in other parts of the world and obtain a career advantage" (p. 5). Also, by attracting differential fee paying students, the policy states that it provides "compensation to institutions" estimating that each international student contributes between $20,000 and $30,000 each year to the provincial economy.

Finally, at the institutional level, the University of Alberta espouses a similar call for international engagement that is primarily to advantage the Albertan and Canadian citizen. The University's Academic Plan, *Dare to Deliver* (2007-2011), which the current plan (2011-2015) is an extension of, refers to the economic drive for the institution to market itself in such a way to attract and retain the best and the brightest:

> Alberta needs and deserves the benefits that a globally recognized institution brings to its citizenry, who move globally, and its industry, which engage globally. A great research and teaching institution offers leaders of tomorrow an opportunity to study at a level competitive with the world's finest universities. Such an institution will attract the best and brightest students and scholars to Alberta and retain them here in Alberta. (p. 4)

Although the Academic Plans are both framed by Henry Marshall Tory's 1908 address that "the uplifting of the whole people shall be its [the university] final goal," the values of reciprocity, social justice and global citizenship that are evoked throughout the document are overshadowed by the desires of the institution to market itself as a leader in the global institutional arena and "deliver solid returns on public investments" (Dare to Deliver, 2012, p. 4). In this statement, we see the linking of the institution to the economic goals of the public sphere; since the university receives public funding, it is the responsibility of the university to "deliver" a successful workforce to contribute to the economy. Lastly, it is important to note the troublesome aim of "retaining" the best and the brightest. The role of the university, according to this statement, is to foster the brain drain that is having negative effects across the world, robbing nations of many of their most educated citizens. The ethics and inequities that such policy statements propose will be further examined after an analysis of Ghana's internationalization efforts.

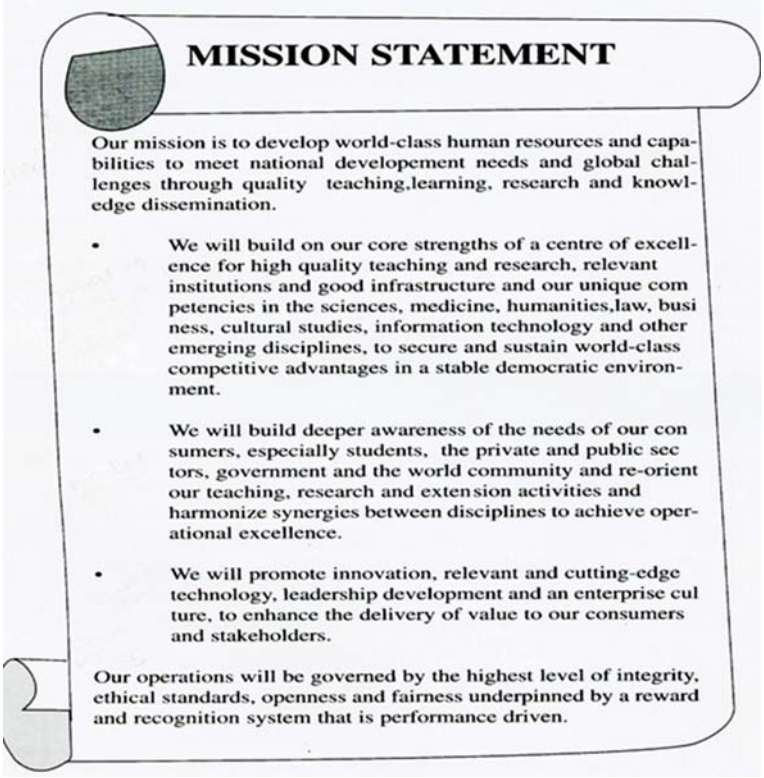
HIGHER EDUCATION IN GHANA: A CONTEXT IN TRANSITION

Ghana, boasting 34 institutions of higher education, has not escaped the global pressure to internationalize and marketize their institutions. At the turn of the 21st Century, Ghanaian universities began to respond to the mounting neoliberal pressures by re-assessing and re-defining the role and mission of the university. As Benneh and Awumbila (2004) suggest, as knowledge becomes a major driver of economic development, higher education institutions subsequently need "to be more innovative and more responsive to the needs of a globally competitive knowledge economy, and to the changing labour market requirements for advanced human capital" (p. 1). Yet, the state has already exhausted much of its resources on funding public education and the universities have to look elsewhere for money. Coupled with an increasing demand for higher education and a commitment to keep tuition free and other related fees such as accommodations low for students, economists, higher educational administrators and politicians collectively argued in 1999 at

a *Conference of the African Regional Council of the International Association of University Presidents* in Accra, Ghana, for post-secondary institutions to partner with business, industry and civil society organizations to not only help fund higher education, but also make the education more "relevant" to the economy. As Benneh (2004) argues, "the nature, form and operations of African Universities have to change in response to changes in the global economy if they are to be sustained and continue to be relevant to the development of their respective national economies" (p. 11). The only cure to these issues, as most of the speakers advocated, was to align the university with the market by increasing participation and partnerships with business, industry and other stakeholders and increasing the privatization of education and competition amongst institutions.

In response to this call, the Ghanaian government partnered with the World Bank between 2003-2005 to direct Ghana's 34 higher educational institutions in developing strategies that would generate supplementary funding as well as "place universities on par with businesses on the world market" (cited in Edu-Buandoh, 2010, p. 59). Correspondingly, each institution created a document entitled "Corporate Strategic Plan," which included institutional visions, missions and concrete plans to realize these visions. Conducting a critical discourse analysis of these documents, Edu-Buandoh found that there was an explicit shift from "traditional academic" discourse to a "marketization" discourse that described the role of higher education in terms of facilities, entrepreneurship, accountability, stakeholders, industry and business (p. 51). Edu-Buandoh argues that this discourse projects a "competitive front" among universities to compete for students, which was not previously an issue in Ghanaian post-secondary education. The reasons given are there are more students qualified for universities than the institutions can accommodate, and each university has its own unique mandate and foci, such as the University of Ghana in Accra being social science and humanities-based and the Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology in Kumasi more centered on natural sciences and technological disciplines.

The Corporate Strategic Plans have fertilized neoliberal reform in Ghana's higher education, prompting universities to re-define their aims in relation to providing the requisite human capital to further national development efforts. At the University of Ghana, current enrollments have nearly reached 30,000 students, making it not only the oldest (established in 1948), but also the largest of the six public Universities in Ghana. Although the University was said to be established "for the purpose of providing for and promoting university education, learning and research" (University of Ghana Website), its new reality portrays a different picture. The following figure (Figure 1) presents the current mission statement of the University that emanated from the strategic planning process. The methodology of the planning process was a HAX approach devised at Massachusetts Institute of Technology, which looked at the university from three strategic perspectives- Corporate, faculty and departmental. According to the authors, the strategic plan is a "set of clear value-adding initiatives that can be 'sold' to its stakeholders" (University of Ghana, Corporate Strategic Plan, p. 7).



MISSION STATEMENT

Our mission is to develop world-class human resources and capabilities to meet national developement needs and global challenges through quality teaching,learning, research and knowledge dissemination.

- We will build on our core strengths of a centre of excellence for high quality teaching and research, relevant institutions and good infrastructure and our unique com petencies in the sciences, medicine, humanities,law, busi ness, cultural studies, information technology and other emerging disciplines, to secure and sustain world-class competitive advantages in a stable democratic environment.
- We will build deeper awareness of the needs of our con sumers, especially students, the private and public sec tors, government and the world community and re-orient our teaching, research and extension activities and harmonize synergies between disciplines to achieve operational excellence.
- We will promote innovation, relevant and cutting-edge technology, leadership development and an enterprise cul ture, to enhance the delivery of value to our consumers and stakeholders.

Our operations will be governed by the highest level of integrity, ethical standards, openness and fairness underpinned by a reward and recognition system that is performance driven.

Figure 1. The University of Ghana's Corporate Strategic Plan, p. 11. Accessed August 1st, 2012 from http://www.ug.edu.gh/index1.php?linkid=285.

There is much to be analyzed in these statements, particularly the discourses of students being referred to as "human resources" and "consumers," in the pursuit for "world class competitive advantage." Students have become objectified in this policy as a means to augment national development. This utilitarian approach to education fails to account for the human *beings* that educate and are being educated in the institution. The human capital discourse alienates the teacher and student from the pursuit of knowledge towards being a resource or tool to enhance broader national aims of economic development. In the introduction of the Strategic Plan, there is mention of the University's purpose of preparing students for "active and productive citizenship," yet this statement is followed by the claim that "the process of preparation should involve specific subject knowledge adequately supported by fundamental analytical, creative and communication skills" (p. 7). Nowhere in the document are there claims to the kinds of values and attributes associated with citizenship aside from cultivating an "enterprise culture" in the Mission Statement. The entrepreneurial citizen seems to be the focus of the University; one that will

actively compete and produce the requisite capital for national development. Although there is no explicit internationalization policy or document, the Corporate Strategic Plan discusses the need to attract international students and researchers through university partnerships to "gain a competitive advantage". By creating and supporting areas of "comparative advantage" such as African studies and tropical medicine, it is the hope of the Plan to attract interest from foreign institutions and students. But what does this competitive advantage really mean? What does it entail?

COMPETITIVE ADVANTAGE: FOR WHAT? FOR WHOM?

From these policy statements, one can clearly see the discursive construction of higher education shifting from a public good into an economic good that is being redefined by the market. Pressured by neoliberal discourse and polices of the knowledge economy, universities have had to make courses and programs more relevant to and productive for the economy. One of the main engines of the knowledge economy has been the growing number of corporate partnerships between higher educational institutions, big business and industries. According to Jones, McCarney and Skolnik (2005), the university is being repositioned in terms of its relationship to the state and industry "because it is now viewed as a key player in a global economic system where new knowledge and highly skilled human resources are perceived as the fuel of economic development" (p. 7). "Knowledge" is subsequently being re-framed as the key to economic growth and it is the role of the university to "produce" it. Questions concerning whose knowledge are we talking about, and who and what are we producing knowledge for, have been marginalized in the push for knowledge production to fuel the economy. Olssen and Peters (2005) argue that this shift has prompted a conception of "knowledge capitalism" whereby certain competencies, necessitated by industry and business, determine priorities in higher education. Knowledge has thus taken on a much more propositional form, guided and determined by the market.

In an era of budget cuts and decline in public funding, public universities have had to secure funding from other sources. Internationalization has been described as a "white knight" in this regard by securing funds from alternate sources such as differential fee paying students and trans-national corporations who want to invest in research that will benefit their field. To facilitate these operations, many institutions have introduced features of the New Public Management system, for instance corporatized institutional governance and accountability pillars. Marginson (2010) notes that such governance has spread through global policy borrowing, homogenizing the policies and practices along the Euro-American neoliberal system. One can see this clearly in the University of Ghana's Corporate Strategic Plan, which undertook an American business methodology to ascertain the most viable strategy to achieve a set of corporate goals. What seems to be missing from this plan is attention to the contextual specificities of the institution, which carries tremendous colonial baggage from being initially instituted as an offshoot of the

University of London and was not able to grant its own degrees until 1961. The Plan asserts that the strategic planning process had been proven in industry by examining the operations in "strict business terms" (p. 22), thus should work in higher educational institutions, which are experiencing similar economic challenges. The risks of adopting policy from another context pose threats of overlooking the issues of context and relevancy that contributes to what Marginson (2010) terms "global other-determining standardization" (p. 6).

In response to the "opaqueness" (Odora Hoppers, 2009, p. 601) of the processes of internationalization, scholars of international education (see, for example, Odora Hoppers, 2009; Kehm & Teichler, 2007) have offered substantive critiques of the policy, programs and projects conducted in its name. Of critical concern to some scholars (Abdi & Shultz, 2007), is that in the race to be the best and generate funding, principles of social justice and equity are overlooked. Shultz (forthcoming) posits that activities undertaken in the name of internationalization are often too focused on the individual student learning and institutional goals. In an AUCC document entitled *Internationalizing Canadian Campuses*, research shows that "Universities increasingly rely on international activities as a source of revenue generation… Programs tend to be much more tailored and client driven. As a result, the main challenge today is finding a niche in target countries or regions" (AUCC, 2007, p. 14-15). In response to this trend, Shultz calls for a critical and ethical re-examination of the direction such policy and programs taken us. Exploring ways in which ethics can and should guide international activities, she argues that international partnerships ought to be de-linked from "instrumentalized relations between education institutions toward partnerships that serve the social goals of education" (p. 1).

One of the most pressing critiques of internationalization is of unequal movement of, and benefit for students. Although physical mobility of students and faculty has long been a strong focus of internationalization of higher education, there is a reluctance to look at the limitations and issues of these activities. In response to the focus of sending students abroad to fulfill the demands of internationalization, Kehm and Teichler (2007) argue that if internationalization at home cannot be realized, there will be a polarization of winners and losers on and off campus. While experiential and international educational programs and activities are highly sought after by students and professors, only few will ever be able to afford the opportunities as they often require capital and perhaps more importantly for citizens of Southern countries, VISAs, to participate (Kehm & Teichler, 2007; Pluim & Jorgenson, 2012; Zemach-Bersin, 2007). Many students I had encountered from Ghana, for instance, had been accepted to universities in North America, acquired the capital to go and attend, but were continually denied VISAs to make this a reality. Glonacal dynamics need to re-assessed in light of these inequities to ascertain who is being (dis)advantaged through these strategies of internationalization. Kehm and Teichler also propose that universities strengthen and better integrate international learning in their daily activities of teaching, learning and research to curb the competition and inequities that such mobility-focused programming facilitates.

CONCLUSION

Higher educational institutions across the globe have fallen prey to neoliberal agendas. This has resulted in policies and practices becoming more in line with increasing competition and marketability of the institution, its "workers" and "student/consumers". Internationalization is an example of the ways in which higher education has responded to global economic pressures to maintain relevance and competitiveness in the global higher education arena. But many effects of these policies and practices are problematic, inducing what Harrison (2010) calls an "individualized, utilitarian and egoistic" (p. 2) rationality that have come to shape our understanding and relationship with the world. The effects of neoliberal educational policy in relation to programs and practices of internationalization are, amongst other things, the attack on social justice (McLaren & Farahmandpur, 2005), and alienation from the values that are associated with equity in exchange for values that sustain the market. It is important to recognize in these processes that despite the promise of the market to be an equalizer, it is an agent of capitalism, which will always create and maintain losers at the expense of the few who gain a competitive advantage.

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YESUF H. ABDELA & THASHIKA PILLAY

13. CRITICAL PERSPECTIVES ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF MODERN HIGHER EDUCATION IN ETHIOPIA: A CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF ISSUES OF RELEVANCE, QUALITY, AND MANAGEMENT

INTRODUCTION

Although Ethiopia has a long history of elite traditional education, modern higher education began only in 1950 with the opening of the University College of Addis Ababa. In the early 1990s, the country had only two Universities and a few colleges, and the overall enrolment ratio had been one of the lowest in sub-Saharan Africa. However, in the past two decades Ethiopia has embarked on a massive higher education expansion and reform that increased the number of Federal Universities to 31 with remarkable changes in the enrollment ratio, but quality and relevance of the education system and ensuring institutional authority of Universities are major challenges.

The most important role of the state in higher education is to set a vision and a strategy (Fielden, 2008). Since its inception the Ethiopian higher education system was based on the assumption that "modern" education that follows the western style is the only way for development, prosperity and territorial integrity. Since its inception, the new education system has lacked both national interest and clear direction and the curriculum tends to reflect courses offered in Western universities that do not consider local situations or context. Many foreign governments, donor organizations, "Northern" expertises and experts have been involved in the establishment and reforms of higher education since inception to the present day. Many scholars argue that the main reason for the lack of a national direction is to be found in the decisive role that foreign advisors, administrators, and teachers played in the establishment and expansion of Ethiopia's education system (Mesay, 2006).

Based on a review of critical literature on higher education in Ethiopia and a related analysis of educational policy documents pertaining to formal education in Ethiopia, this chapter attempts to demonstrate the development of Ethiopian higher education both historically and increasingly since 1991 through Government of Ethiopia policies which increasingly favour the modernization of Ethiopia through educational practices. We argue that the utilization of a modern education system, transplanted from the Euro-American context conflicts with Ethiopia's cultural, linguistic and historical heritage and is incongruent with Indigenous knowledge systems which

Kariwo et al (Eds.), A Comparative Analysis of Higher Education Systems, 181–196.
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continue to be devalued and diminished in the quest for "development". We contend that the implementation of a modern education system in Ethiopia is allowing for the recolonization of Ethiopia in contemporary times while also not improving the lives of people. The paper and this guiding proposition/thesis is developed as follows: (a) a review of significant developments in Ethiopian education, (b) a critical analysis of Ethiopian higher education policies, focusing on issues of management, quality and relevance in higher education, and (c) a critical discussion and key observations regarding the effects of modernization, "development" and the process of recolonization on the economic, cultural and societal well-being of Ethiopians. This chapter will juxtapose the development of higher education as a tool for modernization against a critical analysis of higher education policies and their subsequent effects through the utilization of postcolonial theory.

A HISTORICAL REVIEW OF SIGNIFICANT DEVELOPMENTS IN ETHIOPIAN EDUCATION

A Brief Background of Ethiopia: A Diverse Nation

Ethiopia, formerly known as Abyssinia, is located in the North-eastern part of Africa and is one of the oldest nations in the world. Currently it is the second most populous country in Africa, next to Nigeria, with an estimated total population of 87.7 million; only 18% of the population lives in urban areas (UNFPA, 2011). Ethiopia is a land of diversity. According to the official report of the 2007 Population and Housing Census of the country (CSA, 2008), 43.5 percent of the total population of Ethiopia is Orthodox Christian and 34 percent is Muslim. Protestant and traditional religious group followers accounted for 18.6 percent and 2.6 percent respectively. Moreover, more than eighty ethnic groups were listed including Oromo (34.5%), Amhara (26.9%) Somali (6.2%) and Tigray (6.1%). About 80 different languages are spoken in the country. Ethiopia has never been colonized except for the brief occupation by Italy between 1935 and 1941. Thus the country served as a symbol of African independence throughout the colonial period, and was a founding member of the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity.

The Ethiopian regimes of the twentieth century of Emperor Haileselassie (1930-1974) and Mengistu Haile Mariam's military Dergue government (1974-1991) attempted to forge cultural homogenization of the diverse nation of Ethiopia through state centralization and a one-language policy. They attempted to create a unitary state on the basis of cultural assimilation, using Amharic as the sole language of instruction and public discourse (Jalata, 2010). This effort was in keeping with the pan-Ethiopian nationalist perspective. After ousting Mengistu Haile Mariam's dictatorship in 1991, Ethiopia established an ethnic and language based federal system that gave full recognition of ethnic autonomy, while maintaining the unity of the state. In 1995, a new constitution was adopted which describes Ethiopia as a country of ''Nations and Nationalities''.

A Historical Review of Modern Education in Ethiopia

Modern education in Ethiopia has a history of more than a century. However, the overall enrolment ratio at all levels has been one of the lowest in Sub-Saharan Africa and only a very small section of the society accessed the education system. The earliest formal education systems in Ethiopia are attributed to the Christian Orthodox churches and mosques (Areaya, 2008; Seboka, 2004). These religious institutions were centres of religious and social knowledge. The Church was and continues to be a formidable force in Ethiopia, and it is due to the Church that Ethiopia became the only nation in sub-Saharan Africa to develop its own script for the traditional language of Ge'ez which has laid a foundation for the national language of Amharic as well as Tigryna (Seboka, 2004; Areaya, 2008). The development of a script to transform a formerly oral language into a written language should have signified a massive shift to literacy within Ethiopia. However, literacy remained within the purview of the elite.

Emperor Menelik II came to power in Ethiopia in 1889. During his reign, he endeavoured for the expansion of education as an attempt towards the modernization of Ethiopia. Areaya (2008) argues that Menelik was determined to ensure the centralization of government, the reform of administrative apparatus, and the improvement of social conditions for the people as well as for the sovereignty of the country. Menelik thus aspired to introduce economic and technological modernization that included the beginning of secular western-style education (Lulat, 2005). He expressed his views on the value of education when he stated "We need educated people in order to ensure our peace, to reconstruct our country and to enable it to exist as a great nation in the face of European powers" (cited in Areaya, 2008, p. 37). Thus began the role of education as a tool for Ethiopian modernization. In 1908, the first state supported secular school, Menelik II School, was opened in Addis Ababa, mainly with Egyptian Copts serving as teachers and French as the medium of instruction (Zewde, 1991; Seyoum, 1996; Lulat, 2005). According to Zewde (1991):

> ... the staff, composed mainly of Egyptians of the Orthodox Coptic Christian church, were a good example of the emperor's concern for happy compromise between tradition and innovation. It was felt that the Copts would filter down to their pupils a tempered version of modern ideas. (p. 108)

French remained as the medium of instruction and the *lingua franca* of the Ethiopian intelligentsia until 1941, when it was superseded by English. Prior to the commencement of modern education by Menelik II, missionaries attempted to introduce modern education to the country. In the second half of the sixteenth century and early seventeenth century, Portuguese Jesuits opened missionary schools in the country. However these schools were wiped out when the Jesuits were forced to leave the country. Similarly, efforts were made by protestant and catholic missionaries to open schools in different parts of the country during the second half

of the century with permission and support from the Emperor (Zewde, 1991; Lulat, 2005). However, according to Trudeau (1964), these missionary schools did not leave any mark on the education system.

Ethiopia is the only nation in Africa not colonized or occupied by a colonizing force at the time. Therefore, it is feasible to hypothesize that Menelik believed that by introducing a modernist education system, Ethiopians would learn the language and skills of the colonizers, thereby ensuring that they could fight future attempts by the European powers who had divided up the rest of Africa. Regardless of Menelik's intentions, however, he started Ethiopia on the path towards modernization on the assumption that a Westernized, non-Ethiopian education system was the answer to ensuring Ethiopian sovereignty.

Emperor Haileselassie continued the expansion of modern education by establishing a department of education and opening more schools in the capital and other provinces. By 1935, when Italy occupied Ethiopia, there were more than twenty government schools in the country and many foreign teachers (Trudeau, 1964). In 1935 the Italian colonial power closed most of the government schools and protestant missionary schools but left the catholic schools. French was replaced by Italian.

When Ethiopia was liberated from the Italian occupation in 1941, the development of education was viewed as a national priority. The emperor started another wave of education expansion in the country. The Ministry of Education was established, and all schools that had been closed by the Italians were reopened. The development of the sector was assisted by foreign governments and international development assistance organizations through providing expertise and finance. The USA, the UK and Sweden were some of the major players in this regard. The Ministry of Education, staffed mainly with Ethiopians and a few foreign advisors focused on setting the educational system; unification of policies, programs and curriculum (Trudeau, 1964). Thus, Ethiopia got its first unified curriculum in 1947. Between 1908 and 1935, teaching foreign languages and concepts remained the purpose of the education system (Areaya, 2008). The period following World War I was also one in which there was a proliferation of Swedish, British, American, Egyptian and Indian schools, mainly in the capital, Addis Ababa (Trudeau, 1964; Areaya, 2008). Ethiopians are extremely proud of their history, in particular that they have never been colonized by outside forces with the exception of a brief military occupation by the Italians from 1935-1941, an occupation which ended with the expulsion of the Italians from Ethiopia. However, this brief occupation caused serious turmoil to Ethiopia's education system as the Italians altered the Ethiopian educational system at the beginning of their occupation in 1936, in the process killing thousands of educated Ethiopians and leading to educated survivors being exiled to England, France, and the United States (StateUniversity.com, 2010.). The death and exile of thousands of educated Ethiopians as well as the creation of a subpar education system by the Italians incapacitated the Ethiopian education system.

CONCEPTUALIZING HIGHER EDUCATION IN ETHIOPIA IN TERMS OF PERSPECTIVES OF MODERNITY

The secular higher education system in Ethiopia had its origin in the 1940s due to efforts by Emperor Haileselassie and was realized in 1950 with the founding of the University College of Addis Ababa. This was soon followed by a number of colleges in different parts of the country. Emperor Haileselassie is remembered and appreciated among many Ethiopians for his vision and commitment to expanding higher education. Soon after the restoration of his power with the help of Britain, which expelled the Italians from the country, Haileselassie became eager to establish a western style higher education system in Ethiopia. Although many Ethiopians prior and after the Italian occupation had been travelling abroad for higher education, the emperor envisioned Ethiopians receiving higher education at home, in Ethiopia, instead of abroad. Up until 1950, successful high school graduates were usually sent abroad for further studies, either on local or on foreign government scholarships (Trudeau, 1964).

In 1896, Ethiopia under the leadership of emperor Menelik II defeated the Italians at the battle of Adwa and guaranteed its independence. In 1935, Italy, under the leadership of Mussolini, invaded Ethiopia – an action that some historians consider to be an act of revenge in retaliation for the 1896 defeat. In a series of battles at different fronts between 1935 and 1936, the Italians with help of modern military and advanced weapons, including tanks, warplanes, and nerve gas achieved victory. The last battle at Maichew in March 1936 resulted in a huge defeat on the side of Ethiopians, and the Emperor was forced into exile to Britain through Djibouti (Zewde, 1991). The heavy defeat by the Italians is believed to be from the possession of modern armaments. It is believed that in order to keep the country's independence and territory, it was very important to Haileselassie that Ethiopia establish a western-style higher education that could produce professionals in all aspects, including military technology.

In 1946, the emperor requested Mr. Lucien Matte, head of a group of Canadian teachers in Ethiopia, to help in the organization of the education system in the country. Accordingly, Mr. Matte presented a report on "Higher education in Ethiopia". The report emphasized the importance of higher education, particularly a faculty of Science in order to produce human power for constructing roads, industrial works and agricultural development. The report by Mr. Matte suggested priorities in Engineering, Agriculture, Botany, Geology, Mineralogy and Geography. It also mentioned the need for business, social sciences and law. The opening of a complete Faculty of Arts was considered as a necessary but less urgent issues, including Geez and Amharic languages and literature and Ethiopian archeology (Trudeau, 1964).

In 1949, a committee on the foundation of the first Ethiopian University that included Mr. Matte was established. The committee reviewed a number of alternative projects. However, in March of 1950, the emperor asked Mr. Matte to

take full responsibility for the opening of the first college giving him authority over organization, staff and programs. After travelling to Europe and the United States to get the necessary staff and materials, including text books and scientific equipment, the first ever higher institution, the Addis Ababa University College opened on December 11, 1950. There were 21 male students who completed high school. The staff included eights teachers, excluding the principal (Trudeau, 1964).

CRITICAL PERSPECTIVES ON ETHIOPIAN HIGHER EDUCATION

Higher Education Policies

The primary role of the state with regards to higher education is the establishment of a vision and a strategy (Fielden, 2008). Following the shift of political power in 1991 from a socialist state to a market economy during the past twenty years, the government implemented major reforms to change the national education system. The main principles, goals and objectives of education in Ethiopia are enunciated in the various proclamations of the government of Ethiopia. These documents include the 1994 Education and Training Policy, the 1995 Constitution of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia, the Education Sector Development Programs that were developed with support and representation of various international donor agencies at different stages and the Governments Plan for Accelerated and Sustained Development to End Poverty. Although the importance of higher education to national development has been recognized in these documents, practically, the emphasis has been on expanding access to primary education. Increased emphasis has been given to the higher education sector by the government since the early 2000s and actions have been taken with regards to the expansion of universities.

As indicated in these policy documents, the mission of the education system of Ethiopia has been to bring about rapid and "sustainable development" through the expansion of quality and relevant education. Universities are expected to help alleviate poverty, social exclusion and cultural marginalization (MoE, 2008). These expectations are expressed in the Higher Education Proclamation No. 650/2009. One objective of the universities is the preparation of "knowledgeable, skilled, and attitudinally mature graduates in numbers with demand-based proportional balance of fields and disciplines" so that the country shall become internationally competitive (Federal Negarit Gazeta, 2009, p. 4979). The proclamation also emphasizes ensuring quality, relevance and autonomy of higher education institutions and includes ensuring education contents that are in harmony with the economic needs of the country.

Since 1994, there has been a steady increase in the number of students in higher education. Between 1994 and 2002, the total number of students grew at an average rate of 15.0% per annum (MoE, 2002). Through two national Education Sector Development Programmes, the growth in higher education, particularly in the

public sector, has been the highest of the different educational level enrolments, with an annual average increase of over 33% per annum (MoE, 2007). The number of public higher education institutions has also grown from only two universities eight years ago to twenty-one by 2009, and another ten universities are scheduled to open in the near future (Tesfaye & Kassahun, 2009; Aschroft, 2010). The government of Ethiopia has a development vision for its growth and wishes to ensure that the higher education sector is playing its proper part. Accordingly, the higher education system has been restructured so that it can contribute more directly to the national strategy for economic growth and poverty reduction (Saint, 2004), as determined by the government, foreign donors and international non-governmental organizations.

The examination of Ethiopian higher education policy documents shows that education has become the means by which the educated can change to meet the needs of modern economic activity (Rostow, 1960/1991, p. 6). Alex Inkeles and David H. Smith (1974) argue that modern men and women are characterized by the traits of "rationality, abstractness of knowledge, scientific thinking, and urbanity" (cited in Peet & Hartwick, 2009, p. 125). Therefore, the growth of a society is a result of "literacy, education, increased communication, mass media exposure, and urbanization" (Huntington, 1971/2007, p. 63), and education has become the means through which "developing" societies are exposed to these modernist ideologies. As seen through Ethiopian higher education policies, the Ethiopian government has argued that education is the answer to poverty alleviation. The remainder of this section will critically analyse these assumptions espoused by the Ethiopian government and by the country's major donor – the World Bank. According to the World Bank, "Education is central to development... It is one of the most powerful instruments for reducing poverty and inequality and lays a foundation for sustained economic growth" (World Bank, 2007; cited in Spring, 2009, p. 30).

Issues of Management within the Higher Education Sector

In terms of management and organization, the public university system in Ethiopia, is challenged by a scarcity of resources, poor governance, lack of autonomy and accountability, absence of a culture of quality assurance, transparency and academic freedom. Since the establishment of the Addis Ababa University College in 1950, the organization, administration and control of higher education varies from one institution to another depending on how each began and which government department controls it. The University College of Addis Ababa has been granted a charter that comprises a board of governors, a university college council and a faculty council of which the emperor was chancellor (Trudeau, 1964; Wagaw, 1990). Other colleges were either subordinate to one of the government ministers or were governed by joint agreement between a friendly foreign government or institution and the Ethiopian government (Wagaw, 1990). Thus, the establishment and operation of higher education in Ethiopia was not centrally coordinated.

However, in 1962, the University College of Addis Ababa was transformed into Haileselassie I University by incorporating different colleges and faculties into one institution. The university maintains branches in many cities throughout Ethiopia, leading to the claim of being "the largest university in Africa." During the Dergue regime and since 1991, the Ministry of Education has been responsible for oversight and regulatory provisions in the education sector. The quality, relevance and meeting of standards by all higher education institutions are now regulated by the Ministry of Education. Universities have boards as their highest governing body, with the senate as the highest academic body and the presidents as the top executives at institutional level (Teshome, 2003).

Unedin Sado, Minister of Civil Service and board chair of the oldest and biggest university, Addis Ababa University (AAU), pointed out during his address on the 2011/12 graduation ceremony that the higher education system in Ethiopia has failed to support the country's development through research (Sado, 2012). Sado argues that although the government is spending millions of dollars on university education, universities are unable to compete internationally education and are inefficient due to a backward bureaucratic system that hinders proper and timely services, financial administration and student centered service provision. At the same time, universities do not offer student centered teaching and learning, lack proper and up-to-date content in the curriculum, and necessary teaching skills. Sado also contends that there is a lack of professors who meet the minimum standard qualification to teach at universities (only 25% of the professors at AAU have PhDs). Furthermore, teaching and learning do not reflect practice and the industry; there is, therefore, a lack of transparency and accountability in the teaching-learning process, poor research performance and little relevance to practice and industry, no problem solving research, and severe problems with the administration and funding of research at the university level.

Although the 2009 "Ethiopian Higher Education Proclamation" gives extensive autonomy to universities with regards to staff and financial administration, the establishment of relations with local and international counterparts, and the introduction of new degrees that better fit the economy and the labour market, universities are yet to exercise a system of accountability and academic freedom. These situations, in addition to the financial dependency and lack of real/practical autonomy, make it difficult for higher education institutions to be responsive to changes in knowledge, the labour market and economic development and other innovations.

Reconceptualising Issues of Quality and Relevance of Ethiopian Higher education

In this competitive and globalized world, quality and relevance are regarded as important criteria by which society measures university performance (Materu, 2007). Although what constitutes "quality" and "relevance" remains open to discussion, "quality" and "relevance" in higher education are multidimensional concepts which

depend to a large extent on the contextual setting of a given system, institutional mission, or conditions and standards within a given discipline. Current perspectives operate on the assumptions of modernization whereby:

> anything that runs counter to the economically rational is an obstacle to be removed. Indigenous cultural values, for instance, tend to be regarded as outdated and due to be changed at any cost. The inevitable outcome has been disrespect and disregard for anything African, and the emergence of a "top-down" approach to development. The nature and quality of social interaction as well as human creativity and self-esteem tend to be ignored in this perspective. (Achebe, 1990, p. 33)

After all, relevance of universities is meant to serve society, primarily by supporting a diverse economy, aimed at meeting the needs of the Ethiopian peoples and promoting the quality of life of its citizens by producing graduates that are problem identifiers and problem solvers, with necessary institutional adjustments that suit the local wisdom and resources.

As indicated in the different policy documents of the Federal Government of Ethiopia, the education system of the country has a mission of bringing about rapid and sustainable development through the expansion of quality and relevant education. Universities are expected to help alleviate poverty, social exclusion and cultural marginalization in the country (MoE, 2008). These expectations are expressed in the 2003 Higher education Proclamation. While the government has emphasized the expansion of universities and increasing the gross enrolment, the quality issue has been ignored until recent years. The 2009 revised Ethiopian Higher Education Proclamation recognized that emphasis should be given to the quality, relevance and autonomy of higher education institutions. This involves ensuring education contents that are in harmony with the economic needs and social and cultural realities of the country. Thus, the three core problems of higher institutions in Ethiopia that are addressed in this chapter are the quality, relevance and management of the education system.

Recently, Ethiopia has recognized the importance of higher education in general and science and technology in particular as a powerful tool for growth and transformation of the country into a middle income nation in a short period of time, which is explicitly indicated in its national development policy (MoFED, 2011). There is an ambition and financial commitment on the government side to embrace change in the university system through reviewing and reforming the existing policies and developing new strategies that promote a culture of science and technology. This focus on science and technology has resulted in a policy which calls for seventy percent of higher education students to be enrolled in science and thirty percent in the Social Sciences. This policy effectively states "that only modern technology, and modern knowledge, is of any value" as opposed to traditional knowledges (Nyerere, 1973, p. 26). From a modernist paradigm, education is viewed as the training necessary to gain the skills required to earn high salaries in the modern economy

(Nyerere, 1968). This type of education looks with disdain on traditional culture and knowledge, replacing them with Western scientific methods and traditions.

Studies show that the quality of education in Ethiopian higher institutions is threatened by multiple problems (Kahsay, 2012). The higher education institutions in the country are incapable of responding to the country's needs for an educated workforce, especially in producing professionals in the areas of science, technology and other fields, which are considered to be cornerstone for developing Ethiopia's modern economy and industry sector in line with current development policies. University professors have been trained in the knowledge of the modernity, thereby lacking the experience and capacity for teaching and learning in line with local culture and knowledge for a sustainable future, excellence in academic and applied research for the country's self-sufficiency and sustainable development. This is partly because of the history and practice of higher education in the country that have been, since its inception in the 1940s, patterned on the Western type of education and producing graduates to serve a Western type of economy and promote western ideas and values. University graduates are, therefore, largely irrelevant in solving the country's economic problems to the enhancement of the country's culture and identity. According to Wgaw (1990), the country's university system has never been relevant to the Ethiopian situation, as it is modeled on foreign ideas, historically staffed by foreigners and presently staffed by those whose knowledge is not locally and culturally relevant. Moreover, the medium of instruction continues to be English. Many Ethiopian scholars have expressed their concern since the foundation of the first national university in the country. Mesay (2006) contests that "though Ethiopians are proud of their independence, much of the benefit of withstanding colonial powers was thus taken away from them by the introduction of a system of education that had a colonial character. One should speak less and less of independence and subscribe to the idea that Ethiopia, too, ended up by becoming a colony. The introduction of Western education had accomplished what military means had failed to achieve" (p.14).

Although the government seems determined to radically overhaul the higher education system in order to ensure quality education that meets the country's existing realities, policy formulation and the change in the higher education system is not free of outside agencies and financial institutions. Usually a team of national and international expertise (financed and directed by international development practitioners like the World Bank) plays a central role in the process of devising strategies, programs and policies to be implemented in universities, with oversight conducted by the Ministry of Education. Development plans are written and proclaimed by outsiders. More often than not, what passes as development plans are "aggregations of projects and objectives, informed by the latest fads of the international development community" (Ake, 1996, p. 17).

Academics at the universities and sometimes university management have no or extremely limited opportunities to engage primarily in government or donor negotiations, consultations and the design of intended changes. In most cases, the

policymaking process is conducted by government officials, predominantly from the Ministry of Finance and Economic Development and the Ministry of Education (Kahsay, 2012). Changes intended for higher education institutions are, therefore, donor-initiated or government imposed. This results in the continued subjugation of local knowledges at the university level and few opportunities for staff to develop local solutions to problems being faced or to develop culturally relevant research methodologies and philosophies. As iterated by Achebe (1990), this is particularly evident in the absence of an indigenous research tradition.

The history of applied research in Africa has been one of trial and error, using theories and concepts derived from non-African experiments and settings to decide what questions to pose, what methods to use, and how to interpret results.

The principal impetus for the growth of new knowledge and modification of subsequent efforts in Africa has been the detection of shortcomings or errors associated with imported theories and concepts. It has been a matter of discarding old theories rather than discovering new ones. Furthermore, new knowledge thus created has been narrow and specialized. No efforts have been made to synthesize it with a view to assessing what it means for the future of Africa. In this situation is it not surprising that many development experiments have proved very costly to Africa. (p. 7)

Not only does the knowledge taught to undergraduates originate exclusively from foreign sources, but there has been little support for the development of culturally relevant research paradigms which are contextually appropriate, further exacerbating the quality issues faced in Ethiopian higher education.

A Critical Analysis of Quality Assurance Practice in Ethiopian Higher education

Higher education requires high standards of quality, of which teaching forms an integral component that must be supported by quality research. Given the lack of an indigenous research tradition in Ethiopia, quality quickly becomes an issue of contention. It is possible that accountability to the public as consumers can be achieved through quality assurance practices. However, many of the necessary conditions for effective quality assurance are missing in Ethiopian universities (Kahsay, 2012).

To address the quality issues and to maintain high academic standards in all institutions, the MoE established a Higher Education Relevance and Quality Assurance Agency (HERQA) in 2003, a department which is meant to be implemented by all higher education institutions. Accordingly, each institution has to have its own internal mechanism of quality control while, at the same time, being subject to an external mechanism of control through quality auditing by the agency (Tesfaye & Kassahun, 2009). The quality assessment by the agency focuses on teaching, curriculum, qualifications of instructors, student-teacher ratio, library, equipment, educational technologies, environment conducive to learning and student activities, educational evaluation, research, to name the most important. However, if the raison d'être of quality in higher education is development, then the Ethiopian people must all be involved. The educated must "work from a position within the society.

Educated people, in other words, can only be effective when they are full members of the society they are trying to change, involved in its good and bad fortune, and committed to it whatever happens" (Nyerere, 1973, p. 25). As long as education is seen as merely the training necessary to create engineers and administrators, issues of quality will be informed by a foreign and colonist belief system, as opposed to education which meets the need of society.

The way that the concept of quality assurance has been introduced and developed has been strongly influenced by various western experts who draw on their own western university sector experience and conceptual frameworks to advise the sector and government. The main sources of western influence are the World Bank (through offering advice and low-cost funding with conditionalities), the international non-governmental organization, Voluntary Service Overseas which places "experts" from the United Kingdom in senior positions at HERQA and the Higher education Strategy Centre (HESC); through the Netherlands Organisation for International Cooperation in Higher education (NUFFIC), the Dutch government became involved in projects to develop pedagogy and strategic capability within HERQA (Tesfaye & Kassahun, 2009; Ashcroft, 2010). According to Tesfaye and Kassahun (2009), although the quality assurance system has been introduced to the universities since the establishment of the agency, the universities do not show any significant progress in establishing robust and comprehensive quality assurance mechanisms.

The failure to adopt a thorough quality assurance system should lead to an examination and analysis of why such a system has not been successful in the Ethiopian context. It is imperative that this analysis begins with an evaluation of the inherent assumptions of the quality assurance system. The quality assurance system which was designed and implemented by foreign governments, donors and international non-governmental organizations is a method of measurement alien to the nation in which it is being implemented. The process should have started with a discussion of the purpose of education in the Ethiopian context, and, thereafter, followed by guidelines, strategies and objectives by which to meet the goal for Ethiopian education. Today, the purpose of education in Ethiopia appears to be merely to meet the Millennium Development Goals while increasing the number of science and technology graduates. These goals are a result of policies decided by donor organizations, international non-governmental organizations and elite Ethiopians with little understanding of the needs of the vast majority of the Ethiopian population, of which 82% live in rural Ethiopia (Pillay, 2010).

THE RECOLONIZATION OF HIGHER EDUCATION IN ETHIOPIA: CONCLUDING OBSERVATIONS AND DISCUSSIONS

Many Ethiopians, and particularly the rural population, strongly believe that modern education is the only way to escape the vicious circle of poverty (Seyoum, 1996). With the expansion of higher education programs by the government, tens of thousands of students are graduating from universities. However, concern about the quality and

relevance of the training is on the rise and cynicism seems to be developing among graduates and their parents as the education is not able to provide graduates with employment. There is a widespread belief the higher education system in the country is producing an army of educated and unemployed youth.

University graduates with Bachelor and Masters' degrees are now forced to compete for daily labour work, mainly cobble stone paving in larger towns – a job that realistically should have been filled by the formally uneducated, unemployed youth. The perception of many Ethiopians is that quality is being compromised in the effort to expand enrollment in recent years. This seems very disappointing to the public and requires a rethinking of the quality and relevance of the education system in the universities. The concern comes at a time when Ethiopia is emerging as one of the fastest growing economies in Africa and at a time of growing recognition of the importance and potential of higher education to facilitate development.

The deteriorating quality of education is recognized by the government, the universities and researchers; however, what remains essential is identifying what factors contribute to the deterioration. Some studies identify a lack of sufficient number of qualified academic staff, lack of physical resources, and the lack of internal and external efficiency of the universities and proper governance (Teshome, 2003; Tesfaye & Kassahun, 2009; Kahsay, 2012). However, we (the authors) contend that the relevance of the training and the deterioration in quality emanate from the long time practice of adopting western education systems to a country that is different in its history, economic development and culture. First, since its inception, modern education was introduced to produce civil servants who would serve the government's routine bureaucracy in various ministerial offices. This notion creates the belief among the public that university graduates are to be hired by the government. The second problem, which is related to the first notion, is that universities are not able to design programs and provide training that would enable graduates to create jobs through innovation. There is also a complaint by employers that graduates are poorly prepared for the work place. As Ethiopia looks to university education to make an influential and significant contribution to economic growth and development, universities need to overhaul the conceptual, methodological and curricular frameworks in order to align the entire educational system and training with the personal, civic, and workplace needs of the country, as determined by the people of Ethiopia.

Indigenous ways of knowing continue to be depicted as inferior. The culture, knowledge and language of the colonizers dominated during colonialism and continue to dominate in the post-colonial period. According to Alvares (1992), "in a world consisting of dominating and dominated cultures, some cultures are bound to be considered more equal than others" (p. 220). The self-acknowledged superiority of the colonizers along with their military might aided in the subjugation of the South, leading to severe economic inequities. These inequities were further exacerbated by the North's portrayal of "African traditional education and systems of thought as either non-existent, basically non-tenable, and/or non-coherent primitive noises that

the native population was to be cleansed of" (Abdi, 2005, p. 27). Shizha (2005) argues that this inequality was aggravated through colonial education leading to "psychological and cultural alienation and cultural domination" (p. 67), resulting in a "heritage of inequality, inaugurated and cemented during colonialism ... [and] still largely intact today" (Alvares, 1992, p. 220).

The notion of modernity and development, identified through the image of the North, is prevalent in the South and in the image created by the colonized of the future South. This post-facto 'after picture' is a result of a colonization of the mind and an educational system that "destroyed all previously established systems of cultural reference [and] ... systematically discredited all previously established mechanisms that different cultures had created throughout their histories for fostering knowledge and culture" (Ki-Zerbo, Kane, Archibald, Lizop & Rahnema, 1997, p. 158).

Education became a competition in which those who successfully adapted to the system were able to take advantage of the education they received and 'liberate themselves from poverty', further exacerbating the economic gap between the 'educated' and 'un-educated'. Instilling new values and attitudes leads students to reject their own cultural and personal identity, thereby acquiring a false sense of superiority, turning them away from manual work, and all unschooled people, whom they perceive as ignorant and underdeveloped (Ki-Zerbo et al., 1997, p. 159; Nyerere, 1968, p. 57).

Education reinforces the individual ambitions learned in colonial education; the collectivist teachings of Indigenous knowledge are forgotten. Students are separated from their parents and their cultural milieu, creating a cultural gap between the 'educated' and 'non-educated'. The educated often become ashamed of the life of the non-educated, losing their ties to the land and to Indigenous knowledge (Ki-Zerbo et al.. 1997, p. 159). These elite are now the educated middle class who become the 'Indigenous' members of INGOs. However, their situations and life styles are far removed from those whom they are expected to speak for. For these elite, "power decides what is knowledge and what it not knowledge" (Alvares, 1992, p. 230). They now have the power to actively ensure that the voices of Indigenous peoples are heard; in effect, the educated have been colonized and often reiterate the opinions of those in power and those who pay their salaries, not the local Indigenous peoples who they have little in common with. They no longer identify with the 'non-educated'. Their identity is constructed along a more Western notion of the individual which "does not correlate among many non-Western or non-modern peoples" (Escobar, 2008, p. 204).

It is important to recognize that "the generation and application of knowledge is shaped by class and societal interests" (Guttal, 2006, p. 39) which the elite of the North have power to create. Social knowledge residing in the history, culture, institutions, collective consciousness, accumulated knowledge, experience and wisdom of the different levels of the society "needs to be recognized and validated" (Girvan, 2006, p. 82). "Schools should empower students to redefine their own destiny and cultural selves" (Shizha, 2005, p. 67), instead of continuing to erase

and/or subordinate Indigenous peoples' knowledges and world views with dominant Western knowledges, "especially in the educational academy" (Choudry, 2009, p. 101). The classist differences among Africans must be erased as "the educated people of Africa have to identify themselves with the uneducated, and do so without reservation; otherwise their best efforts will be wasted" (Nyerere, 1973, p. 25).

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DAN CUI

14. WHO SHOULD GET IN: A MINORITY STUDENT ACCESS ISSUE IN CANADIAN HIGHER EDUCATION

This chapter examines the research theme of "Race and Access" in the face of globalization and the increasing demand for wider access in higher education. In particular, it explores how a minority student post-secondary access issue was discursively and inter-subjectively constructed by Canadian mainstream media. Critical discourse analysis will be employed to deconstruct a media constructed hegemony that aims to maintain White privilege and to deprive minority students of their hard earned post-secondary educational opportunities and consequently the social mobility that required of higher education credentials.

In November 2010, a Canada's leading weekly newsmagazine, *Maclean's* published a controversial article entitled "Too Asian". In the "Too Asian" article, Canadian universities such as the University of British Columbia and the University of Toronto were blamed for accepting too many "Asian" students because their competiveness and hard-working ethics not only deprived their "white" counterparts of the best school spots but also social life, characterized by sports, party and alcohol. What's worse, when these "Asian" students were accepted into universities, they caused further issues such as segregation and exclusion by creating their own ethnic student organizations and refusing to socialize with the "white" students. Therefore, "Too Asian" article suggested Canadian universities should take this issue seriously by re-examining the merit-based university admission criteria as neighboring universities in the United States did: to quote from the article "U.S. studies suggest Ivy League schools have taken the issue of Asian academic prowess so seriously that they've operated with secret quotas for decades to maintain their WASP credentials" (Findlay and Köhler, 2010, p. 81).

Not surprisingly, upon publication, the *Macleans* article's racist and provocative content immediately aroused tremendous debate and critique from racialized and ethnic minority groups, academics, politicians, and others. An open letter, entitled "A Call to Eliminate Anti-Asian Racism," – signed by graduate students, faculty members, and community organizations such as the National Anti-Racism Council of Canada and the Chinese Canadian National Council Toronto Chapter, among others – was prepared and sent to *MacLean's* editorial board. Victoria, British Columbia became the first municipality in Canada to pass a resolution condemning this article as offensive and intolerant (Cleverley, 2010). Further, the article caused such a furor that by February14th, 2011MacLean's had 2017 comments about the article posted

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on its website. Despite the magnitude of debate and political mobilization, public critique of this article has been characterized primarily by ideological dilemmas and emotional talk, thus its racist nature has not been analyzed in a systematic way. We therefore deem it an important task to deconstruct the article's racist discourses and reveal its ideological and hegemonic function in constructing social identities and social relations in order to raise people's consciousness of racism as an institutionalized and structured injustice rather than an individual bias.

This paper consists of three parts of an overall argument. First, I briefly discuss how the article can be informed by a critical discourse analysis framework (Fairclough, 1989) and the concepts of representation (Hall, 1997), media racism (Fleras, 2003), agenda setting (Cohen, 1963) and democratic racism (Henry, Tator, Mattis, & Rees, 2006). Second, we identify four arguments to elaborate on why we think "Too Asian" discourses are problematic. Finally, we conclude by highlighting the implication of this racist article and caution the public to be aware of its potential effects.

CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS, REPRESENTATION AND RACISM

Critical Discourse Analysis

The role of media discourses in constructing "common sense" understandings, reinforcing racial stereotypes, manufacturing consent, legitimating dominance and naturalizing unequal power relations has been widely documented in academia (Kelly, 1998; Cui, 2010; Henry & Tator, 2002; Hier & Greenberg, 2002; Fleras & Kunz, 2001). Critical discourse analysis (Fairclough, 1989, 1992, 1995, 2003) provides us with a theoretical tool to uncover how social and political inequalities are constituted and reinforced by media discourses. Fairclough develops a three-dimensional framework of critical discourse analysis (CDA) to study the interrelationship between discourse and social structures –discourse as: 1) text; 2) discursive practice; and 3) social practice. This theoretical framework ranges from examining the linguistic features of discourse, to the process of discourse production, distribution and consumption, to its social practices, examining the social relations constructed or transformed by the discourse. Such a comprehensive and systematic examination of discourse is based on Fairclough's understanding of ideology and hegemony. Is all discourse ideological? Is ideology located in the meanings of the text or forms of text? Fairclough (1992) argues that to judge whether discourse is ideological or not depends on whether it reproduces or transforms relations of domination. In contrast to traditional discourse analysis that treats texts as transparent, he points out that both the meanings and forms of text can be ideologically invested due to their intertwined nature. Therefore, in analyzing the "too Asian" discourse, we need to ask not only whether its meanings serve ideology and sustain relations of power but also how the design of the text itself is used to achieve such purposes. Further, for Fairclough, the ideological workings of discourse in maintaining or transforming relations of

power are facilitated by an important concept– hegemony. Gramsci (1971) once noted that hegemony requires intellectual and moral leadership, which is used by the dominant group to persuade subordinate groups that their dominance is natural and inevitable. Drawing on Gramsci, Fairclough holds that dominant groups exercise power through constituting alliances, integrating rather than merely dominating subordinate groups, winning their consent through discourse and through the constitution of local orders of discourse. The discursive practice of discourse, that is, the production, distribution, and consumption of texts, as he emphasizes, is "a facet of hegemonic struggle" because it reproduces or transforms not only the way the texts or conventions are articulated but also the existing social and power relations (1992, p. 93). In this sense, public responses to the "too Asian" article best indicate hegemonic struggles during the process of discourse distribution and consumption.

Representation and Media Racism

Theoretically, the concept of representation is also important in our discussion of the "too Asian" article. In particular we draw on the work of Stuart Hall and his recognition of the production of knowledge through discourse, whereby discourse can be regarded as a system of representation. For Hall, "representation is the production of meaning of the concepts in our minds through language" (1997, p.17). We can thus argue "meaning is produced by the practice, the 'work' of representation. It is constructed through signifying -i.e. meaning producing –practices" (1997, p.218). For example, stereotypes in the media, as one form of representation, produce stigmatized images of racialized minorities and naturalize unfounded images about them as "common sense" knowledge. In this sense, cultural representation is deeply intertwined with ideological struggles in that "ideology involves the claim of particular cultural practices to represent reality" (Grossberg, 1996, p. 159). Through various cultural forms and signifying systems, such as print and video, people make sense of social reality. In other words, cultural representation frames and structures "the way we live and experience reality" (Grossberg, 1996, p. 159). For Hall, social reality and representation are "mutually constitutive" in that they produce what passes for real, and therefore, are real in their effects (Fiske, 1996, p. 214).

Racialized minorities have long been misrepresented by mainstream media as 'problems' or a 'social threat' to Canadian society, with specific highlighted differences viewed through Eurocentric perspectives as inferior and deviant. In a similar vein, media institutions have often been criticized for their reluctance to respond to Canada's multicultural commitments and their continuing insistence on negative coverage of minorities. With regard to this point, can we say Canada's mainstream media are racist or are they just a site of racism? Fleras (2003) makes a point of distinguishing between *racist media* and *media racism* which we found to be a significant tool for understanding how the negative attitudes pitched against diversity and multiculturalism were so pronounced in the "Too Asian" story. According to Fleras, it is difficult to assert that Canada has *racist media* due to

the lack of consensus on the definition of racism as well as the measurement and exact components of racist media. Moreover, deliberate and offensive treatment of racialized minorities within the media is not legitimate, and is therefore not allowed by human right legislation, industry guidelines and federal regulatory bodies. Thus, it is more appropriate to argue for *media racism*, which exists in the "foundational principles that govern media values, agendas, and priorities" (p. 283). In other words, *media racism* is not simply perpetuated by some individual "bad apples" with racist assumptions and beliefs but is deeply embedded "within the normal functioning of media processes, structures, agendas, and output" (p. 284). Media racism is not incidental but institutional and systemic. It is so naturally rooted in the media structures and daily routine operations, which assume whiteness as normal that biased representation of minorities is even beyond its awareness. This can be seen not only from the fact that the "Too Asian" article treats dominant culture as the norm and uses Eurocentric standards to judge racialized minorities as problematic and deviant "others," but also from the refusal of *MacLean's* editorial board to apologize for the-racist attitudes prevalent in "Too Asian" when requested to do so by the minority communities affected by its publication. Again, Fleras's point reminds us that the analysis of the "Too Asian" article should be understood at the level of institutional and systemic racism, rather than simply blaming individual authors as racist.

Further, the issue of misrepresentation of racialized minorities by mainstream media should be taken seriously given its agenda-setting function. To put it simply, this term originated from Bernard Cohen's work, *The Press and Foreign Policy* (1963), in which he argued that the press may not always manage to tell people what to think but it did succeed in telling them what to think about. This concept highlights the role mass media plays as a thought control agency in framing issues, "circumscribing the parameters of acceptability and desirability", as well as defending dominant ideology and advancing "vested rather than common interests" (Fleras, 2003, p. 303). Particularly, the powerful influence of the "Too Asian" article in setting the agenda of problematizing minority student populations in Canadian universities and convincing the public as to who is normal and what kind of school behaviors are desirable cannot be simply ignored or underestimated, especially given the fact that "mainstream media are often the preliminary and only point of contact in shaping mainstream perception of minority women and men" (Orbe & Harris, as cited by Fleras, 2003, p. 279).

In fact, recent research also indicates that consumers of mainstream media have been extended from the monolithic mainstream in a traditional sense to a much more diverse audience. In examining how two racialized groups, Chinese-Canadians and Iranian-Canadians perceive and consume Canadian English-language TV news coverage, Mahtani (2008) found that both groups consume mainstream media regularly, and both groups indicated some exclusion and misrepresentation by news coverage. In particular, the Chinese-Canadian focus group emphasized negative media representations surrounding SARS and the Beijing Olympic bid, which assumed an Anglo-centric audience, rather than taking their consumer needs into

consideration. Mahtani's research revealed that Canadian mainstream media does not offer racialized minorities a space through which they see their life accurately reflected or through which they feel they are included within a Canadian multicultural state and treated equally as Canadian citizens. More importantly, Mahtani's study demonstrated the institutional and structural constrains experienced by individual journalists. Through her interview with news producers, Mahtani shows us a more complicated picture of media racism:

> The racialized structures within the newsroom make it difficult for journalists to challenge or disrupt prevailing discourses of storytelling in the newsroom. Fear of challenging the status quo within the newsrooms means that many journalists keep silent about problematic reporting for fear of losing their hard-earned jobs. (2008, p. 657)

In addition to understanding media racism as institutional and systemic, it is worthwhile to note that contemporary representation of minority groups has evolved into a more sophisticated form of "new" or "inferential" racism. Jiwani (2009) in "Race and Media: A Retrospective and Prospective Gaze" holds that contemporary racism "can only be deciphered by referring to the inferential bases of the propositions being advanced" (p. 735). Drawing on Stuart Hall's concept of "inferential racism" – which emphasizes that racist premises and propositions are so naturalized in representation that racist statements are sometimes even beyond our awareness – Jiwani suggests the use of critical discourse analysis to make racist inferences more explicit, especially from a comparative approach. To this end, our critical discourse analysis of media representation of racialized minorities in the "Too Asian" article aims to bring the hidden comparison into the foreground. That is, to make present "an absent, or implicit, White standard" in order to reveal "the hierarchies of power and legitimacy that inhere in the representational economy" (Jiwani, 2009, p. 736).

Democratic Racism

Similar to "new" or "inferential" racism, another concept, "democratic racism" is also very helpful in our critique of the "Too Asian" article. Despite the official claim that Canada is a democratic multicultural society, a variety of academic research has increasingly revealed that this enlightened image is far from truth, given the discrimination that racial and ethnic minorities experienced in Canadian history and continue to experience at present. As Fleras & Elliot (2007) point out: "Racism is so naturalized in history and society that it constantly finds new and complex forms of expression by making itself more invisible" (p. 54). Henry, Tator, Mattis, & Rees (2006) conceptualize the contemporary form of racist ideology in Canada as *democratic racism*. This concept poignantly captures the coexistence of two contradictory value systems pervading Canadian society, "the egalitarian values of liberalism, justice and fairness, and the racist ideologies reflected in the

collective mass belief system as well as the racist attitudes, perceptions, assumptions of individuals" (p. 19). At an individual level, it refers to a paradox of mentality that many Canadians confront: on the one hand, they reject biological racism and embrace democratic values; on the other hand, they continue to hold various stereotyped prejudices against racial and ethnic minorities at a subconscious level (Fleras & Elliot, 2007).

Democratic racism as racist discourse is deeply embedded in popular beliefs, values, media representations and various commonsense understandings and ideas that inform people's thoughts and actions. Henry, et.al (2006) identified several prevailing discourses of democratic racism, many of which characterize the "Too Asian" article, including the discourses of: binary polarization; white victimization; equal opportunity; blaming the victim; multiculturalism; and speech freedom. We will elaborate on this point in the findings and discussion section.

ANALYZING MEDIA DISCOURSE: METHODS AND SOME CONCEPTS

As briefly discussed above, Fairclough's critical discourse analysis provides us with a general methodological framework to examine "Too Asian" discourse from three dimensions. First, we look at the linguistic features of discourse: "How is the text designed, why is it designed in this way, and how else could it have been designed?"(Fairclough, 1995, p. 202) Two textual features of "Too Asian" discourse are worthwhile to discuss here: referential strategy and rhetorical strategy. First, the chosen referential strategy, the way that people are named, is not accidental or arbitrary but reflects the social relations between the named and those who do the naming (Fairclough, 1992). Also, it affects the way they are viewed (Richardson, 2007). In the "Too Asian" article, a heterogeneous group of minorities were referred to as "Asian," a historically racialized label used by European colonists to denigrate the "Orientals" (Said, 1978), as "They" vs. 'We" who are authentic Canadians. This "Othered" identity was further entrenched in "Too Asian" by the use of other negative labels such as the "model minority", "Teachers' pets" and "solitudes." Such referential strategy exactly exemplifies what van Dijk calls "ideological square," which is characterized by a "Positive Self Presentation and a simultaneous Negative Other-Presentation" (as cited by Richardson, 2007, p. 51). It also shows unequal power relations between the referent and the refereed, along with the institutional racism that is deeply embedded in the everyday functioning of newsrooms, in other words, to use such reference without fear of being fired. Second, the choice of certain narrative forms, that is, sentence structure, may carry some ideological significance (Fairclough, as cited by Richardson, 2007). For example, the article states: "… it's unsurprising that Asian students *are segregated* from 'mainstream' campus life… Chinese youth *are bullied* more than their non-Asian peers" (p. 78). By using these passive sentences without an agent, "Too Asian" discourse camouflages the active role of racism in marginalizing and subordinating minority students. In so doing, it depoliticizes the action of bullying and segregating by describing it as a "don't-know-who-did-it" accident. What's

worse, the victims themselves, the "Asian" students are blamed for initiating their own segregation in the later part of the "Too Asian" article, an example of democratic racism in current Canadian society. Notably, contemporary racism is characteristic of more complex and implicit expressions that make its identification more difficult. The following two sentences in the "Too Asian" article are such a case in point:

a. The dilemma is this: Canadian institutions operate as pure meritocracies when it comes to admissions, and *admirably so. Privately, however*, many in the education community worry that universities risk becoming too skewed one way, changing campus life – *a debate that's been more or less out in the open in the U.S. for years but remains muted here.* (p. 78)
b. Canadian universities, apart from highly competitive professional programs and faculties, don't quiz applicants the same way, and rely entirely on transcripts. *Likely that is a good thing. And yet*, that meritocratic process results, especially in Canada's elite university program, in *a concentration of Asian students*. (p.81)

In questioning the meritocratic process of university admission criteria, the above discourses did not forge a blatant and direct attack; rather, they try to assume a seemingly objective and balanced perspective by using phrases such as "*admirably so*," and "*Likely that is a good thing."* However, the authors' racist attitudes and tones became self-evident with the follow-ups "*however*" and *"yet."* Their real positions in opposing meritocracy and equal educational opportunity are further justified by employing the discourse of free speech, which is allowed in the U.S but somewhat restricted in Canada. This example not only illustrates democratic racism in terms of "free speech" but also demonstrates the concept of intertextuality as discursive practice of discourse. Intertextuality, Fairclough (1992) argues, is "basically the property texts have of being full of snatches of other texts, which may be explicitly demarcated or merged in, and which the text may assimilate, contradict, ironically echo, and so forth" (p. 84). "Too Asian" intertextually reproduces racist discourses targeting "Asian" students in the U.S during the process of discourse production, distribution and consumption. Further, the third dimension of Fairclough's CDA is concerned with how discourse relates to wider society, particularly in terms of the power issue. For example, it raises the questions, including who is affected by media discourse. Who has power to set the agenda of social issues? What is the possible social consequence of certain representation? What kind of social identities and social relations are reflected and simultaneously constructed by media discourse?

With these questions, we identify four themes of the "Too Asian" discourse. First, it constructs an Us/Them division and a forever "Othered" identity of racialized minorities in order to challenge their hard-earned educational opportunities. Second, it essentializes ethnic culture and uses culture rather than structural constraints as an explanation for individual social behavours, such as working hard. Third, it represents Asian students as segregationists who tend to exclude themselves from mainstream society without having a full understanding of the factors behind it. Last but not least, it aims to construct white privilege in the field of higher education by

questioning merit as a valid university admission criteria and suggesting instead maintaining the status quo of privilege and WASP credentials. Among the four themes, the first two are more pervasive to the extent that they have been widely accepted as common-sense knowledge about racialized minorities and deeply embedded in the assumptions and subconscious of the Canadian public. By comparison, the last two themes are relatively new. However, their potential effects can never be underestimated, especially the last one, which is more important than the other three themes, simply due to the fact that the main purpose of "Too Asian" is to prevent more "Asian" students from accessing Canadian post-secondary education by constructing ideological and hegemonic consensus around particular (and we argue problematic) representations of racialized minorities.

WHY THE "TOO ASIAN" ARTICLE IS PROBLEMATIC: FOUR THEMES

The Us/Them Division and the Forever Others

Asian kids, meanwhile, say they are resented for taking the spots of white kids. "At graduation a Canadian—i.e. 'white'—mother told me that I'm the reason her son didn't get a space in university and that all the immigrants in the country are taking up university spots. (p.78)

The us/them dichotomy is not something new but historically rooted. Early Chinese immigrants in Canada were labeled as "heathen Chinee" based on Eurocentric dichotomies of West/East, civilized/uncivilized, Christian/heathen, and master/slave (Anderson, 1991). As Said (1978) argues, the distinction between "the Orient" and "the Occident" was politically and ideologically constructed by the Europeans to justify colonialism and to maintain unequal cultural and moral power relations with non-Europeans during the post-Enlightenment period. More importantly, to label racial and ethnic minorities as the undesirable others and to maintain a boundary between us and them was in fact a strategy employed by dominant groups to legitimate exploitation and exclusion. After the Chinese immigrant labourers completed building the Canadian Pacific Railway, the federal government immediately passed the Chinese Head Tax in 1885 and Chinese Exclusion tax in 1923 to curtail their entry into Canada. This systemic racism against Chinese immigrants was justified because of their "Otherness": a community of "heathen Chinee" without "civilized habits and religious aspirations", therefore, "who can never assimilate with us or do ought to elevate us…" (Royal Commission report, 1885, cited by Anderson, 191, p. 54).

Nowadays, Chinese Canadians have been continuously "Othered" through such labels as "visible minority," "non-white" or "Asian" even if some of them have resided in this country for several generations. Their social identity as foreigners has been historically embedded in the collective consciousness of white Canadians and discursively (re)produced through news, stories, cartoons, songs and various other cultural forms. Such referential strategies not only demonstrate a continuation of historical racism that categorized people based on their phenotypic features

but also serve as an ideological strategy that excludes racial and ethnic minorities from the "imagined community" as real Canadians (Anderson, 1983). By labeling people as "Asian" regardless of the fact that many of them are Canadian born, the "Too Asian" article attempts to deny their equal rights with "White" Canadians to access educational resources. In so doing, individual competition is ideologically constructed along racial lines and represented as a competition between "Asian" and "white" students, or foreigners and Canadians. Consequently, the success of racial and ethnic minority students was not understood as good news for Canadian nation building but rather as a "threat" to 'real' Canadians and their competition for limited educational opportunities. Such discourses that reinforce "Asians" as threatening or divisive for Canadian society does not contribute to social cohesion among different racial and ethnic groups, as has long been advocated by policy makers. On the contrary, it increases mistrust between social groups, thus exacerbating the segregation and exclusion of racialized minorities.

Further, what is erased in the quote at the beginning of this section are other factors that contribute to unequal access to educational opportunities, such as gender, class, and language barriers. Who is the "white" mom? Is she a working class single mom who has to work several part-time low-paying jobs to support her family and who may not have spare time or ability to assist her son with his school work? As well, who is the Asian student that managed to get into university? Is he/she a first generation immigrant youth who has to make triple the effort to learn the language and school work rather than his/her native speaking "white" peers? In this sense, what is ignored or denied by the "Too Asian" discourse are the efforts made by racialized minority students to overcome various difficulties to get into post-secondary institutions as well as multifaceted factors (other than the presence of "Asians") that may impede the "white" student's access to university education. In other words, who gets in and who doesn't is more than a racial issue. However, by constructing unequal educational opportunities solely along racial lines, "Too Asian" discourse may achieve the purpose of winning the consent of the "White" majority, provoking racial hostility while keeping hidden the root causes of social inequality that are embedded in social structures. In this way, the discourse of maintaining the Us/Them division and making "Asians" the scapegoats in fact functions as hegemony that serves the interests of dominant groups.

Cultural Explanation and Model Minority Discourse Revisited

The Us-Them division has been further strengthened through highlighting the cultural differences between "Asians" and "whites."

> …Asian students work harder… they tend to be strivers, high achievers and single-minded in their approach to university…White students, by contrast, are more likely to choose universities and build their school lives around social interactions, athletics and self-actualization—and, yes, alcohol. (p.78)

By attributing "Asian" students' academic success to their ahistorical cultural traditions, the "Too Asian" article denies the heterogeneous nature of Asian cultures. Even students of Chinese origin who come from Mainland China, Hong Kong and Taiwan do not share a common "Chinese culture," given the completely different historical, social, political, cultural, and ideological contexts in these areas. Further, "Too Asian" tends to explain "Asian" students' motivation towards university in essentialized cultural terms: "The value of education has been drilled into Asian students by their parents… there is a long tradition in Chinese culture, for example, going back to Confucius, of social mobility based on merit" (p.78). It is evident that valuing education and working hard is not just the unique culture of Confucius but rather, is shared by many parents and families across racialized and ethnic groups. Even for those immigrant parents who do embrace Confucius values, questions can be raised as to what extent they can pass this value onto the second-generation, third generation or later generations? For those "Asian" students who are born, educated and socialized in Canada, Confucius is too far from their school life to become a real motivation for university. In other words, the so-called ethnic culture is not something fixed and primordial that can be easily transplanted by immigrant parents and drilled into their descendents.

An ethic of hard work cannot be simply understood as a cultural phenomenon. In fact, the maintenance of ethnic culture is more dependent on the social context of the receiving countries than on an individual's free choice or own will. Particularly, it is contingent on how it is received by the local majority group and whether it fits the survival and development needs that immigrants perceive in their new living environment. Continuing with this point, hard-work and valuing education for many "Asian" parents and students results from more than the continual influence of their transplanted traditional culture. Rather, it is based on the perceived actual living demands, given their racialized social status in Canadian society. For many Chinese immigrants, when their foreign credentials are not recognized or devalued; when they encounter "triple glass barriers" in accessing professional communities, high-wage professional employment and moving up to management positions (Guo, 2010); and when they have to face various subtle forms of discrimination in their daily life, working hard may be deemed as an important way to get out of the mire. In other words, working hard, for many racialized minorities is more than a habitual practice of their traditional culture, but a significant strategy for survival as well as a tool of resistance against the exclusion and oppression they have experienced in Canada. As Li (1999) sharply points out, the maintenance of ethnic distinctiveness may not result from an ethnic group's own choices and preference; but rather as a response to subordination and marginalization imposed by the dominant group. Similarly, McLaren (2003) argues that culture is not just a way of life but a form of production through which different groups define and realize their aspirations. In a society where racism, white privilege and social injustice exist, working hard, for many racialized minority students, is viewed as a feasible way of realizing their life dreams and achieving social mobility. In addition, to represent "Asian" students as

high achievers ignores vast inter-and intra-group differences. Drawing on data from the National Assessment of Educational Progress Reading Report Card (grade 8) for 1998-2003, Guofang Li (2008) reveals that in some American states "Asian" students have lower achievement levels than other minority groups. She concludes that the model minority discourse which highlights "Asian" students' academic success tends to deny the difficulties many "Asian" underachievers experienced in school. As a result, it prevents teachers, school administrators, and policy makers as well as the state from helping out these disadvantaged students. As well, such representation simplistically reduces the multi-faceted factors affecting one's academic motivation and performance, such as gender class, language fluency level, etc. to a single highlighted factor – one's racialized and ethnic origin.

More importantly, what needs to be further interrogated is the discourse of "normal university life" that was constructed by the "Too Asian" article. Is it a life based on party and alcohol as supposedly preferred by some "white" students or should it also be academically focused? Who has the power to define what is normal and what is not? Which way of life is more valued than others? Historically, Canadian media justified the exclusion of Chinese immigrants after completing the Canadian Pacific Railway with the excuses of "You won't drink whisky, talk politics and vote like us" (Cui, 2010). Ironically, one century later, similar excuses such as not drinking and not doing what we –"white" Canadians do is again being employed by the media to justify restricting Chinese immigrant descendents going on to post-secondary education. As Said (1978) noted, "The Orient was Orientalized not only because it was discovered to be "Oriental" in all those ways considered common place by an average nineteenth-century European, but also because it could be—that is, submitted to being – made Oriental" (p. 6). In other words, it is a knowledge construction process through a Eurocentric lens. In claiming "Asian" students' alleged differences as undesirable, or even worse, as a threat to the traditional culture of Canadian universities, "Too Asian" not only set the agenda of telling the readers what to think about but also constructed racialized knowledge of what is normal and acceptable. In this way, the ideological and hegemonic functions of "Too Asian" discourse seem self-evident. As such, we argue that Canada is still far from a real commitment to diversity and substantive multiculturalism since differences are still ontologically viewed as "deficient, deviant, pathological, or otherwise divisive" (Guo, 2009, p. 47) and they are continually used as an excuse for justifying exclusion and subordination.

Further, by representing the "Asian" student as a "teachers' pet" with a "single-minded approach to university," having little interest in "social interactions, athletics and self-actualization" compared with their "white peers", "Too Asian" intertextually reproduces the "model minority" discourse. Historically, the model minority discourse stereotyped "Asian" Americans as self-sufficient, hard-working, docile, respectful to authorities, non-assertive, compliant with overtime work and other unjust treatments, and reticent to demand rights from governments or pay increases and promotions from employers. When applied to "Asian" students, it depicts them as smart, hard-

working, obedient, excelling in math and sciences, shy, quiet and lacking an interest in sports and social skills. The model minority discourse has long been criticized by North American scholars for its ideological and political functions in discrediting minorities groups' collective struggles for social justice. It supports the ideology of meritocracy that other minority groups are able to succeed just like "Asians" without any institutional change. Under the model minority discourse, some groups, such as African Americans are blamed for not living up to this expectation on their own. As a result, such discourses incite fights among racialized groups while leaving the ideology of white supremacy and unequal social structures untouched. Nowadays, the model minority discourse is reproduced by the "Too Asian" article with a renewed highlight on its flip side: "Asian" students' academic success is not cheered as before as a demonstration of Asians' self-sufficiency or to point fingers at other racialized groups; rather, it is interpreted as "anti-social," "segregation," an inferior identity characterized by an incomplete life style based on deficit ethnic cultures. Despite the reconstruction, the ideological and political purpose remains the same: to maintain the unequal power relations between the dominant group and racialized minorities. As Wang (2008) poignantly argues, there is a "thin line of demarcation between model minority and yellow peril" (p. 31). Despite the seemingly elevated social position compared with other racialized minority groups, "Too Asian" once again demonstrates the fact that, as "model minority," you can only go so far.

Another renewed meaning of the model minority stereotype constructed by "Too Asian" is its reinterpretation of the generally higher academic performance of "Asian" students as a result of the overwhelmingly unequal parental support Asian students receive as compared to their 'white" peers.

> Asians get more support from their parents financially and academically… the focus on academics was often to the exclusion of social interaction. 'The kids were getting 98 per cent but they didn't have other skills,' she [a guidance counselor] says. "Their parents would come in and write in the résumé letters that they were in clubs. But the kids weren't able to do anything in those clubs because they were academically focused. (p.78)

What is missing from this discourse is the role social class plays in shaping the extent of financial and academic support that "Asian" students may get from their parents. Vivian Louie (2001), a professor from Harvard University has examined how social class influences Chinese immigrant parents' expectations, strategies and investment in their children's education. She found middle-class parents had more resources and played a more active role than working class parents in their children's learning both in and out of school, such as choosing high-quality schooling, investing in private lessons and assisting in the process of university applications. Whereas working class parents usually work long hours, lacking both the time and financial resources that middle-class parents are able to give their children. They also had limited involvement in their children's homework due to their lack of necessary language skills and educational background. In this sense, 'Too Asian" totally

ignored the divergent socio-economic backgrounds that "Asian" students come from and the fact that many "Asian" immigrant parents encountered both institutional and systemic barriers in accessing and moving up Canadian labour markets, even though they are "highly educated" professionals. By representing "Asian" students as privileged kids in terms of parents' support, "Too Asian" also tends to deny the structural disadvantages racialized minority students confront and the unequal power relations with their white counterparts, who enjoy various forms of white privilege and benefit from the social capital their parents have accumulated for generations.

Segregation and Ethnic Identities

"Too Asian" also actively constructs the inferior and the "othered" social identity of "Asian" students through blaming them for creating ethnic enclaves and segregating themselves from mainstream student organizations. "It's harder to integrate into a group with Asians—you may or may not get introduced," says Chau, who accepts the segregation as just "part of the university experience" (p.80).

> Such balkanization is reflected in official student organizations: there is little Asian representation on student government, campus newspapers or college radio stations. At UBC, where the student body is roughly 40 percent Asian, not one Asian sits on the student executive. Same goes for Waterloo. Asian students do, however, participate in organizations beyond the university mainstream, and long-standing cultural clubs function as a sort of ad hoc government. (p.80)

As Richardson (2007) argues, "it is important to recognize that textual or journalistic meaning is communicated as much by *absence* as by presence; as much by what is 'missing' or excluded as by what is remembered and present." (p. 93). By highlighting the segregation as simply an "Asian" problem, it leaves the role played by the "white" dominant group in social interaction unexamined. The fact that there is little Asian representation on mainstream student government is explained as Asian students' unwillingness to participate rather than another possibility –exclusion from the dominant group. Students' sub-groups formation based on race/ethnicity, gender, class, sexual orientation, common interests, as well as related bullying and marginalization have been widely documented among North American scholars (Wotherspoon, 2009). Although "Too Asian" did mention this problem – "Chinese youth are bullied more than their non-Asian peers" and "they are more frequently targeted because of being "too smart" and "teachers' pets" – as discussed above, the dominant "White" students as the potential agents in bullying, "ostracism and resentment" are made absent through the construction of passive voice sentences. It manifests the ideology of democratic racism that blames the victims for their own exclusion and subordination while leaving the root causes uninterrogated.

The ideological purpose of constructing Asian students as segregationists is also achieved through highlighting their ethnic identities. As indicated by the article, "Asian-Canadian students are far more likely to talk about and assert their ethnic identities than

white students" (p.78). Such discourse corresponds to the critique of multiculturalism as a divisive force that contributes to the social and political fragmentation of a national community through creating ethnic enclaves, encouraging ethnic identities and divided loyalties. Particularly, this critique has viewed ethnic identities of minority groups in binary opposition to a singular national identity. Therefore, the assertion of one's ethnic identity is interpreted as equivalent to segregation, a threat to social cohesion and disloyalty to the nation. However, scholars from a variety of disciplines have disputed such post-multiculturalism discourse as simply postulations rather than evidence-based (Garcea, 2008). It has been well documented that youth's ethno-cultural identification does not undercut or diminish their national identity and attachment to Canada (Jedwab, 2008; Wilkinson, 2008). As well, what needs to be further interrogated is the conceptualization of integration. Should integration be viewed as a two-way process with both sides in the dialogue willing to listen to and accept each other or making compromises to find common ground? Or should it be a one-way process in which the more powerful and authoritarian one decides what is the norm? In particular, into which segments of Canadian society are racial and ethnic minorities supposed to integrate, given the heterogeneous and wide spectrum of "white" populations? Is that the "alcohol and party" aspect as suggested by the "Too Asian" article? More importantly, we need to ask: what is the real purpose behind "Too Asian" constructing the social identities of Asian students as deviant, inferior and segregationist?

University Entry Criteria, WASP Credentials and White Victimization

The real purpose of this article was not just to reinforce the stereotypes of Asian students through a biased media representation or simply to complain that "Asian" students ruined traditional Canadian university social life as characterized by party and alcohol; rather, it aims to deprive Asian students of their hard-earned opportunity to access educational resources and consequently economic and political positions requiring educational credentials. In other words, what the "Too Asian" article initiated was NOT just a cultural war on what university life should be, but rather who should be allowed or denied access to various resources and life opportunities, and based on what criteria. Should the criteria be based on meritocracy or the significance of maintaining WASP credentials and white privilege? As "Too Asian" argues:

> U.S. studies suggest Ivy League schools have taken the issue of Asian academic prowess so seriously that they've operated with secret quotas for decades to maintain their WASP credentials. (p.81)
>
> You can find well-documented internal discussions at places like Harvard and Yale and Princeton about why we shouldn't admit these people, they're working so hard and they're so obviously ambitious, but we want to keep our WASP pedigree here. (p.81)

Educational credentials have been used as an important tool to justify the exclusion of certain groups of people in contemporary capitalist society. According to social closure theory, educational credentials are not directly related to the actual technical requirements of a job, but "used by powerful groups to legitimate exclusion and disguise other bases of rejection, such as ethnicity, race or social class" (Collins, as cited by Murphy, 1988, p. 103). In other words, it reflects the interests of a dominant group who has power to impose requirements for credentials on those who do not in order to maintain their dominant social status and privilege to access various social resources in the name of credentials. In this way, to maintain WASP-like credentials is to protect the white privilege in acquiring limited social resources such as educational opportunities. It is a continuing white domination over racial and ethnic minorities that is deeply rooted in Canadian history. According to Adams (2007): "The ideal professional practitioner in the late 19th and early 20th centuries was an Anglo-Saxon, White, middle or upper class, Protestant male, and those who did not fit into this category often faced many explicit and implicit barriers" (p. 15). Racial and ethnic minorities were not only historically prohibited from entering into certain professional occupations such as law and medicine, but they are continually disadvantaged by present-day Canadian society when their foreign credentials are not recognized or devalued (Basran & Zong, 1998; Li, 2003). It is worthwhile to note that when credential recognition becomes one of the most serious barriers for adult immigrants to access labour market, their children are in danger of being restricted from entering Canadian universities as suggested by the "Too Asian" article in the name of maintaining WASP credentials.

The challenge to meritocracy-based university entry criteria is also justified through the discourse of white victimization. "Pure meritocracies," which is "too skewed one way" (p.78), "results, especially in Canada's elite university programs, in a concentration of Asian students" (p.81). Therefore "white" students do not enjoy equal opportunities for post-secondary education as Asians do. What's worse, the article argues, is that when "white" students do manage to get into university, they may be victimized again thanks to the "ethnic ghetto" in "Too Asian" universities. Therefore, it is important to draw people's attention to this "Too Asian" issue, despite the risks of incurring criticism, because "if they don't, Canada's universities, far from the cultural mosaics they're supposed to be—oasis of dialogue, mutual understanding and diversity—risk becoming places of many solitudes, deserts of non-communication" (p.78). This kind of logic which aims to preserve white privilege exemplifies various forms of democratic racism, including the discourses of white victimization, equal opportunity, multiculturalism and free speech. What is erased or ignored by "Too Asian" discourse are various institutional and structural inequalities experienced by racialized minorities, as well as their subordinate positions in racial hierarchies.

CONCLUSION

An analysis of "Too Asian" reveals the important role that newspapers playing reproducing stereotypical social identities of Asian students, reinforcing unequal power relations with "whites" and ideologically constructing the social norms and values based on white supremacy. The racist ideology is embedded in all three dimensions of "Too Asian" discourse: First, its textual features in the choice of racial signifier such as "Asian" and in sentence design by deliberately making the agent of bullying and discrimination absent. Second, its discursive practices that intertextually draw on and reproduce racist discourses from the United States and Canada. Third, its social practices that represent Asian students as forever foreigners, separatists and competitors against those racialized as white in order to hegemonically mobilize public support to constrain their educational opportunities and future social mobility. Further, this article exemplifies various discourses of democratic racism. The hegemonic function of such discourses cannot be underestimated given the popularity and large subscription rate of *Maclean's* magazine in Canada. What "Too Asian" discourse reflects is more than the authors' individual prejudice but institutional and systemic racism that is deeply embedded in Canadian history and continues into the present. Media once again become an ideological state apparatus (Althusser, 1971), used by the dominant group to protect their privilege and dominance by attacking subordinate groups' hard-earned educational opportunities. In this way, what we fight for is more than cultural and moral power in terms of what should be deemed a cultural or moral norm (Said, 1978) but rather a citizen power, an economical and political power. In other words, we racialized and ethnic minorities should enjoy equal citizen rights as those "white" Canadians/citizens in accessing various resources and defining what integration means. The "Too Asian" article provides the Canadian public with a good example of how racialized minorities are still marginalized on the dark side of the nation (Bannerji, 2000) as invisible citizens.

In responding to the "Too Asian" article, which aims for post-secondary educational policy changes to restrict the acceptance of "Asian" students, we need to be cautious of its challenge to the meritocratic admission criteria as well as its hegemonic and misleading categorization of Canadian universities in racial terms. What needs to be changed in terms of educational policy is how Canadian universities can provide equal educational opportunities to disadvantaged students based on "race", gender and class, rather than narrowly interpreting university students' enrollment along the racial line. More importantly, we need to realize often universities are still sites where whiteness can be reclaimed. It is not just bodies that can come to represent whiteness but also curriculum, professoriate, societies groups etc. What needs to be changed also includes its employment policy. Even in those so-called "Too Asian" universities, racialized minority faculties still account for a small portion compared with their "white" counterparts. Particularity, it would be useful for more full-time tenure track minority faculty to be employed in humanities and social sciences

disciplines other than the sciences. What we are expecting is a policy change to address social justice not to reinforce the status quo.

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15. A SYNTHESIS OF THE ISSUES, CHALLENGES, AND DILEMMAS

For several decades, national higher education systems have been experiencing dramatic transformation brought about by global economic and social trends. After the end of the Cold War in the 1990s and the subsequent rapid economic and cultural globalization, we witnessed significant changes in higher education in developing countries, emerging market economies as well as established "academic powers" (Altbach, 2013). Despite considerable historic, economic and social differences, higher education systems in developing countries and emerging economies, especially those in Sub-Saharan Africa, China, India, and South Korea are feeling similar pressures including marketization of higher education, institutional expansion, and growing competition among universities. The authors of this book have offered their examination of issues affecting national higher education systems today. While acknowledging the influence of globalising forces on higher education, the authors also reflect on the national specificities that bear on educational policies and practices.

Of the many issues discussed in this volume, globalization, neo-liberal policies, quality assurance and excellence initiatives clearly stand out. Researchers recognize that while globalization is affecting higher education around the world, national socio-economic policies and reforms are driven by the neo-liberal agenda emanating from global policy actors such as the World Bank, the OECD and the International Monetary Fund. A number of chapter authors acknowledge that national universities experience increasing pressure to be more efficient, entrepreneurial and competitive in the international market of higher education. Education reforms in Mexico, Korea, China, Russia, Zimbabwe, and Kenya, largely encouraged by the World Bank and other global institutions, reflect the dominant neo-liberal discourse. Despite considerable economic, political and cultural differences these countries have also adopted neo-liberal policies in economic and social sectors in order to boost their economic growth and develop knowledge-based economies. Many societies including the former socialist states such as Russia and China have moved from free, highly subsidized public education models to moderate-to-high fee-based public systems and private systems where the fees are equal to, if not higher than, costs (Tilak, 2013).

In emerging economies, including China and India, the demand for higher education has been driven by economic modernization and the need for a highly

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educated workforce. China and India have a high proportion of the world's university graduates (Carnoy et al., 2012) and send millions of students for training abroad. It is estimated that by 2020, China and India will remain in first and second place in terms of postsecondary enrolments, with 37 million and 26 million, respectively (Tilak, 2013). According to the University World News, by 2024, India and China will contribute 35% of the global growth in international students (MacGregor, 2013).

Internationalization of higher education has been an important focus of many universities around the world. European and North American governments have adopted specific initiatives to attract the best and the brightest by easing visa regulations, degree recognition and offering attractive academic environments (Altbach, 2013). In higher education, internationalization has been increasingly driven by economic considerations (Kreber, 2009). Internationalization policies have different implications for the countries which are receivers and exporters of students and academics. Some researchers (e.g., Lee 2013; Slaughter, 1998; Stromquist, 2007) observe that in the United States, Canada and United Kingdom, internationalization is often associated with "entrepreneurialism" and "academic capitalism" rather than with the intended spirit of collaboration and cultural exchange. Case studies from Canada, China, India, Zimbabwe and Ghana demonstrate that these trends continue as universities become more entrepreneurial in competing for international students and scholars. Emerging economies and developing countries contribute significantly to the academic systems of wealthier countries in Europe and North America (Altbach, 2013). The authors of this volume emphasize that Tanzania, Zimbabwe, Kenya, Ghana and China experience loss of intellectual capital. This loss depletes the already limited resources for education and weakens national university systems, especially when the most talented people from the developing world do not return home to build their home universities and academic systems. According to the OECD, in most countries in Sub Saharan Africa, the emigration rate for the highly educated is between 15 and 20 times higher than the total emigration rate. In fact, the number of tertiary educated people from Africa who migrated to OECD countries in the past five years was 450,000 – compared to 375,000 Chinese (Kigotho, 2013). In a world characterized by economic competitiveness and growing inequality between the "have" and "have nots," it is essential to discuss the impact of internationalization on medium and low income countries which continue to lose their "brains" to the wealthier countries.

The authors of this volume have also documented extensive government and institutional efforts to establish world-class universities. According to Salmi (2009), excellence at a world-class level has become one of the main objectives for higher education systems and institutions across the globe. With the growing sector of public and private higher education, quality concerns and global ranking prompted some governments to concentrate their resources on a few elite universities. Previously, in China and the former Soviet Union, elitism was based on the idea of meritocratic egalitarianism which meant that regardless of their socio-economic background, the best students had access to high quality higher education. Today, Russia, China and

other countries are pushing to achieve world-class status by focusing on a small number of elite institutions while spending less on mass institutions usually of lower quality. Russia now concentrates its resources on national research and federal universities, while in China, funding allocation prioritizes key universities which are expected to compete for international recognition. Many other countries such as Ethiopia, Zimbabwe, Kenya, India, and Korea have also introduced quality assurance policies. While the quality of higher education is essential to a country's social and economic well-being, it is also a determining factor affecting the status of that higher education system at the international level (UNESCO, 2005). Countries seeking to establish world-class universities often emulate an American research university which is considered an informal global model for those countries who want to compete globally. In addition to this, governments have adopted administrative and funding models for higher education imposed or suggested by the multilateral organizations such the World Bank and the OECD. Several countries (e.g., Zimbabwe, Kenya, Mexico and China) have already introduced market-based mechanisms in response to the dominant neo-liberal ideology. Across the world, governments are increasingly adopting policy blueprints, management structures, and institutional practices created in different political and economic settings while giving little consideration to their local application. Besides limited public resources, universities in some developing and low income countries, have to cope with specific social problems including poverty, social exclusion, military conflicts, and epidemics. Chapter authors, Shan and Guo, argue that homogenization, commodification and marketization of higher education are detrimental to diversity, inclusivity and social justice. Jorgenson also cautions against blind borrowing of foreign policies and practices as this can prevent governments from adopting meaningful and relevant policies to meet the nation's specific concerns. Kiaritha and colleagues also remind us that social and economic inequalities established during the colonial era in Africa have not been eliminated, and the gap between the rich and the poor continues to widen. The diversity of higher education systems and the current challenges experienced by nations require higher education stakeholders to evaluate suitability of foreign institutional models and neo-liberal policies for specific national contexts. The multiple realities in which contemporary universities exist need to be understood from the global, national and local, or, *glonacal*, perspective (Marginson & Rhoades, 2002), which recognizes the complexity of the issues facing higher education internationally.

A number of chapter authors in this book maintain that in a globalized market economy, higher education institutions are driven to compete for resources nationally and with one another internationally. Commonly viewed as a significant contributor to the economic growth and global competitiveness of a nation, universities exist in a market-driven environment in which public support has not kept pace with institutional needs and the rising costs of education (Qiang, 2009). Growing demand for higher education in emerging economies and developing countries calls for more funding which often has to come from students, or, as they are often referred to, consumers. National governments still play a central role in providing funding and

policy direction, which ensures equality and access, and they should continue to do so as this cannot be left to the market.

The authors of this volume have offered their diverse voices on the role of higher education in distinct political and cultural settings. Many authors call for governments and higher education to be responsive to the needs of their respective societies as in many countries, issues of equality, access, elitism and knowledge hegemony have been replaced by exclusively economic concerns. In the coming decade, the question will remain as to how to match emerging global trends in higher education with the needs of national and local communities served by universities. One of the greatest challenges, however, is for institutions of higher education to critically reassess their role in participating in the global competition "arms race." Universities have to resist excessive emphasis on purely economic imperatives in higher education and to address the importance of equitable, effective and mutually beneficial engagement between scholars, students, universities and communities.

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