# Understanding Global Higher Education
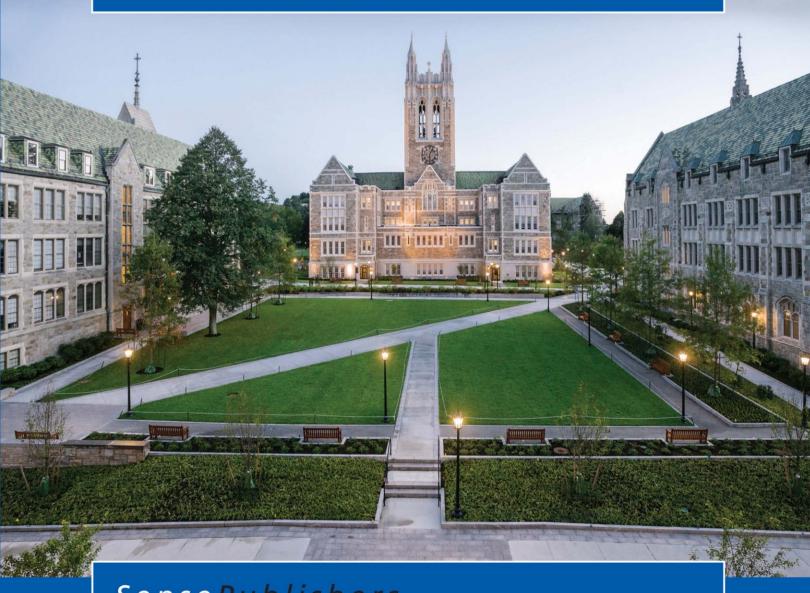
## Insights from Key Global Publications

Georgiana Mihut, Philip G. Altbach and Hans de Wit (Eds.)

**Understanding Global Higher Education**

# GLOBAL PERSPECTIVES ON HIGHER EDUCATION

VOLUME 37

*Series Editors:*

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*Scope:*

Higher education worldwide is in a period of transition, affected by globalization, the advent of mass access, changing relationships between the university and the state, and the new technologies, among others. *Global Perspectives on Higher Education* provides cogent analysis and comparative perspectives on these and other central issues affecting postsecondary education worldwide.

This series is co-published with the Center for International Higher Education at Boston College.

# Understanding Global Higher Education

*Insights from Key Global Publications*

*Edited by*

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All chapters in this book have undergone peer review.

*Printed on acid-free paper*

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GEORGIANA MIHUT, PHILIP G. ALTBACH AND HANS DE WIT

# INTRODUCTION

This volume brings together selected articles published in *University World News* (UWN) and *International Higher Education* (IHE). The articles are logically organized by key themes that reflect the most central issues facing global higher education. While both publications are freely available online, this book provides a thematically coherent selection of articles, offering an accessible and analytic perspective on the pressing concerns of contemporary higher education.

Researchers, policy makers, and practitioners alike further the development of higher education as a field of study through public and ongoing conversations. It is news, analysis, and commentary publications like UWN and IHE that facilitate this dialogue and keep pace with the most up-to-date developments in the field. On 8th of July 2012, Jordi Curell, then the head of the higher education division in the European Commission's (EC) education and training directorate DG-EAC, was interviewed by *University World News*. The interview focused on the recent EC proposal to bundle its many distinct programs focused on education and training into a single streamlined program (Jongsma, 2012). That proposal became what is currently known as Erasmus +, an initiative allocating a record 14.7 billion Euro to support international mobility. In the last five years, among many other developments, UWN covered the harmonization deal reached by Kenya, Uganda, and Rwanda in 2014 (Nganga, 2014), continuously monitored the evolving higher education landscape in Myanmar following internal conflicts, and analyzed policy shifts in Chile after dramatic student protests. At the same time, *International Higher Education* offered sharp, comprehensive, and accessible analysis on both highly visible and less known trends and activities in the world of higher education. The publication produced myriad articles discussing and debating the phenomena of university rankings, the internationalization of higher education, and access and equity issues.

*Understanding Global Higher Education: Insights from Key Global Publications* draws on the contributions of both IHE and UWN to highlight major trends in higher education in the last five years, and may be best understood as an exercise in curation. With few exceptions, articles published between the 1st of January 2011 and 31st of May 2016 were considered for inclusion. Our philosophy in selecting articles was to prioritize breadth of content and perspective. As editors, we tried to select works that are insightful, clear, and representative—we have not necessarily attempted to select the best published articles in the respective publications. We have grouped the articles across themes that are recurrent in both publications—and that we feel have a continued relevance and importance to higher education worldwide.

The themes themselves were chosen after a qualitative analysis of 1,897 published pieces in UWN and IHE. At the end of the exercise, we decided to publish the selected articles in two distinct books. This volume centers around general topics of interest in higher education around the world. The second book focuses specifically on issues relevant to the field of internationalization of higher education. Most themes included in this book will be familiar to higher education readers, but some will seem less obvious. In order to help the reader make sense of our selected articles, each section of the book will start with a brief introduction that aims to tie together the articles included.

## WHAT PROMPTED THIS BOOK?

An established tradition in the field of higher education seeks to map activity and important developments within the field as a whole, often reflected in published surveys of higher education publications and websites. It is likely the disparate views and approaches to higher education as a field that draw researchers to review and analyze the products of their own discipline.

Indeed, higher education, by most standards, is a new field of inquiry. The field itself is very diverse, prompting Macfarlane and Grant (2012) to describe it as a "multiple series of intersecting cognate fields" (p. 1). Philip Altbach considered the emergence of the field and provided a sense of its history and current status (Altbach, 2014). Tight (2012) defines the field of higher education in relation to the very themes it approaches, the methods it uses, the theories it employs, and the levels of analysis at which research is conducted. To support his definition, which resulted from a similar mapping exercise as the one on which this book is based, Tight (2012) engaged in an analysis of the academic articles and books published in the field of higher education. Similarly, Horta and Jung (2014) engage in an indexing exercise of internationally published higher education articles for the purpose of mapping the research approaches employed and the common themes. At the end of the process, the authors were able to illustrate that publications by Asian higher education researchers cluster around one of two themes: policy or teaching and learning. Later, Jung (2015) replicated this methodology to analyze the research output of South Korean higher education researchers, identifying a predominant theme of national-centrism. Using a similar thematic and longitudinal approach, Kehm (2015) mapped the research activity of the Consortium of Higher Education Researchers members, one of the largest communities of higher education researchers. The results of this research illustrate an increased focus on governance, management, and organizational issues in the field of higher education. Other attempts at defining the field focus on mapping the curriculum taught to PhD students in higher education, specifically in the United States. This analysis reveals that while the focus on administration, leadership, and organization seems common across all reviewed programs, topics such as community colleges and multiculturalism receive see less representation across PhD studies curricula (Card, Chambers, & Freeman, 2016).

However, similar exercises have not been conducted on news and editorial publications relevant to the field of higher education. Importantly, these publications often include broad scope and up to date analysis, which more formal academic literature does not offer. The Boston College Center for International Higher Education has a strong tradition of mapping the field of higher education and is well positioned to fill this gap. Its most prominent mapping exercise to date is the *Worldwide Higher Education Inventory of research centers, academic programs, and journals and publications*. The most up to date edition of the inventory was published in 2014 (Rumbley et al., 2014), and an interactive online version is available on the center's website.

## ABOUT INTERNATIONAL HIGHER EDUCATION AND UNIVERSITY WORLD NEWS

*International Higher Education* (IHE) is a quarterly publication published by the Center for International Higher Education which offers contributions from authors worldwide who address local, regional, and global issues in the field of higher education. It is currently translated into 6 languages (French, Spanish, Portuguese, Russian, Chinese, and Vietnamese). In addition, IHE is also published in English as a supplement to the *Deutsche Universitatszeitung*, the main magazine focusing on higher education in German-speaking countries.

*University World News* (UWN) is the oldest and most comprehensive global news outlet for the field of higher education. The publication provides reporting, and commentary on developments in higher education and related issues of concern. It also reports on international conferences of higher education and holds webinars with a view to provoking debate and sharing opinion and expertise globally. UWN distributes its e-newspaper weekly to higher education professionals worldwide, most of them senior academics, university leaders, higher education managers, and policy-makers. UWN is read in 150 countries and enjoys a strong readership base in all regions, particularly in Europe, North America, and Africa. The e-newspaper has gained a reputation as a high-quality publication, was the sole media partner of the UNESCO World Conference on Higher Education (2009), and has had media partnerships with OECD, the Talloires Network, British Council, CHEA and the MasterCard Foundation, among others. Launched in 2007, *University World News* has nearly 50,000 readers who receive its weekly global edition newsletter, and nearly 27,000 subscribers to its Africa edition weekly newsletter; its website has 1.5 million hits a month and the publication has 14,000 twitter followers as well as 16,000 Facebook "likes."

While IHE includes standardized articles in terms of length and structure, UWN is more flexible in the type of pieces published. However, both publications encourage a diversity of authors, topics and perspectives and frequently include short pieces about relevant research published in the field, as well as book reviews, analysis of policy initiatives and debates on different topics. The two publications also closely

collaborate: UWN publishes IHE articles on a regular basis. In addition, as of 2017 the two publications are working together as partners. Thus, through an analysis of these publications we may derive insights about higher education research and practice.

## STRUCTURE OF THE BOOK

Before introducing the sections of this book, we offer a few observations about the reproduction of the articles from IHE and UWN in book format. First, we note that the UWN articles included were retrieved from the UWN website. Online articles traditionally have different layout standards than printed materials, particularly with respect to paragraph structure, which tends to be shorter, sometimes comprised of one sentence alone. Being cognizant of the reader's experience, articles included here have been re-formatted to stop at a logical point. Another distinct feature of online news articles is the use of hyperlinks as opposed to traditional referencing systems; in this book, hyperlinks representing relevant content references were transformed into in-text citations following the American Psychological Association referencing system. Hyperlinks that linked the name of an organization to the corresponding website were excluded during this process. Lastly, while UWN is published in British English, IHE uses American English, and reproductions in this volume match the original language versions of each publication.

This book is structured in nine distinct sections, each of them addressing a major theme resulting from a coding process including all articles reviewed for this publication. These themes are by no means exhaustive, but do capture the main areas of focus in both IHE and UWN. Each section includes a different numbers of articles. Generally, a section begins with a global focus, followed by articles addressing regions and then country-specific pieces. Each section of the book is accompanied by a brief introduction that aims at bringing the selected articles together. The titles of the articles include a note pertaining to the geographical unit of focus of the article. If an article has a global focus, "Global" appears at the beginning of the title. The country or region of focus is similarly labeled.

The first section of the book includes articles centered on issues of access and equity, gathering articles that look at different groups experiencing marginalization on a global, regional, and national scale. Related phenomena, such as massification and affirmative action, are also represented. The second section of the book groups articles that discuss diversification, rankings, and stratification in higher education. This topic has gained substantial attention in the field of international higher education in recent decades and is expected to shape future dialogue. Issues of finance in higher education are highlighted in section three. We include regional and country based perspectives on the challenges higher education systems and stakeholders have faced in increasingly constrained resource environments. Section four discusses the classic triangle in higher education formed by universities, the state, and the market (Clark, 1983). Articles that discuss broader policy issues and economic implications

of higher education are grouped in this section. Perhaps one of the least expected (yet exceedingly important) topics facing higher education today is discussed in section five, which addresses external threats to higher education such as war, terrorism, violence, and natural disasters. Section six highlights distance education and information & communication technology as well as the perennial debates on the roles and implications of distance education for higher education. Section seven provides a more reflective discussion on the mission(s) of higher education and its institutions. Section eight introduces facets of the academic profession and student experience, including issues such as academic freedom, faculty mobility, and student activism. The book concludes with a selection of articles on unethical behavior in the education sector, reminding readers of the potential pitfalls of higher education, and what various stakeholders need to guard against.

This book brings together not only articles written by authors located in different geographic regions, but also from diverse professional backgrounds. Contributions from journalists, doctoral students, higher education researchers, and higher education practitioners are included. Together, the articles included in this volume—alongside the section introductions—offer a rich and relevant picture of the dynamic state of higher education globally.

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# PART 1

# ACCESS AND EQUITY IN HIGHER EDUCATION

# INTRODUCTION

This first section discusses one of the most crucial aspects of education worldwide: access and equity. If education is meant to ensure social mobility, then it must pay attention to those that have systematically been marginalized. However, increasing access to education is not a simple feat. The articles selected discuss some of the important aspects of this ongoing conversation and the related policy challenges.

Elaine Unterhalter engages critically with the normalization of global inequalities in higher education, as a stepping stone in what should become a collective effort to address it. The article written by Laura Dudley Jenkins and Michele Moses presents an overview of the state of affirmative action across the world. Their piece illustrates the diverse use of affirmative action as a limited, yet important remedy to address inequalities between social groups based on criteria beyond race. In an article that offers a nuanced understanding of the role of higher education expansion on social mobility broadly and income distribution specifically, Martin Carnoy shows that massification may have perverse effects, different than what higher education professionals expect. Carnoy shows that in BRIC countries, income distribution became increasingly striated concurrent with more students accessing higher education through the massification process. The next two articles highlight some of the access challenges faced by groups that are less discussed in the broad literature on higher education access. Wagdy Sawahel discusses how higher education can and should be made accessible to prison populations. William New brings attention to a particularly timely and essential conversation regarding access in the European context, addressing the needs and dire prospects of Roma students. The section concludes with an article focused on the negative effects of massification on inequality in the Chinese context, written by Qiang Zha.

Together, the articles highlight the need to further address barriers to access, the diverse needs of the populations higher education should best serve, and also urge caution with respect to the possible limitations of current approaches to improving access and equity.

ELAINE UNTERHALTER

# 1. GLOBAL: WHAT IS WRONG WITH GLOBAL INEQUALITY IN HIGHER EDUCATION?

*University World News, 22 January 2012, Issue 205*

Virtually all the discussion of collective good associated with the debate about the increase in university tuition fees in England has been framed by national concerns to ensure Britain's universities remain 'world-class'. The term 'world-class' denotes intrinsic achievement. But it also implies rank order and attendant inequalities. What forms does global inequality in higher education take and what's wrong with it?

Global inequality in higher education is enmeshed with wider dimensions of global inequality, particularly poverty and vast discrepancies in income. Common measures of poverty indicate that nearly two billion people live in conditions of grave inequality. Responses to this range from the minimal humanitarian to the maximal egalitarian. Maximal egalitarians argue for a substantial provision of public goods by national and international agencies in relation to education, health and social development to establish the conditions for decent life.

## INEQUALITIES IN HIGHER EDUCATION

Higher education is an important component of this, but inequalities in income are compounded by inequalities in higher education systems. These include inequalities of distribution. Although the numbers of students have increased worldwide, they have proportionally grown least in low-income countries. Sub-Saharan Africa has the lowest participation rate for higher education in the world (6%). But for some of the countries with the lowest levels of human development this is even lower.

Generally, students come from families that have historically had access to higher education. Thus, while there has been some expansion of opportunities for lower socio-economic groups to participate in higher education in richer countries, these chances are virtually non-existent in the poorest countries in the world, where arguably the expansions of higher education might make an enormous difference.

There are also inequalities in resources. Nearly half of those teaching in higher education worldwide possess only a bachelor degree. In many countries class sizes have increased and students receive little personal guidance. Academic salaries have deteriorated and many academics hold more than one job and have few opportunities to undertake research. In addition, there are inequalities in status and esteem,

exemplified by league tables in which universities in developing countries barely feature.

The fourth kind of inequality is that between higher education institutions that have some orientation to global inequalities and those that ignore them. This ignoring can take many forms, ranging from an almost exclusive focus in curriculum and pedagogy on economic, social and political processes that heighten inequality and lack of dignity for the poorest, to casual treatment of their concerns.

There are some inequalities that appear neutral. For example, in our society it does not make much difference what colour one's eyes are, but a great deal of research suggests it still does make a difference what colour one's skin is. This, often in association with socio-economic conditions, affects whether or not one gets good school-leaving results, which university one attends and whether one will become a professor. Thus some inequalities are neutral and some, through no fault of the individual or her family, carry harsh penalties. These penalties within a particular wealthy country like the UK are amplified enormously if one happens to be born in a poor country.

Some inequalities are historical and these matter in different ways because they mean there is no level playing field. This is tied in with histories of colonialism, the uneven development of capitalism since the 1970s and the pervasiveness of discriminations associated with gender, race, and particular ethnicities over centuries.

Inequalities in one space, for example the level of esteem given pure mathematics in different well-funded higher education communities, may not be the same as inequalities in another, for example the numbers of well-taught primary health care workers who are able to work with the poorest. But the inequalities in the different spaces have different consequences.

The global inequalities in higher education I am concerned with are those that limit capabilities, the ways in which unequal higher education institutions may contribute through omission or commission to limiting the chance of lives with dignity for the poorest and might foreclose on the building of what Professor Darrel Moellendorf, director of the Institute for Ethics and Public Affairs at San Diego State University, has called the principle of associational justice, a concept which emphasises the interdependence of national and global realms of justice.

## JUSTIFICATIONS FOR GLOBAL INEQUALITIES

Three kinds of justifications for global inequalities between universities are generally offered. Firstly, the competition argument is made. By this analysis there is nothing morally problematic about opening up higher education to a range of providers, a range of fee structures, and a range of delivery mechanisms, and encouraging every kind of exchange. Secondly, a diversity argument acknowledges students and higher education institutions are different. Here the notion is that as long as we respect different cultures of learning, teaching and research in higher education, inequality

is not in itself problematic. A third justification is a version of national or community or family 'desert' [merit].

I rebut these three arguments regarding why global inequality in higher education is not problematic since they rest on a number of presuppositions, notably that competition, difference and desert are neutral. I show that competition, diversity in this banal form and desert cannot build Moellendorf's associational justice, or even the conditions that might allow this principle to be reviewed. Arguments for competition have merit, because they emphasise freedom. Arguments for difference must be acknowledged, because they recognise diversity. Arguments for desert cannot be completely ignored, because they do give credit to hard work, enterprise and risk. But making these arguments only in relation to these abstracts and failing to contextualise them undermines their salience.

Inequality in higher education capabilities for institutions and individuals tends to undermine investigation into global public goods. That such questions of global public good are ignored has something to do with the way global inequalities in higher education are taken for granted. Naming these inequalities and questioning their foundations is an important project.

LAURA DUDLEY JENKINS AND MICHELE S. MOSES

# 2. GLOBAL: AFFIRMATIVE ACTION INITIATIVES AROUND THE WORLD

*International Higher Education, Fall 2014, Number 77*

Is affirmative action in higher education on its way out? If you take a global perspective, the answer is "no." In April 2014, the US Supreme Court's decision in Schuette v. Coalition to defend Affirmative Action reinforced a common perception that affirmative action will not be around for much longer. Schuette makes it even more difficult for some American colleges and universities to engage in affirmative action by affirming the constitutionality of state ballot initiatives that ban affirmative action programs. Yet about one quarter of the countries of the world have some form of affirmative action in student admissions into higher education, and many of these programs have emerged over the last 25 years.

This is just one of the findings drawn from a new country-by-country database on affirmative action for students in higher education worldwide. Three significant patterns emerge from these data. First, as noted above, affirmative action policies have expanded globally in the last quarter century. A second finding is the salience of gender. Gender is the most prominent demographic category used for eligibility for affirmative action, rivaling race, ethnicity, and class/income. A third trend is that institutions of higher education and governments have been experimenting with race-neutral affirmative action policies or multifaceted notions of disadvantage, in response to legislative threats, legal challenges, or social criticism.

## COUNTRIES THAT HAVE AFFIRMATIVE ACTION

About one quarter of nations across the world use some form of affirmative action for student admissions into higher education. Although these policies go by many names—affirmative action, reservations, alternative access, positive discrimination—all are efforts to increase the numbers of underrepresented students in higher education. Various institutions or governments on six continents (Africa, Asia, Australia/Oceania, Europe, North America, and South America) have programs to expand admissions of nondominant groups on the basis of race, gender, ethnicity, class, geography, or type of high school.

Several combine these categories. These combinations show that policies to offset racism or other forms of xenophobia can complement policies to fight economic

disadvantages. Although some nations—such as India, Tanzania, and the United States—have had affirmative action policies and programs for a longer time period, most programs for students in higher education started in the 1990s or 2000s.

## GENDER A POPULAR POLICY TARGET

Another finding is the popularity of policies targeting women. These policies may get less attention in some cases than those targeting underrepresented racial or ethnic groups, but they increasingly dominate the affirmative action landscape. Programs that started more recently are more likely to include women. Even more countries have programs to advance schooling for girls. More countries have gender-conscious affirmative action than any other type of policy target. When women are overrepresented in colleges and universities, some of these affirmative action policies are specific to certain fields in which women remain underrepresented.

The next most popular foci for affirmative action efforts are ethnicity (including policies organized by ethno-regions) and class (which is also sometimes conceptualized by residence, namely areas determined to be underprivileged). Less prevalent are policies based on race or disability, and rarest of all are caste-based policies, although their implementation in India means that the population of students eligible for caste-based affirmative action is substantial.

## BEYOND RACE

Programs in several countries target multiple forms of social inequality and avoid solely race-conscious policies. Brazilian affirmative action is race-conscious but also includes other students considered to be disadvantaged, such as graduates of government secondary schools or students with low-family income. Even South Africa, only free from apartheid for two decades, has some alternate access programs that have begun admitting disadvantaged white students, and other admissions programs consider a range of socioeconomic indicators related to housing, schooling, and family circumstances.

Some policies attempt to combine poverty with other indicators of disadvantage to select students, such as French policies prioritizing and recruiting from low-income neighborhoods or schools, based in ZEPs (Zones d'Education Prioritaire, or priority education areas). An inverse strategy to achieve similar ends excludes the wealthy, as in India's policy of skimming the economic "creamy layer" of more prosperous individuals from eligibility for reserved seats for the groups officially designated as "Other Backward Classes"—a category that already combines both caste- and class-conscious criteria. Israel has successfully integrated ethnicity/nationality and socioeconomic status as targets of affirmative action programs aimed at diversifying selective higher education institutions. Admissions categories focus on the structural challenges students face based on living in disadvantaged neighborhoods and attending low-quality secondary schools.

IMPLICATIONS

What are the implications of these international policy examples for countering social inequality in higher education? Affirmative action is not a comprehensive solution for poverty or discrimination, but systems of higher education can provide more equitable chances for impoverished or underrepresented students to attend selective colleges and universities. Indices, zones, and other measures are not replacing the role of race, ethnicity, or gender in well-designed affirmative action programs but are increasingly combined with these categories.

So long as past or present racism, casteism, sexism, or other barriers shape opportunities in a particular society, equity policies can be better designed to reflect and counteract the way multiple forms of disadvantage intersect in the lives of students. Whether motivated by a desire to increase access, expand diversity, or simply recalibrate existing policies in response to court rulings or state referenda, administrators and policymakers should look abroad for ideas. Affirmative action is alive and well—and indeed increasing—around the world.

MARTIN CARNOY

# 3. GLOBAL: DOES HIGHER EDUCATION
# EXPANSION EQUALIZE INCOME DISTRIBUTION?

*International Higher Education, Spring 2013, Number 71*

A widely-held belief about the benefits of expanding access to education is that greater access extends social mobility and income equality. In the case of higher education, as enrollments expand, bright youth from lower-income families are more likely to enter and complete universities. In theory, this should increase the chances of such individuals to move upward economically, by making them more able to compete for higher-paying jobs associated with a higher degree. Further, with rapid increases in the number of higher education graduates, their relative earnings may fall, eventually making overall income distribution more equal.

This belief runs up against a contrary reality. In many countries where the number of secondary and higher education graduates is expanding at high rates, income distribution is becoming more unequal and, in some cases, social mobility is at a standstill.

Recent research, by a group of international scholars, studied this phenomenon empirically, trying to understand whether educational expansion creates greater income equality. This research focused on Brazil, Russia, India, and China, known as the BRIC countries. The BRICs have 40 percent of the world's population and, in the past 15 years, have managed an enormous leap in their higher education enrollment.

## MODELING EARNINGS VARIATION

Traditionally, economists have modeled earnings variation as a function of the level of schooling in the labor force, the dispersion (variance) in the number of years of schooling in the labor force, the economic payoff to a year of schooling (the rate of return to schooling), and the dispersion of rates of return to different levels of schooling. Economists have usually assumed that as levels of education in the workforce increase to fairly high levels, the payoff to schooling falls, and the dispersion in years of schooling also declines. This is quite logical, given economic theories about competitive labor markets and the fact that schooling seems to expand much more rapidly than employer demand for more schooled labor.

On the other hand, it has been observed that even as school systems expand, including the rapid expansion of university graduates for the labor force, the payoff

for these graduates does not fall, and even tends to increase relative to the payoffs for secondary school graduates.

Why does this happen? There are many possible explanations. One is that higher educated labor can be substituted for lower educated labor. Thus, this tends to drive down the wages of the less educated. Even if the wages of the higher educated stay fairly constant—as they did, for example, in the United States in the 1980s—the wages of secondary school graduates tend to fall, as that market becomes increasingly "crowded" with the less educated. A second possible explanation regards the expanding knowledge intensity of production and services, the demand for higher educated workers grows faster than the higher education system expands. A third possible explanation is that countries pursue fiscal policies that favor higher-income individuals, anti-union policies that put pressure on the earnings of lower-educated workers. Such policies would have increased income inequality.

## OUR RESEARCH FINDINGS

Whatever the explanation, even as higher education expanded apace in the four studied countries, it appears that the payoff for university graduates tended to increase (not decline) in the past decade, and it tended to expand, relative to the payoff for secondary education. This also raised the dispersion in rates of return among levels of education. Together, these "payoff effects" contributed to the rising inequality of earnings and tended to offset whatever equalizing effect the higher level of education and the declining variance of years of schooling in the labor force.

Thus, these results for the BRICs show that in the past decade, higher education expansion and the associated change in the rates of return to education seemed to maintain or broaden income inequality. In Brazil, two opposite forces in education affected income distribution: the increase in the variance of the rate of return to education times the rising average level of education contributed to increased income inequality. However, countering that tendency, the falling average payoff to education in Brazil, combined with the increased variance in years of education in the labor force, helped decrease income inequality. In China, the rate of return to education and the growth of the years of education in the labor force especially contributed to higher income inequality. In India, inequality probably rose, due to factors outside the rapid rise of education levels in the labor force. Finally, in Russia, it appears that education expansion contributed in a small way to higher income inequality, despite small changes in the rates of return to education. In Russia, as in India, the main change in income inequality probably was due to other unobserved factors.

Two other factors may be contributing to the rising income inequality in China, Russia, and India or, as in Brazil, to keeping income inequality steadier than it might have been otherwise—in the face of more general income redistribution policies. The first of these factors is the increased differentiation of spending on elite and mass higher education institutions in Brazil, China, and Russia (not evidenced in

India). Over the past 5–10 years, spending has increased per pupil in elite institutions, whereas mass institution may even face decreased spending per pupil. Since higher social class students more likely dominate elite institutions, they disproportionately benefit from this differentiation.

The second factor is the distribution of overall public spending on higher education. This public spending—even in a country such as Brazil, where 75 percent of students attend private universities not subsidized by the government—is skewed heavily toward students coming from the highest 20 percent of income families. Higher-income students in Brazil, China, India, and even Russia, approaching almost universal attendance in postsecondary education, are the ones heavily subsidized by the state.

The enormous expansion of higher education in the BRICs has, therefore, not been effective in equalizing income distribution. The implication of these results is that, without powerful fiscal and social spending policies aimed directly at reducing income inequality, it will remain high and may even continue to rise.

WAGDY SAWAHEL

# 4. UNITED STATES: BEYOND BARS—BOOSTING HIGHER EDUCATION FOR PRISONERS

*University World News, 26 August 2012, Issue 236*

Universities and governments must not lose sight of the higher education needs of the world's 10 million detained people. Access to education should be improved and technology harnessed to deliver cost-effective, quality programmes, to enhance prisoners' chances of rehabilitation, employment and reintegration into society. A 2012 study indicated that unemployment levels among released offenders are higher than among other members of society, due to inadequate education and job skills. The five-year follow-up study revealed that recidivist offenders were likely to be unemployed or under-educated. Most importantly, the study showed formal education is an important element for re-entry into society, impacting on both post-release employment and recidivism.

PEOPLE BEHIND BARS: WORLDWIDE VIEW

Over 9.25 million people are detained globally, either as pre-trial detainees or as sentenced prisoners. Almost half of these are in the US (2.19 million), China (1.55 million) or the Russian Federation (870,000). And prison populations are on the increase in an estimated 73% of the world's countries, according to a 2009 UN report titled *The Right to Education of Persons in Detention*.

Women represent a small proportion of the global prison population; available figures suggest the rate is between 2% and 9%, with the global average at roughly 4%. "Nearly seven in 10 formerly incarcerated persons will commit a new crime, and half will end up back in prison within three years. Given that roughly 95 of every 100 prisoners will eventually rejoin society, policy efforts to decrease the likelihood of recidivism are important on both social and economic grounds," according to the May 2011 report, *Unlocking Potential: Results of a national survey of postsecondary education in state prisons*.

John Daly, a science and technology consultant and former director of the office of research at USAID, told University World News that in the US, prisoners are incarcerated for longer periods and for less serious offences than elsewhere. He pointed out that adding a criminal record to the problems that led initially to crime makes it doubly hard for such people to get decent jobs and rebuild their lives when

they are again free. He argued that higher education programmes that help prisoners obtain skills and certification seem to pay off, by allowing them to work on release: "Graduates of these programmes have lower recidivism rates."

## SIGNIFICANCE OF BOOSTING HIGHER EDUCATION FOR INMATES

Aileen Baumgartner, director of the Bedford Hills college programme at the US-based Bedford Hills correctional facility, told University World News: "Practically speaking, college degrees help people—and inmates—procure viable employment in hopefully more fulfilling jobs… employment drastically diminishes the recidivism rate, which is good for all of us since incarceration is very expensive for the taxpayer."

Rebecca Ginsburg, director of the Education Justice Project at the US-based University of Illinois, highlighted similar benefits: "By significantly lowering recidivism rates, prison education saves taxpayers money and increases public safety." Research has demonstrated that college-in-prison programmes reduce arrest, conviction and re-incarceration rates among released prisoners more than any other prison-based intervention."

Those interviewed also mentioned the combined intellectual-community value of higher education. "College students (not all of course, inside or outside) learn there are many roads to conflict resolution, and that facts and research matter in such resolutions, and that violence is a sign of failed communication," said Baumgartner. She also spoke of the "ripple effect" of offering education to prison inmates. "Most of our students are mothers. Now they are in college, they want their children to attend college, and they dedicate themselves to the fulfilment of that goal. What did not seem to be a possibility, in short, now does."

## PROBLEMS OF UNIVERSITY ACCESS

On the question of the value of a higher education for prisoners, Baumgartner suggested that the question itself indicates societal ambivalence about spending "scarce resources" on the incarcerated—despite statistics indicating that such investment will be returned in lower incarceration costs.

Ginsburg agreed that the primary obstacle to increasing educational access to prisoners was not cost. "The biggest obstacle is the widespread sentiment, in the United States, that education is a private good, that in educating incarcerated people we are rewarding them, and that prisons should be uncomfortable, punitive sites of vengeance. The political will to critically address such attitudes is weak, since being seen as 'soft on crime' is something American political leaders try to avoid." She suggested that this problem could be overcome by a range of approaches: political courage; studies that demonstrate the cost-effectiveness and safety-effectiveness of prison education (which would make it easier for public officials to come out in favour of them); and a "shift in public sentiment away from the vengeance and retribution model towards rehabilitation." She also emphasised the importance,

for reducing high incarceration rates in the US, of a commitment to addressing the roots of violence: "Poverty, disenfranchisement, poor public education systems, and historic patterns of racism."

Hilmi Salem, an international higher education consultant and the director general of applied sciences and engineering research centres at Palestine Technical University, told University World News that for political reasons and in countries under occupation, many prisoners have restricted access to higher education. For example, since June 2011, the Israeli prison service had decided to stop all Palestinian political prisoners from studying higher education courses in Israel's Open University, Salem indicated.

According to a 5 July report (Matar, 2012), despite the fact that some 1,550 Palestinian prisoners had ended their month-long collective hunger strike in May, in exchange for a series of steps promised by Israel to better their conditions, the ban on their access to higher education continued.

One of the reasons for the strike had been the prevention of higher education within prisons for Palestinian inmates only. Salem argued that this is "a violation of the right to education for persons in detention", and urged human right associations and educational organisations to stand against such violation.

## ENHANCING EDUCATION FOR PRISONERS

Ginsburg said there are already several models for providing low-cost, high quality education to the incarcerated. "The problem is not the lack of models, but the lack of discussion about these models, and retreat from rehabilitation as a goal of incarceration," she said. A partial assessment of 17 prison higher education programmes in the US was published in an October 2010 report produced by the Education Justice Project. Ginsburg indicated that universities could make a difference in several ways. These include campus curricula that critically examine criminal justice and incarceration. Such courses can be found in departments of sociology, African-American studies, anthropology, criminology and law.

Universities could also support engagement efforts with local departments of corrections. Such engagement can take the form of facilitating faculty teaching in prisons or students offering workshops or tutoring sessions. In addition, universities—particularly public universities—could advocate publicly for greater access to higher education for all, including the incarcerated. Furthermore, universities could build coalitions across institutions that support prison higher education, so the provision of educational programmes to incarcerated populations in the community becomes an expected part of the task of American universities.

According to a May 2012 report, Online Education for the Incarcerated, many organisations are working to increase education opportunities through online programmes, which may cost less and therefore be more affordable for prisoners. The University of Utah was among the first to offer online courses for inmates. "With computer—and internet—mediated educational services such as those being

used successfully for remedial education in some community college programmes, offering education to prisoners should be both affordable and effective," concluded science and technology consultant Daly.

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WILLIAM NEW

# 5. EUROPE: ROMA FACE DETERIORATING PROSPECTS

*University World News, 15 October 2014, Issue 339*

It is always necessary to begin with the question 'Who are the Roma?' They are paradoxically the most visible and the most invisible of minority populations. There seem to be 'gypsies' everywhere, visible where they are least wanted, and neither the public nor the politicians understand much about where they come from; they only know they'd like their gypsies to disappear.

From the standpoint of ethnic history, the Roma are the descendants of several waves of slow migration from India to Europe (and then to the Americas). The first report of Roma in Europe comes from 10th century Byzantium: after the Ottoman conquest of Constantinople in 1453, the Roma population expanded quickly to the north and west. Many Roma joined in the mass emigrations to the Americas in the late 19th and early 20th century. The Roma brought from India a distinctive culture and an Indic language—Romany—but not all Roma today hold to Roma customs or speak Romany. The extent to which this relatively small group—between 10 and 15 million in Europe today—has 'resisted' assimilation and remained a recognisable, autonomous cultural group for several hundred years is testimony both to Roma cohesion and gadje (non-Roma) discrimination and exclusion.

The history of the Roma in Europe is one of pervasive and destructive racism that has in many places intensified over the past 20 years. Perhaps 250,000 Roma were victims of Nazi genocide: one of the first internment camps for Roma was established in Salzburg in 1938. The largest Roma populations currently reside in the post-communist countries of Central Europe: they constitute approximately 10% of the populations of Slovakia, Hungary, Romania, and Bulgaria, though official censuses are notoriously unreliable as 'Roma' often don't self-identify as Roma. Populations within and between countries are very diverse, owing partly to longstanding internal divisions and partly to the vagaries of migratory history.

It is, though, a young, growing, and mobile population, which has heightened the apprehension of many in the majority cultures. Historically the Roma have lived on the outer margins of national societies in most places, with ongoing and frequent interaction with majority populations. Prior to World War II, there was minimal participation of Roma in any formal education, although there were some exceptions among Roma groups with higher degrees of social and economic integration.

The present state of Roma education is generally desperate: for example, in the Czech Republic, only 1.2% of eligible youth graduate from high school, while the school completion rate for Czech students is close to 100%. A majority of Roma youth across the region do not complete eighth grade and more than half are functionally illiterate.

## THE SITUATION FOR ROMA STUDENTS

The current condition for Roma youth across Europe is encapsulated in the phrase 'social exclusion'. Understanding the provenance of this term is useful in understanding the 'life world' of the Roma, because the ways in which the Roma are understood by majority society and policymakers determine to a large extent the possibilities open to them in most government—and even many NGO—policy documents.

Roma are not referred to as Roma (that is, as an ethnic minority), but rather are referred to as a 'socially excluded population' whose plight is often perceived to be their own fault. In other words, racial reasoning is preserved in full force by evacuating race from the identifying terminology. Social exclusion as a concept originated in the late 1980s and early 1990s as a means of describing the outcome of globalisation, privatization, and the shrinking of public investment in social services for those least able to compete in the free market. This has had devastating consequences for the quality of life of Roma people: they are unable to find employment, unable to live anywhere but the least desirable locations, and social benefits have decreased substantially. Social exclusion has both economic and social dimensions, linked to the ubiquitous and all-encompassing discrimination and hostility that characterises the Roma experience across Europe.

In Hungary, it is estimated that more than 70% of adult Roma are unemployed, and more than 90% in some areas of the country. The adult Roma population is generally uneducated and unskilled (with respect to the official economy) so the work Roma do manage to acquire tends to be low paying and insecure. Roma are highly dependent on social welfare and benefits have steadily shrunk over the past 20 years, leaving them deeper in poverty. Many rural settlements in Slovakia and Hungary give the appearance of refugee camps in war zones or slums in 'undeveloped' parts of the world. There is little opportunity for positive social or economic interaction with the mainstream society or economy from this position.

Roma children usually attend highly segregated schools or classrooms. In rural areas with large Roma populations, 'Roma schools' tend to exist, though there are very few Roma teachers. In Slovak villages, it is not uncommon to see Roma and Slovak schools in close proximity. In urban areas, where Roma children are in a minority, they are often shuttled into one or another kind of 'special class', making it difficult to transition to regular educational settings.

The living conditions in Roma homes, of course, affect the ability of Roma children to prosper in schools. For youth in Slovakia and Czech Republic, there has

been a rapid language shift away from Romany and toward Czech/Slovak, but their Czech/Slovak is identified as a 'Roma ethnolect' which further handicaps them in school and the workplace. These phenomena can be observed in other countries as well, though the dynamics vary considerably.

Over the past 10 years, several school segregation cases have been decided in the European Court of Human Rights in favour of Roma plaintiffs, which has resulted in the perceived need to promote fuller integration of Roma children in schools; but to date there has been a great deal of renaming of institutions without meaningful structural changes and a good deal of frank resistance on the part of national and local governments to implementing reform.

## UNIVERSITY AND COLLEGE SUPPORT FOR ROMA STUDENTS

It is, of course, important for universities and colleges to assist those few Roma students who do manage to matriculate to succeed. The lack of a Roma intelligentsia is debilitating in every respect for progress toward Roma self-determination. But this goal probably cannot be approached directly, because so few Roma scholars complete secondary education and only a small percentage of those are prepared to attend college.

The greatest need is in the area of teacher education, leadership and curriculum development. Because all central European education systems are highly centralised, with university 'faculty' and 'institutes' playing a major role in the development of curricula and policy, it is important that work at this level targets Roma education and anti-racism.

In broad terms, there are two major decision points in Roma education where current default conditions do not favour these children. First, there seems to be almost universal agreement that better pre-school education is the sine qua non to improving school integration. Roma children, like many children from minority cultural and linguistic backgrounds, are not prepared to engage successfully in the academic, national language curriculum that meets them on the first day of primary school.

Pre-school education and the related community and family support are at best inconsistent and often completely lacking. There is a lack of qualified or committed personnel to do this work, though programmes in early childhood education and social work in the university tend to give greater attention to cultural factors than is the case with general teacher education.

The second decision point, a decision point shared with all European schoolchildren, is the bridge between primary and secondary school. Very few Roma students cross this bridge into gymnasia, the only path toward university study. But, perhaps more pressing at this moment, is the fact that a majority of Roma students don't cross this bridge at all, and many who do don't last long, even in technical or vocational high schools.

Simply put, universities in post-communist countries are not committed to preparing teacher candidates for teaching Roma—or any other minority—students.

There is some discussion around intercultural literacy, but often this has more to do with teaching mainstream students how to speak English or German and how to interact in the 'global knowledge economy'.

If Roma students are to cross the bridge from primary to secondary school and then continue on to graduation, then they cannot arrive in seventh grade illiterate and innumerate, alienated from majority society. These necessary changes in professional preparatory programmes are unlikely until the ethnocentric, anti-Roma atmosphere of European universities is addressed in some way, from top to bottom.

QIANG ZHA

# 6. CHINA: MASSIFICATION HAS INCREASED INEQUALITIES

*University World News, 10 July 2011, Issue 179*

The last decade witnessed China's dramatic move to mass higher education. In particular, 1999 saw an abrupt jump in new enrolments, with 1.59 million new students, up from 1.08 million the previous year, or an annual increase of 47.2%. The fast expansion continued until 2004, when higher education enrolment at all levels reached 20 million, double that of 1998.

After 2004, enrolments continued to rise but at a relatively slower pace. The number of regular higher education institutions also grew dramatically over the same period of time, from 1,022 in 1998 to 2,263 in 2008, an increase of 121.4%. If the provision for students in non-formal and private institutions is factored into the statistics, China's tertiary student population reached nearly 30 million by the end of 2008, accounting for 24.2% of the 18 to 22 years age cohort, and making China's higher education system the world's largest in absolute numbers. The participation rate was raised by 15% in 10 years, from around 9% in 1998. By contrast, it took the United States 30 years (1911 to 1941), Japan 23 years (1947 to 1970), and many European countries 25 years to make the same journey.

How this has been achieved is interesting. It has involved a clear vision for expanding higher education, action plans and decentralizing, and opening up higher education to the private sector since the government realised it did not have the capacity or ability to support a mass higher education system with the state purse. Decentralisation in a true sense started in 1998, when a push came from the nationwide restructuring of government. Except for the Ministry of Education, central ministries were no longer permitted to run higher education institutions. Most formerly ministry-run institutions were transferred to local administration and had to find their own means of survival.

Another crucial policy change that propelled massification has been the adoption of a fee-charging policy. From the 1950s up to the early 1990s, university admissions were tightly controlled with quotas set by the state, and students paid no fees and were assigned jobs on graduation. Officially from 1997, all higher education institutions started charging student fees. The fees level has been rising dramatically ever since. Once tuition fees were charged to all students, the justification for the previous policy of setting enrolment quotas effectively disappeared. Instead, enrolment was driven by the social demand for education.

Other changes have revolved around funding which is now done using a formula-based approach comprised of two parts: a block appropriation based on enrolment and an appropriation for special items, with the former accounting for the largest share. The major allocation parameter is now the number of full-time equivalent students. The state also created mechanisms that motivated institutions to expand, such as the 1999 Higher Education Law, which gives universities greater autonomy in several areas and makes them more able to respond to market needs.

They must also raise an increasing proportion of their operating funds from non-governmental and market sources. So, while enjoying unprecedented expansion, Chinese higher education's share of public education expenditure has actually been going down, from 24.2% in 2000 to 20.8% in 2006.

Now that it has been released from its role as sole patron for higher education, the state can focus its attention and concentrate its resources on national universities, and in particular a small number of elite universities, in an effort to raise China's global competitiveness. The most elite universities have also been protected from over-expansion so as to focus on achieving global excellence. Expansion mainly took place in the lower echelons, such as the newly created higher vocational colleges which now account for 52% of all higher education institutions and accommodate nearly 30% of enrolments. Institutional stratification has characterised the massification of higher education in China. With this approach, China has been able to establish and maintain the world's largest higher education system and still nurture several dozen players at the global level.

This 'success' is, however, at the expense of equity in terms of institutions' operating conditions. There is a widening gap between institutions at different tiers in the hierarchy and concomitant differences in students' learning experiences. Put in another way, a majority of Chinese students now have to pay relatively more for educational opportunities and learning experiences of much lower quality. Following the same rationale, the Chinese government recognised that public provision alone could never meet the exploding demand for higher education. The state thus deliberately crafted a policy encouraging non-state sectors to engage in education provision. In addition, the Chinese educational authorities have encouraged public universities to run second-tier colleges since 1999. This trend was criticised by fully private institutions, which saw it as unfair competition.

Private institutions, most of which focus on vocational education, now constitute 28% of all higher education institutions in China, with an enrolment of four million students, representing 20% of the entire enrolment in the regular higher education sector. However, they face financial constraints since 80% of their revenue comes from tuition and fees. Despite their merit in widening access to higher education private institutions serve, to a certain extent, to enhance the inequity problems facing Chinese higher education in the expansion process, given that they charge much higher tuition rates but offer educational programmes of much lower quality.

In sum, China's move to mass higher education has resulted not only in rapid expansion of enrolment size, but also systemic differentiation. In this, it follows a

model which is different from many of its international counterparts but bears most in common with the East Asian model of massification, which includes a strong sense of 'state instrumentalism', a focus on elite universities, increased tuition fees borne by families and rapid growth in higher education participation, which occurs mostly at lower reaches of the system.

As an emerging economy in the region and the world, China has been obsessed with a kind of 'catch up' mentality, which in turn pushes for the 'state instrumentalism' embedded in the East Asia or Confucian model. In a certain sense, this 'state instrumentalism' leans towards neo-liberalism, despite its emphasis on central control. It shows some merit in terms of efficiency with respect to meeting the challenges of global competitiveness and an increasing social demand simultaneously. This is clearly evident in China's extraordinarily fast move to mass higher education and in its accelerated research performance.

Perhaps two things may better exemplify how China has pushed the boundaries of the East Asian model. One is the Chinese government's practice of labelling major initiatives aiming to achieve research excellence as this or that 'project'. The overarching rationale behind such practices is that knowledge production can be managed by the state, which functions like a corporation in this context, and sets out goals and conditions for higher performance and efficiency. The other is the introduction of independent colleges to the system. This policy initiative is seemingly aimed at tapping private resources into public institutions and so increasing higher education supply in a more efficient way. But it is often implemented as an investment strategy by the public patron university.

Operated as a private institution, the independent college often takes advantage of its patron university's reputation and prestige to attract students while charging them tuition fees at a rate two or three times higher than those regulated by the state for the public university. Thus, China's success in the move to mass higher education should not be taken at face value.

Indeed, the Chinese approach has started to show its inner constraints, in particular the downsides for social equity in participation and consequently in the students' lifetime opportunities. There is also a potential for state interference into knowledge production and academic freedom.

Research confirms that students from upper socio-economic status (SES) families tend to be favoured for access to more selective universities. One survey of 14,500 students from different SES backgrounds at 50 institutions across 10 provinces found that those from governmental officials' families were 18 times as likely as those with unemployed parents to gain access to national elite universities. The only place that showed no significant difference in accessibility among all socioeconomic groups was the newly emergent higher vocational colleges, which cluster at the bottom of the hierarchy. This is where those from low-SES families would most likely be concentrated.

Even worse, those high achievers who, on average, take advantage of their high-SES family background, would continue to be favoured in terms of financial support

after entering the selective universities. In general, students in more selective universities receive three times as much financial aid as their peers in less selective universities and higher vocational colleges.

Given the enormous difference in study experiences, resulting from the huge gap in terms of faculty qualifications, research facilities and per student expenditure (widened by two-fold between 1998 and 2006) between selective and less selective intuitions, students in lower echelon institutions will suffer from very limited chances for mobility within the system and later in the society at large. In other words, this social inequity may accompany them throughout their lifetime.

# PART 2

# DIVERSIFICATION, RANKINGS, AND STRATIFICATION

# INTRODUCTION

This section brings together UWN and IHE articles highlighting three separate yet closely connected topics: diversification, university rankings, and stratification. Further, we conceive of this section as an extension of the debate on access and equity. Massification, as a promising yet not always successful tool aimed at increasing access to higher education, has led to the diversification of higher education systems. In turn, diversification, fueled by university rankings and classification exercises, has accelerated the process of vertical differentiation, or stratification in higher education. The articles in this section approach this topic from a range of perspectives.

Ross Williams draws our attention to the U21 ranking, a tool designed to order university systems as a whole, rather than single institutions. The article discusses some of the emergent analysis on the indicators used to rank national higher education systems as well as related policy implications. Not all higher education systems strive towards differentiation and stratification. Daniel Zaretsky discusses the benefits and drawbacks of the Canadian example, a higher education system in which the allocation of resources equally across institutions is the norm and reflects a stated policy goal. The section continues with two articles focused on Africa. Karen MacGregor highlights the perspectives of university leaders on how universities on the African continent should be measured and ranked, thus illustrating some of the limitations of university rankings. Offering a divergent perspective on differentiation, Karola Hahn and Damtew Teferra discuss tuning and harmonization attempts in Africa. Tuning has emerged as an example of de-diversification, as universities try to agree on standardizing credentials and aligning learning outcomes. While rankings exercises are often created by external agents, such as research groups and media outlets, national governments around the world have started to create companion rankings structures, i.e. national classifications of universities. Often, such classification exercises are tied to resource allocations. Claudia Reyes and Pedro Rosso discuss the Chilean classification exercise and its contribution towards the consolidation of a diversified higher education system. The section concludes with an article written by Simon Marginson on the California state higher education system, long viewed as the model for a high quality diversified higher education system which is responsive to access and equity concerns.

Diversification, rankings, and stratification continue to be the subject of much debate in the higher education arena. The works included in this section offer insights into pressing concerns crossing disciplinary boundaries, and represent a dialogue we expect to continue for years to come.

ROSS WILLIAMS


# 7. GLOBAL: A GOOD NATIONAL SYSTEM OF HIGHER EDUCATION: THE LESSONS OF THE U21 RANKINGS

*International Higher Education, Winter 2016, Number 84*


It is the nature and quality of the higher education system as a whole, not just that of research intensive universities, that matters for the economic, social, and cultural development of a nation. However, the international rankings of universities are based heavily on research performance, largely ignoring teaching and training, scholarship, and community engagement. These rankings are influencing university behavior, especially in Europe, Asia, and Australasia, and act to reduce the diversity of higher education institutions.

## THE U21 RANKING METHODOLOGY

In an attempt to move discussion away from institutions to higher education systems as a whole, in 2012 the U21 group of universities commissioned a project to quantify the performance of national systems. The coverage is all tertiary institutions, that is, all institutions that offer at least a two-year program after final year schooling. Fifty countries are included, spanning the per capita income range from Indonesia and India at one end to high income developed countries at the other. Performance is evaluated over 25 variables grouped into four modules: resources, the policy environment, connectivity/engagement and output. The resource measures cover private and public expenditure as a share of GDP and expenditure per student. The policy environment measures include the degree of financial and academic independence of institutions, diversity of institutions, the monitoring of standards, and the views of business. Connectivity is measured by joint publications with industry and with international coauthors, web connectivity, surveys of business attitudes, and the relative importance of international students. The output measures include research performance, participation rates and the standing of a country's top three universities. Internationally comparative data are not available on the quality of graduates, but a measure of whether the mix and standard of graduates are meeting community expectations is provided by unemployment rates of graduates, relative to school leavers.

For each measure, scores are standardized relative to the best performing country which is scored at 100. The measures are then weighted to give a score (out of 100) and rank for each of the four modules, and subsequently an overall score and rank. The overall score is obtained giving a weight of 40 percent to output and 20 percent to each of the other three modules. A limitation of the rankings (but not the scores) is that not all countries are included, which means, particularly for countries with less developed systems, that a country's world ranking may be overstated.

## POLICY USES OF THE MEASURES

As is the case with the rankings of universities, most media interest concentrates on the overall national rankings. But it is the scores and rankings for the modules and individual variables, together with the relationships between them, that provide the lessons for higher education policymakers.

Adequate resources combined with a favorable policy environment are necessary for a quality national system of higher education. Lessons can be drawn from looking at the correlations between the scores for the two input modules (resources and the environment) and the end-result modules (connectivity and output). Among the output variables, participation rates and population qualification rates are strongly correlated with expenditure, but it does not matter whether the expenditure is predominantly government financed (as in the Nordic countries) or private (as in Korea). On the other hand, research performance is strongly linked to university expenditure on research and development, which is largely government funded. A measure of the aggregate efficiency of the system is to compare a nation's rank on output measures with that on resources. To illustrate, two countries where the rank on research performance is much higher than the rank for resources are the United Kingdom and China. In both countries, government research funding is targeted to select universities, which suggests this is a quick way to raise research performance. Connectivity is also highly correlated with resources.

## ARE NATIONS CONVERGING?

After four annual rankings some trends are noticeable. There has been a continual improvement on most indicators for most countries, so that for a country to keep its ranking it must improve faster than average. There is little evidence of convergence in national systems of higher education over the four years. Using the standard deviation of the scores as a measure of convergence, the overall scores actually show a small increase in divergence and the only module where convergence has occurred is connectivity. But the general finding hides significant movements for individual countries. The greatest improvers are China and South Africa; Chile and Hungary also improved their ranking. Countries that have fallen in rank include Ukraine, Bulgaria, Serbia, Greece, Spain, and Turkey. Within the individual measures some convergence is discernable—for example, in participation rates and expenditure as a share of GDP.

WHAT SYSTEMS PERFORM BEST?

What, then, is the best national system of higher education? No single model dominates. The Nordic countries perform well with a system of relatively close cooperation between universities, government, and business, with high expenditure on research and development; similarly for Switzerland that is particularly strong in domestic and international connectivity. It is a moot point whether this model is possible, or even desirable, in a large economy where lines of communication are more complex. At the other end of the distribution, the more decentralized US system, less reliant on government funding, is ranked first overall. There is, however, one strong conclusion from the rankings: the worst performing national systems are those where there is considerable government control over institutions but low levels of government funding.

In formulating national policies, governments should look at the attributes of countries of similar size and income levels that are performing well. The attributes of a "good" system of higher education depend in part on a country's level of per capita income. At low levels of income there is a need to build up teaching and training; research is best concentrated on importing and spreading new ideas. In an auxiliary U21 ranking, countries are evaluated relative to their levels of GDP per capita. China, India, and South Africa rise up appreciably in the rankings using this measure.

The other side of the coin is to look at how measures such as connectivity, qualification levels, and research expenditure affect economic growth. The lags can be long here and the answers will have to wait for a few more years of data. Ideally, this exercise also requires the inclusion of more low-income countries, but for this better data are needed.

DANIEL ZARETSKY

# 8. CANADA: CANADA'S EGALITARIAN DEBATE

*International Higher Education, Winter 2012, Number 66*

Some countries with much smaller populations than Canada's 35 million, have developed a sharply differentiated or tiered university system. But Canada's university system evinces a different prevailing ethos. It aspires to lesser differences overall—in terms of caliber of teaching, content, research, and facilities. Thus, last year, Canada's leading national English-language magazine, Maclean's, reported on Canada's Big Five universities crying out for more research funding. Why did the article elicit objections from other Canadian universities? And, anyway, why does Canada have a Big Five and not a Best Five?

## NO ELITE TIER OF UNIVERSITIES

For a country with 10 percent of the US population, it has proportionately far fewer institutions. There are only about 100 mainly degree-granting institutions in Canada, compared to about 4,000 in the United States. The Canadian system is virtually entirely provincially funded. Tuitions are heavily regulated, and provinces offer needs-based loans and grants. Private universities are virtually unheard of. The few that exist have tiny student bodies, are generally obscure, and are not research in nature. Canada has an unusually high proportion of its universities as research universities and a similarly unusual proportion of all of these in small population centers.

## TUITION—LOW AND STAYING LOW

What is the tuition fee import of these differences? Almost all bachelor's degrees in Canada cost Canadians between C$6,000 and 8,000 for annual tuition (with almost all the exceptions lower—as low as C$2,000). Tuition differences do not reflect intraprovincial or interprovincial caliber—or even perceived caliber—but simply involve the budget judgment of one province, as distinct from another. Yet, Canada's bachelor's degree programs are highly respected outside Canada, and its professional programs and medical and law schools are considered first rate by the loftiest of US vantage points (for example, all engineering schools are accredited by the ABET (Accreditation Board for Engineering and Technology).

McGill University is one of the self-anointed "Big 5" (along with the University of Toronto, Université de Montréal, the University of British Columbia, and the University of Alberta). It is one of the few Canadian universities that can lay claim to attracting a sizeable proportion of students from all over Canada (and the United States). Yet, a bachelor's degree costs Quebec residents barely C$2,000 a year!

Since tuition prices are limited by the provinces, Canadian institutions have no undue financial incentive to make big investments in branding. Dressing up the image might help command more students or a somewhat better academic profile for the incoming class. But this is not the same conception as having the option to charge more in fees as demand and appeal strengthens.

## COMMUTER COUNTRY

It is no surprise, then, that another byproduct of the Canadian system means that it is exceedingly commonplace for university-bound students in cities across Canada, with small populations, to choose to study near the home region. A typical Canadian will not think Canada's Big 5 universities—or the US top 10, for that matter—would teach biology or psychology, which are qualitatively more challenging than in the many choices they have within commuter distance.

No Canadian university has a national brand image that compares remotely with the national brand image of Harvard or of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. In the international domain, Canadian universities lag very much behind a long list of US counterparts in name recognition. As a result, this system makes it likely that top students will be well-distributed across the country's institutions.

## LOWER-STRESS HIGH SCHOOL

The absence of big brand differences, a further implication of the Canadian system, is that Canadian high schoolers may work hard but are not overly stressed. This is not to say there is not any high school striving or competitiveness. Certainly, some bachelor programs at a university with limited enrollment require extraordinary achievement to gain entry (and usually do not cost more). But these demands are few and far between. For example, fine mathematics and physics students have ample engineering spaces across the country and, for most, close to home. For a host of individual reasons, large numbers of students routinely turn down one or more of the Big Five, to attend another institution.

Though high school standardization and scoring is on the wane, for the most part, Canadian high school grades are taken at face value, without further validation required. There is no SAT (Scholastic Assessment Test) equivalent or an entrance exam system. While exceptions exist, most university programs simply require only a submission of high school results. Because top students study at their own local university, the overall competitive framework is not skewed. The

ultra-competitiveness is saved for post bachelor programs—or medicine, dentistry, law, and a wide range of thesis-based master's dreams.

So, if there are student protests, it is not over the absence of Ivy League institutions in Canada, but rather over the fact that C$5,000 or 7,000 is still a lot of money to pay for annual tuition. Even at these prices, tuition costs remain lively issues in provincial elections.

## THE BIG FIVE ASSUMPTIONS

The protestations that do emanate come from institutions like Canada's so-called Big Five universities (located in its most-populous urban centers). These institutions feel hamstrung from competing in research, with the world's top echelon of research universities. This is largely due to the "burden" as faculty would see it of taking on huge classes of undergraduate students, which dwarf those of many prominent US research universities.

The US system has critiqued itself over offering too few research professors as instructors in undergraduate courses, especially in its elite institutions. In Canada, the norm is that research faculty commit fully to bachelor's-degree-level instruction. Good for teaching and students, not so good for enabling faculty to focus on research.

To Canada's large research institutions, they would be happier if many of Canada's other universities taught more undergraduate students, leaving more of the research time, and money, to them. The smaller institutions feel they have proven worthy of the research monies they have garnered and are unconvinced a shift in resources to the biggest of Canada's universities would be better for Canada—i.e., the Big Five are not necessarily the Best Five.

## SOCIETAL TRADE-OFFS

The fault line is ultimately whether having a top tier (far from assured) of super focused research universities is worth the trade-off. Is it in Canada's best interests to cluster research more in its ultra-urban areas and fund less of its research in smaller urban areas? Does it serve the public to have more students studying less under research professors, at research universities or, indeed, more students in programs where no research companion is there?

Canada produces excellent research, but it is geographically distributed. Indeed, research production might be greater were it clustered and if the best researchers were relieved much more, or entirely, from teaching obligations. From the public-vantage point, the trade-off is whether to invest locally or concentrate funding in a few top institutions.

As the land of a single standard of state-funded health care for all, Canadians are generally apt to trade off a little excellence for a lot more equity.

KAREN MACGREGOR

# 9. AFRICA: GET RANKINGS RIGHT FOR AFRICA, UNIVERSITY LEADERS URGE

*University World News, 15 August 2015, Issue 377*

If the conversation about university rankings is important, then the starting point would be to design a ranking system for Africa that encourages positive conduct—"precisely because we know that rankings are influential, for example in resource allocation," said University of Johannesburg Vice-chancellor Ihron Rensburg at the inaugural Times Higher Education Africa Universities Summit, held in the city from 30–31 July. In going forward, the vice-chancellor said, "we have to examine what behavior we want to incentivise and encourage. It seems we will also have to have a conversation about what is universal and what is specific to the African context, because it is impossible to move away from some key universal missions or roles of our institutions."

Co-hosts Times Higher Education, or THE, and the University of Johannesburg repeatedly stressed that the event was not a rankings summit but about the renewal and the future of African universities. However, rankings were why many delegates were there, and in the weeks before THE had caused a continental stir by releasing a "snapshot" ranking (MacGregor, 2015) of the top 15 universities in Africa based on just one indicator—how many times research articles are cited by other academics. There were eight South African universities in the top 15, two from Morocco and one each from Egypt, Ghana, Kenya, Nigeria and Uganda. At the summit, the top 30 were revealed (Bothwell, 2015).

## CONCERNS AND SUGGESTIONS

Rensburg articulated a "pragmatic approach" recognising that institutions such as the University of Johannesburg had the mission to make a significant contribution to the highly skilled needs of society and the economy. The consequence was a university that graduated some 11,000 undergraduates a year and 130 PhD graduates at best. It was unrealistic, given the manner in which rankings were constructed, for an institution such as the University of Johannesburg to have expectations of rising into the global top 200. However, Rensburg described a "credibility problem" in the THE experimental ranking, with the ordering of universities—it was not possible, for instance, "for the University of Pretoria to find itself out of the top 10." Other

delegates outlined other ranking anomalies. Rensburg's third concern—"and a difficult one"—was about thresholds. The THE Africa ranking put the participation bar at a minimum of 50 publications a year. "But is that a decent threshold? Is that a centre of excellence?" Rensburg asked. Finally, there was the matter of proxies. "Again, we're going to have to be realistic as we go forward. We're not always going to be able to measure what we should measure directly, and therefore proxies are going to have to be utilised in order to get the best approximation of the state of our institutions in relationship to our peers."

Rensburg argued for two areas to be included in African university ranking indicators. The first was inter-Africa institutional collaboration, which needed to be incentivised and supported. "It is not about a pile of agreements that sits in our drawers, it is about concrete stuff," said the vice-chancellor. Important, for instance, was the number of joint programmes between a South African and a Nigerian university—collaboration in areas such as PhD courses, early career development and joint programmes, flows of students between institutions, and research collaboration. A second issue was social impact. One measure was employment among graduates—but that excluded entrepreneurship, said Rensburg. Another was student volunteerism. Out of 40,000 undergraduates at the University of Johannesburg, up to 13,000 were involved consistently in organised student volunteer action in organised programmes with communities.

The African Higher Education Summit held in Dakar, Senegal, in March set a target of developing around 200 centres of excellence across Africa in the coming decades. Rensburg suggested that work be done to define what a centre of excellence might look like, and then institutions could be encouraged to move collectively towards being that kind of institution. Angina Parekh, deputy vice-chancellor (academic) of the University of Johannesburg, had a problem with the idea of the summit ending and participants thinking "it is OK to tweak what we've heard about today. It is not OK."

There had been much talk about the African Union's Agenda 2063, said Parekh. Rather than starting by building an 'ideal' African university and trying to measure it, it might be a good idea to start with Agenda 2063 and find out what the goals are and the roles of universities and how they are contributing "and then work out how to measure against that".

<center>CREDIBILITY CRUCIAL</center>

Professor Gbemisola Oke, deputy vice-chancellor of Nigeria's leading University of Ibadan, said her field of health had always had "rankings" of sorts to ensure that the best therapeutics and treatments were delivered. A good index had to be reliable, consistent and sensitive to capture the situation on the ground, and had to be "reproducible all of the time". Higher education, the professor continued, was not getting the change it required. "All along we have been focusing on the push factor, while rankings would provide a pull. So ranking is desirable, but if it is not

credible and reliable then it is best just thrown out, and that is what will become of any ranking that awards a particular rank that checks itself and finds that I am here while another institution I defer to is not even on the list." If that happened, it would not be long before such a ranking fell out of favour.

It seemed that higher education and its rankers had all the answers. "It is just putting them in the right proportion. I see the current rankings as being lopsided in favour of metrics, and metrics relies a lot on digitals and not really going to check facts on the ground." Oke said the great need was to address the state of higher education in African countries, and particularly the role universities were expected to play. "We need to look at universities in terms of the curricula." For instance, do curricula advance employability or entrepreneurship in a country such as Nigeria, where there are at least 40 million unemployed youth? "Publications are important but must weigh less when ranking African universities," Oke concluded.

## TRANSFORMING METRICS

Last month the *Higher Education Funding Council for England published The Metric Tide: Report of the independent review of the role of metrics in research assessment and management* (Wilsdon et al., 2015). The review was chaired by James Wilsdon, professor of science and democracy at the University of Sussex.

Wilsdon makes the pertinent point that metrics are constitutive of values, identities and livelihoods, said Professor Cheryl de la Rey, vice-chancellor of the University of Pretoria. And rankings are entirely dependent on metrics. "When I look at the categories used in the ranking system that we're discussing today, and more deeply at the criteria, I want to extend that notion and say that what ranking systems also do is build a particular model of what a university is and what universities are about."

The summit had been discussing the concept and roles of an African university. A common theme across all sessions had been that African universities "are essentially about contributing to development, which is so critical to our future and our present. And we particularly talked about the relevance of African universities to Agenda 2063," said De la Rey. "What we should avoid is having a set of indicators that persuade us to move in a direction that is completely inimical to African development goals. So the key question for us is what are the indicators within the broad core activities of teaching and research that speak to these development goals?"

The issue of which indicators are used for ranking—to measure research, teaching, industry linkages, international output indicators and so on—speak to developmental goals was not only an African but also a global issue. "It's an issue of sustainable development that we will be talking about as a global community."

At the University of Pretoria, De la Rey continued, all students are expected by graduation to have participated in community engagement. "But it is not simply about volunteerism, it's about creating a different quality of graduate—a different quality of citizen, not only for South Africa and Africa but also for the world."

De la Rey is vice-chair of the global Talloires Network of engaged universities, which has been arguing that the important engagement contributions of universities need to be recognised globally. "Particularly, we need to open up a discussion about how community engagement influences our teaching and research and how can we then perhaps look at it in metric terms, because metrics have a certain kind of utility that we can't ignore. We've been innovative in the past in developing proxies for research—we have wonderful systems like Scopus—and we can be equally if not more innovative in looking at how we can convert or develop proxies to measure some of these contributions that we make."

Finally, said De la Rey, it was important to recognise that some ranking indicators might not be helpful in the African context. For instance, while it is important to measure the employability of graduates, Africa does not have a large manufacturing sector and it might be as useful to try to measure social aspects of innovation. "Like everybody else, I agree that rankings are here to stay. But it's very important to our African community of universities that we don't simply respond to what exists—that we use this opportunity to persuade the world about the bigger picture that faces us as a global community."

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KAROLA HAHN AND DAMTEW TEFERRA

# 10. AFRICA: HARMONIZATION AND TUNING: INTEGRATING AFRICA

*International Higher Education, Fall 2012, Number 69*

The harmonization of higher education in Africa is a multidimensional process that promotes the integration of higher education in the region. This objective is to achieve collaboration across borders, subregionally and regionally—in curriculum development, educational standards, and quality assurance, joint structural convergence, and consistency of systems, as well as compatibility, recognition, and transferability of degrees to facilitate mobility.

The African Union Commission promotes this process for African higher education. The European Commission supports these efforts through the Africa-European Union Strategic Partnership including the Africa-European Union Migration, Mobility and Employment Partnership and the Joint Africa-European Union Strategy Action Plan. Various initiatives to foster harmonization have been launched in the last three decades—the most prominent, including the Arusha convention (1981) and the SADC Protocol on Education and Training (1997). The convention that is being revised will serve as the legal framework for the harmonization of higher education in Africa.

## TUNING: PIONEERING INITIATIVES

Tuning is a complex methodology to improve teaching, learning, and assessment in higher education reform. It guides the development of curriculum, a credit accumulation mechanism, and transfer system—so as to obtain intended learning outcomes, skills, and competences. One of its objectives is to ensure consensus of academics across borders on a set of reference points for generic and subject-specific competences, alongside subject lines.

Tuning as a tool has been developed in Europe following the Bologna process. So far, tuning projects have been completed in over 60 countries around the world—including Europe, Latin America, Russia, and the United States. Projects have recently started in Australia, India, and China. More than 1,000 universities, ministries, agencies, and other bodies have been involved in such projects. Tuning Africa is part of this larger initiative, to help harmonize and reform higher education in the region.

## TOOLS FOR INTEGRATION

The importance of tuning as a tool to implement harmonization of higher education in Africa has been first discussed at a political level. The European Union commissioned a feasibility study in 2010, to explore its potential, relevance, and timeliness. Following the study and a broad consultation, the tuning approach has been started in a pilot project. Unlike many top-down initiatives, the tuning process in Africa began in a dual mode of interaction, combining top-down (first) and bottom-up (later) approaches.

In a Validation Workshop held in Nairobi in March 2011, five priority areas were identified for the pilot project—including agricultural sciences, civil and mechanical engineering, medicine, and teacher education—that will be coordinated across the five regions.

## THE PILOT PROJECT

A call for participation in the *Harmonization and Tuning African Higher Education* was launched in October 2011. In November 2011, a selection workshop was held in Dakar, followed by an international conference on *Tuning, Credits, Learning Outcomes and Quality: A Contribution to Harmonisation and the Space for Higher Education in Africa*, attended by stakeholders—including the African Union Commission, the European Commission, the Association of African Universities, the Conseil Africain et Malgache pour l'Enseignement Supérieur, the Inter-University Council for East Africa, the Council on Higher Education (South Africa), the African Council for Distance Education, national quality-assurance agencies such as the South African Qualifications Authority, and national ministries.

The selection workshop screened 96 applications. As not all short-listed universities were finally selected, further efforts of recruitment are being made to reach 60—the designated number of potential participants for the pilot phase.

## OUTSTANDING ISSUES

### Ownership, Inclusiveness, and Leadership

Initially, the tuning Africa initiative was promoted by political convictions of regional integration, mobility, and harmonization. At the launch of the initiative, concerns were raised about ownership, inclusiveness, leadership, and strategy. In a direct response, it was agreed to start the initiative with a feasibility study.

As the tuning process needs to involve numerous and diverse stakeholders—such as administrators, ministries, higher education and quality-assurance agencies, policymakers, employers, the public sector, students, regional bodies, intermediary actors, and university associations—a continuous consultation over a reasonable period of time has been advised. The initiative is now ushering into a new phase, where the African Association of Universities is identified as implementing agency

under the guidance of the African Union Commission. In this phase, it is expected that the association would engage African universities in a consultative, transparent, and effective way by facilitating and ensuring their full leadership and ownership of the dialogue.

*Coherence, Consistency, and Dissemination*

The prevalent plans contain a plethora of national and regional quality assurance, accreditation, qualification frameworks, credit accumulation and credit transfer systems, and curricula reforms. In addition, it needs to be ensured that these efforts are effectively integrated and synchronized, to create coherence and consistency. Tuning still remains a new lexicon in the African higher education landscape. In the tuning Africa pilot project, only 60 universities are involved; and this comprises a small critical mass of champion universities, along with supporting political and intermediary bodies. Therefore, an appropriate dissemination strategy to popularize the initiative is imperative.

*Resources*

Implementing harmonization and tuning requires resources. As most African universities experience chronic financial constraints, the provision of resources still must be negotiated by numerous constituencies. The success of the initiative may also be hampered by the disparate institutional infrastructure and the weak human resources base, in many institutions.

*Outcome-Oriented Learning: Issue of Viability*

The successful implementation of a paradigm shift from input-oriented teaching to outcome-oriented learning—with all its associated implications to competence assessment and quality assurance—remains a key challenge to tuning Africa. The rapid massification of higher education, meager and overstretched resources, poor management and leadership, under qualified staff, and underprepared students will pose imminent threats to its success. Therefore, appropriate, contextualized, and realistic approaches need to be put in place, for the tuning Africa pilot project to succeed.

Distance education has an important role in expanding access to higher education and training in Africa. Thus, the pilot project is pioneering in integrating distance education into the mainstream. This component has never been tested in a tuning project, so far.

CONCLUSIONS

The tuning higher education in Africa pilot project is expected to be a consultative process that will foster discourse at a grassroots level across borders, through a number

of regional seminars and conferences. These will provide the platform of dialogue for quality assurance, improvement of teaching and learning, and assessment. As the dialogue on credits and a common credit system is one of the central pillars of the tuning approach, the pilot project might also advance the discourse toward an African credit system.

The success of the pilot project will depend on the involvement of a critical mass of universities and stakeholders, sustained resources, well-organized dissemination, as well as transparent and credible leadership. The direct linkage and integration of the tuning pilot project into existing quality-assurance initiatives—including regional and national qualification frameworks—are expected to contribute to a sustainable, institutionalized, and harmonized reform.

CLAUDIA REYES AND PEDRO ROSSO

# 11. CHILE: A NEW APPROACH FOR CLASSIFYING CHILEAN UNIVERSITIES

*International Higher Education, Spring 2012, Number 67*

Over the last few decades, particularly during the 1980s and 1990s, most university systems in the developing world underwent an impressive transformation—with several fold increases in the number of students enrolled and the opening of many new, mostly private, universities. One of the consequences of this expansive change has been a marked increase in the heterogeneity of the institutions comprised in the various systems. Beyond its academic dimensions, heterogeneity poses serious problems to systems attempting to classify the universities for research, ranking or public policy purposes. Chile is a good example. The first attempt to classify national universities—based on selectivity, size, prestige, and nature (public or private)—resulted in eight categories. Despite some of its merits, this classification was criticized on conceptual and practical grounds, including the fact that the categories were not exclusive ones.

Other observers have tried to classify Chilean universities, using selectivity and annual publications as primary criteria, and the number of students and the years of accreditation granted to the institution as secondary criteria. They described seven categories of institutions—some improvements over the previous ones. However, this classification was also flawed on several accounts, including the use of selectivity as a main criterion. For example, one category listed selective research universities, while another group was described as nonselective, teaching, large-size, and low accreditation institutions.

## A NEW APPROACH TO CLASSIFYING UNIVERSITIES

A recent approach faced the challenge of classifying Chilean universities—using as main criteria the existence and number of accredited doctoral programs and the annual number of internationally indexed publications. Applying the first criterion, the universities were divided into two groups: (a) without accredited doctoral programs; and (b) with doctoral programs. Then, those without doctoral programs were subsequently divided, according to the number of publications, in two categories: (a) with less than 20 annual publications; and (b) with 20 or more annual publications. The first category was named "teaching university" and comprised

23 institutions. The second one, called "teaching university with limited research," included 11 universities. In turn, the universities with accredited PhD programs were divided in two categories: (a) those with up to five programs, and (b) those with more than five doctoral programs. The first category was called "university with research and doctoral programs in selected areas," and 11 institutions met this criterion. The second one was named "research and doctoral programs university" and comprised 6 universities.

## MAIN CHARACTERISTICS OF THE DIFFERENT CATEGORIES

As expected, the four categories had marked differences in the mean values of the variables used as "primary classification criteria." Thus, the teaching university group averaged 4 publications per year, the teaching university with research projection group averaged 41 publications per year; the "university with research and doctoral programs in selected areas" group averaged 94 annual publications; and the "research and doctoral programs university" group averaged 636 publications per year. In turn, while the average number of doctoral programs was 2.2 in the group of "university with research and doctoral programs in selected areas," it averaged 18.5 in the group of "research and doctoral programs university." "Consequently, the primary classification criteria had successfully grouped Chilean universities in markedly different categories. Particularly striking was the tenfold difference in the number of publications observed, between the two "teaching universities" categories—indicating that on this aspect the category "teaching university" is indeed quite different than its "teaching university with research projection" partner. On the other hand, this difference implies that in approximately 30 percent of the Chilean universities practically no research is conducted.

## ADDITIONAL CHARACTERISTICS WITH THE FLOUR CATEGORIES

The four categories were also compared on the values of institutional size and academic performance (accreditation)—unrelated to the publications and doctoral programs indicators used to define the four categories. The statistical significance of variations in mean values between categories was tested using a one-way analysis of variance. This test provides a method to establish whether or not the means of several groups are statistically different. The analysis of variance test was complemented with post hoc tests, which do establish more specifically means that were significantly different, from each other. Results indicated a major diversity in mean values in most of the indicators explored, including: number of students, number of faculties, percentage of faculties with advanced degrees, number of faculties per study program, percentage of accredited study programs, and years of institutional accreditation. The main differentiations were found between the "teaching university" and the "research and doctoral programs university" categories, with mean values of the other two categories falling in between.

NEW CLASSIFICATION FOR COMPARATIVE STUDIES

The categories defined by the new classification are associated with basic institutional characteristics and academic performances. Thus, for comparison purposes, the institutions included within a given category could be considered to be "academic peers." The latter seems a relevant point, since most of the available comparative studies—including national and international university rankings—generally overlook this aspect. From this perspective, it is unfortunate that the research universities, especially those considered to be "world class" have become the paradigm of academic quality. While recognizing the need for any country to have a "critical mass" of those institutions, from the standpoint of diversity and their intrinsic value, the only paradigm that a university should have is the best institution within its own category.

CLASSIFYING UNIVERSITIES IN DEVELOPING SYSTEMS

The new classification used for Chilean universities can be applied in other countries, with some adaptation to local realities. For example, other cut-off points for annual publications or number of doctoral programs accredited by a national agency could be used. The new classification also might provide an overall diagnosis of a system, in terms of the percentage of teaching and research institutions present. In university systems, diversity represents a value in itself, since it implies both for the students and the faculty more options to decide where to study or work.

When classifying and comparing universities, particularly in developing systems, all classifications do freeze in time essentially dynamic situations. In the future, many institutions will reform their category, as research activities expand and new postgraduate programs are created. On the other hand, faithful to their missions, many other universities will remain in the same category, while improving their academic performance. Ultimately, in the academic world what really counts is coherence between mission, human, and financial resources and the will to achieve the highest possible quality standards. Thus, it is crucial to properly classify universities.

SIMON MARGINSON

# 12. UNITED STATES: HOW TO REVIVE THE CALIFORNIA MODEL

*University World News, 17 October 2014, Issue 339*

Clark Kerr's multiversity has spread across the world, but at home it is fraying at the edges. A rethink on tuition fees and on the wider benefits of higher education is needed to ensure its model of balancing excellence and access continues to impact international higher education. The Californian model of higher education has achieved worldwide influence. Whether it was a process of conscious imitation, or a case of responding to similar conditions to those in California, since 1960 most countries have followed the Californian approach in two respects. First, the continuous expansion of access to higher education in response to social demand; and second, adoption of the large science university, the multiversity, at the crown of the higher education system. Clark Kerr's multiversity is spreading to the four corners of the world. This poses challenges and opportunities for American higher education. Higher education is a core social sector that influences government, business, technology, and other domains. The evolving relations between universities in the US, and the fast-rising East Asian systems on the other side of the Pacific, will do much to shape the future in this country and the world—not just the future of higher education, but the future of society and economy. So the Californian model— or aspects of it—has been the leading influence on higher education development everywhere. But the high access, high science model has run into difficulties at home.

## PROBLEMS AT HOME

Californian higher education is ruled not only by the 1960 master plan, but also by proposition 13 of 1978. The belief embodied in proposition 13, that government tax/spend is a reduction of individual liberty, is incompatible with common public provision. In the last decade, state funding to UC has been cut by a third and students who would have entered in previous decades have been turned away. The promises of universal access and meritocratic transfer, at the heart of the Californian model and the rationale for popular support, have been broken.

In *Capital in the Twenty-First Century*, Thomas Piketty discusses the role of higher education, especially high status universities, in reproducing inequality. Says

Piketty: "Inter-generational reproduction through education is lowest in the Nordic countries and highest in the United States, with Germany, France and the UK in the middle. In other words, social mobility through higher education is significantly lower in the US than in all of Western Europe." In *Degrees of Inequality*, Suzanne Mettler agrees that equality of opportunity has run aground: "Over the past 30 years… our system of higher education has gone from facilitating upward mobility to exacerbating social inequality."

Mettler shows how the US higher education system turns over "something that increasingly resembles a caste system: it takes Americans who grew up in different social strata and it widens the divisions between them and makes them more rigid." Mettler subjects for-profit colleges to a devastating critique. For-profits build student numbers with misleading claims about job prospects and transfer pathways. For-profit students experience the highest average loan debt in any sector, the lowest and slowest completion rates, questionable job prospects if they do graduate, and much the highest default rates on student loans.

For-profits enrol one in 10 college students but utilise one dollar in four of federal student aid. Public support provides 86% of their revenue and Mettler estimates the subsidy at US$32 billion a year. For-profits have a curious glamour, and have long been propped up by pro-corporate policies in Congress. But even for students who do complete, the diploma is less valuable than a diploma from a public education college.

Paradoxically, in many quarters public higher education is understood solely in terms of the private rates of return to degrees, and graduate employment. There is little focus on the other outcomes for graduates—personal development, better health outcomes, more prudent personal financial management, more effective political participation, better adaptation to technological innovations, more diverse cultural activities, greater social tolerance of difference, and so on. It is a radical reduction of what Californians should expect from their institutions.

In 1960, California's rate of participation in higher education at 45% was almost double that of the country as a whole at 25%. Fifty years later, in 2010, California was the 43rd state in the proportion of its 18–24 year-olds with baccalaureate status. The University of California campuses are also feeling the pressure and, although still strong, are fraying at the edges. The weight of part-time and contingent faculty has been increasing for a long time. To compete against other Ivy League institutions they will need to raise tuition (which is currently capped) and secure more resources through philanthropy.

The public mission of the UC institutions is not necessarily compromised when in-state tuition rises. The ultimate determinant of the public character of the UC is who gets in. According to John Douglass, both Berkeley and UCLA each have more low-income students than the whole Ivy League: 40% of Berkeley undergraduates pay no tuition; 65% receive some financial aid; and half graduate with no debt.

ACCESS AND EXCELLENCE

How can the state re-strengthen the Californian Model, with its double focus on access and excellence? Is it possible once again to move towards equality of opportunity and social mobility in American higher education?

I have two suggestions: firstly, in low tax countries like the US, government cannot finance high-quality higher education on a universal basis. But it is possible to design a tuition regime that couples higher charges with minimal deterrent effect and no socio-economic bias—a regime in which no student from any background is deterred on financial grounds. How? Income contingent tuition loans by which the government advances to universities the value of the student tuition and the graduate later pays back the loan to government. These repayments are not subject to timed repayment, like commercial loans, but are income contingent.

Repayment begins when income reaches a threshold level and debt is subject to sub-commercial interest rates. Income contingent loans-based tuition has a soft impact on students. No money actually changes hands and studies repeatedly show that students from poor families are not deterred from participating by tuition costs in this form.

In the US, only the federal government could introduce income contingent tuition loans. It would shift tuition policy and public subsidy costs out of the jurisdiction of state governments, which no longer have the capacity, and would constitute a transformation almost on the scale of healthcare reform. However, if implemented it would radically weaken the link between family finances and completion rates. It would put US higher education back on the road to equality of opportunity.

My other suggestion is about the public good functions of higher education. As noted, attention is largely focused on the private benefits of higher education, such as earnings, which are easy to measure. But many outcomes of higher education are not captured as benefits for individuals, but consumed jointly. These include the contributions of institutions to government, industrial innovation, public health and social equity, and economic and political stability. These non-market individual benefits do not show in earnings equations. Public and non-market goods produced in higher education are discussed only in vague terms. There is no agreed nomenclature. There are many loose normative claims and evidence-based approaches are underdeveloped. Because public goods and non-market goods are not identified, observed or measured, they are underfunded and neglected. We need to develop social scientific methods that allow us to grasp these goods comprehensively. How can we move beyond a solely economic understanding of these public and non-market goods without setting aside economics? How do we measure such goods, while satisfying both inclusion and rigour?

Quantification is essential if we are to provide governments, public and institutions with greater clarity about public outputs, but it is also essential to observe and monitor aspects that cannot be measured. This is an important project on which we can work together, on a cross-country basis. If California could develop a systematic and agreed approach to measuring and monitoring the social and non-market benefits of higher education, it would once again lead the world in an important policy area.

# PART 3

# FINANCING HIGHER EDUCATION

# INTRODUCTION

This section discusses the topic of financing higher education. As the burden of supporting higher education becomes more significant for national and regional governments, various options for funding diversification and cost diversion emerge around the world. The articles selected here discuss some of these models, with a specific focus on tuition fees.

Using a historical perspective, Patrício Langa, Gerald Wangenge-Ouma, Jens Jungblut, and Nico Cloete analyze the ideological assumptions and the downfalls of free tuition higher education in their analyses of the South African, Mozambican, Kenyan, and German cases. Agnete Vabø and Jannecke Wiers-Jenssen offer a comparative analysis of tuition policies for international students in the European context and highlight the ideological divides driving debate around student fees. Glyn Davis' article argues for the deregulation of fees in the Australian context, as a solution to the funding problems faced by universities. Ariane de Gayardon and Andrés Bernasconi discuss the tuition free policy in Chile, implemented after massive student protests in 2011. Lastly, Lucia Brajkovic discusses the innovative tuition fee policies enacted in Croatia in 2009. In this new model, students are not required to pay fees during the first year of their degree, but are charged tuition beginning with their second year of studies, based on academic performance.

This section includes a small sample of writings centered around funding and tuition policies. While this is a critical topic, there is a limited set of IHE and UWN articles with a primary focus on funding. It is worth noting that such issues are often analyzed as part of articles with a broader focus.

PATRÍCIO LANGA, GERALD WANGENGE-OUMA,
JENS JUNGBLUT AND NICO CLOETE

# 13. AFRICA: SOUTH AFRICA AND THE ILLUSION
# OF FREE HIGHER EDUCATION

*University World News, 26 February 2016, Issue 402*

Demands for free higher education and other social services such as health and basic education in Africa date back to the 1960s. These demands were common across countries with diverse ideological orientations—from socialist Mozambique and Tanzania to capitalist Kenya and Uganda.

The justifications for free higher education were varied, namely to expedite indigenous person-power formation and achieve equity of access. Free higher education policies were also politically important as compensatory legitimation strategies. As is the case with other compensatory legitimation strategies, free higher education is highly visible and populist, and encourages the perception that the state is providing something people want (Hughes, 1994).

Free higher education probably achieved several of its intended goals—mainly an expedited production of skilled individuals, especially for the civil service and secondary school teachers. However, it also had a number of 'unintended' consequences, some of which later led to the crises that defined the African university from around the late 1970s.

## GROSS INEQUITIES ENGENDERED

One of the unintended consequences is that free higher education engendered gross inequities. It reproduced and reinforced colonial and post-colonial inequities with regard to distribution of schools and privilege, and therefore of the beneficiaries of free higher education. As is well known, the distribution of (good quality) schools in both the colonial and post-colonial eras was, and remains, uneven in most African countries. It was the children of the new political and business elite who mostly gained access to the free education.

Another equity-related concern is that whereas higher education was free, lower levels of education (especially secondary education) were not always free. As a result, many students who could not afford education at the lower levels were left out of higher education. Later, as the quality of public education declined, children of the elite left public schools for high-cost and, in some cases, exclusive private schools,

only to re-appear for public university education in prestigious programmes—for free. This is also the case in countries like Brazil, one of the champions of reproducing social inequalities through its educational system.

As higher education systems in Africa expanded, provision of free higher education became increasingly expensive and unaffordable, compounded by a sustained decline in economic growth from the mid-1970s until the 1990s. This had severe implications for, among others, social provisioning, including higher education.

Notwithstanding the strained economic growth vis-à-vis the high cost of providing free higher education, the policy persisted, leading to gross underfunding of higher education systems in Africa. The gross underfunding had multiple deleterious consequences, some of which continue to hound higher education systems on the continent. Overall, free higher education in Africa was built on inequitable social structures. As a result, it reproduced and reinforced these inequalities. To state the obvious, free higher education in highly unequal societies mainly benefits the already-privileged, who have the significant social, cultural and economic capital required to access, participate and succeed in education.

Equally, free higher education was an expensive project that the poor political economies could hardly afford in the long run. As enrolments grew, more resources were required to support a meaningful university experience. These resources were simply not available. Consequently, free higher education eventually spawned ideal conditions for prolonged protests and mediocre higher education (Wangenge-Ouma, 2012).

## 'FEES MUST FALL' IN SOUTH AFRICA

Many countries that once offered free higher education such as China, Australia, Mozambique, Kenya, and England, have since implemented cost-sharing policies and models of one form or another. Kenya, for example, introduced direct payment of tuition fees in 1991 and abolished all personal allowances that university students had hitherto been enjoying. This was followed in the late 1990s by the so-called dual-track tuition fee approach whereby universities enrolled two types of students: highly state-subsidised students selected on a numerus clausus basis, and a second group of 'unsubsidised' students who paid market-related fees.

In South Africa, students are demanding free higher education. While some students are demanding free education for the poor, the majority seem to want free higher education for all. The affordability of higher education in South Africa is a real challenge: state funding for higher education has been declining in real terms (1.1% from 2000 to 2012), while the proportion of gross domestic product going to higher education has remained around 0.7%, which is low by international standards. However, if the National Student Financial Aid Scheme, or NSFAS, contribution is included, then the government contribution is well over 1%, but there is still not enough funding even with fees.

Universities have been increasing tuition fees to mitigate shortfalls and related vulnerabilities. On the other hand, the NSFAS is unable to provide financial support to all the deserving poor—families with an income below R130,000 (US$8,500). Outstanding debt for universities is estimated at around R5 billion (US$329 million), while for NSFAS it is over R15 billion. Students are frustrated by the increasing costs of higher education in the context of inadequate financial aid. From a financial perspective, these are very legitimate concerns. But students have also argued that charging fees is against the spirit of the Freedom Charter of 1955, which was a political aspiration expressed 60 years ago along with other demands such as the ending of apartheid, and health and housing. These political aspirations were not formulated in the context of political, economic, and educational realities in South Africa in 2016.

The case for free higher education is based on two main premises: (a) social justice: increasing higher education access for the poor, especially previously marginalised communities, in the face of increasing tuition fees, and (b) growth externalities. Given South Africa's high levels of skills shortages, free higher education is deemed necessary to get human capital investment to efficient levels. These premises are exactly the same ones that informed the free higher education experiment in other African countries. Furthermore, the purchase of legitimation cannot be ruled out as a significant rationale for the push for free higher education, especially by politicians.

The post-apartheid era is characterised by huge expectations and, in the context of high youth unemployment and a lack of alternative post-secondary opportunities, higher education has become a very crowded but narrow ladder of opportunity into the middle-class. Given general dissatisfaction with the present tuition fee regimes vis-à-vis the higher education participation inequalities in the country, a policy of free higher education is a potentially useful strategy for compensatory legitimation by a government whose 'core' constituency is becoming increasingly dissatisfied with service delivery. On the face of it, a policy of free higher education would be consistent with the country's overarching post-apartheid policy of transformation and social justice. Will free higher education be the harbinger for an egalitarian South Africa?

*Mozambique*

Patrício Langa grew up in Mozambique, a country that once attempted to establish a socialist regime. That was after many years of oppression under a colonial regime that excluded the majority of the black population from accessing the welfares of modernity: education, health, and social and political rights.

The socialist regime of FRELIMO—the party that led the struggle for liberation—promised to build an equal, just, non-racial and non-sexist society. A popular belief was that the country's limited resources would be shared equally by all. This dream became an illusion. Inequalities increased. The most vocal advocates of Marxist egalitarian principles were, in fact, the frontrunners in becoming the new bourgeoisie.

Since then, the promises of modernity have been deferred for the majority of the population. Education was among the public goods that was supposed to be free for all. This was the case for a number of years.

However, most Mozambicans had to contend with poor quality schools and many others had no schools at all, while the elite took their children to exclusive schools. With low participation rates coupled with high internal inefficiencies in primary and secondary education, only a few—many of them from elite backgrounds—made it to university.

Up until the mid-1990s, the higher education participation rate was less than 1% and currently it stands at less than 6%, a far cry from FRELIMO's dream of building an equal society with access for all. Most knowledge economies are aiming for a participation rate above 50%. Higher education is an expensive enterprise and free higher education even more so. To support free higher education, Mozambique relied on its own meagre resources and also received support from, especially, the former socialist block. These countries, mainly from Eastern Europe and Latin America, funded and supported education programmes. But no country can educate its people solely relying on international solidarity and limited state resources, particularly when the latter are derived from an underperforming economy.

*Kenya*

Gerald Wangenge-Ouma went to school and university in Kenya. From 1963 to 1992, Kenya experimented with free higher education, with the public purse covering tuition and student living allowances, pedagogical and research infrastructure, buildings and staff costs. As with Mozambique, free provision was seen as the surest way for the state to guarantee equality of opportunity. Not unlike Mozambique, free higher education in Kenya was also built on inequitable social structures, the result of which was reproduction and reinforcement of these inequalities. For instance, the distribution of (good quality) schools and participation rates were uneven—a reflection of skewed missionary and colonial education patterns.

By way of example, almost 100% of children in former Central Province attend primary school, compared to about 34% in former North Eastern Province. In addition, schools serving working class students, especially in rural areas and poor urban enclaves, receive fewer resources, struggle to attract and retain qualified teachers, are not adequately supported by the school community, and are rarely inspected for quality. While higher education was free, secondary education was not, yet it was a pre-requisite for university admission. Mainly because of cost-related factors and the uneven distribution of schools, the transition rate from primary to secondary education was very low. As reported by Oketch and Somerset (2010), in the 1970s only about 14% of pupils sitting the primary school leaving examination performed well enough to gain a place at a government-maintained secondary school. For more than two-thirds of pupils, primary education was terminal in their education.

Regarding funding, the public purse covered all costs related to university education, as well as allowances to students to make them comfortable. Given the low number of students, free higher education was probably affordable. In 1964, Kenya had 571 university students—undergraduate, postgraduate, and diploma students. By 1980, the number was 5,411. Around the mid-1980s, enrolments started to grow fast and by 1990 student enrolments stood at 26,092. While enrolments were growing, the economy was declining and universities were severely underfunded, with the result that Kenyan universities essentially ceased to exist as vibrant knowledge institutions. The experiences with free higher education of Mozambique and Kenya capture the dream of many African countries of establishing not only modern political economies, but also a just social order with equal opportunities. The rationale for free higher education was understandable given the post-colonial welfare-dominated context of the time, but the outcomes had not been as anticipated.

*Germany*

Germany is frequently referred to as an example of a tuition-free higher education system. In the mid-2000s, it underwent its own tuition fee experiment when several of the Bundesländer, or federal states—which were at that time governed by a Christian Democrat-Liberal coalition—introduced tuition fees in the region of €1,000 (US$1,100) per year.

Following massive student protests, and in several states a change in government to Social Democratic and Green coalitions, all states abolished tuition fees once again. However, in most cases the governments made sure that universities were compensated for their loss in income by temporarily increasing public higher education funding. Additionally, and in a separate policy process, the states and the federal government agreed on a set of pacts designed to increase the number of study places by providing additional resources to higher education institutions. Two more characteristics of the German system also need to be pointed out to properly frame the comparison with South Africa.

Firstly, compared to other OECD countries Germany has a rather low participation rate in higher education. This is mainly owing to an extensive and successful vocational education and training system, which provides a viable alternative to higher education and allows for comparatively high lifetime earnings (Busemeyer, 2015). Secondly, while the German higher education system more or less maintained its principle of tuition-free higher education, it is also characterised by a decreased level of student grants and loans during the last decades. Compared to the level of student support during the early 1970s when the system underwent a phase of significant expansion, today's support system is much more limited, making higher education less inclusive (Garritzmann, 2015; 2016). While some countries like Germany and Norway have maintained a tuition-free higher education regime, comparing these countries to South Africa is highly problematic.

Germany and Norway have achieved universal access to primary and secondary education of good quality, their income tax regimes are among the most exacting in the world—45% in Germany and 55% in Norway—and they have among the most advanced economies in the world.

## LEARN FROM AFRICA

It is not the norm for South Africa to make comparisons with or draw lessons from other African countries. The established practice is to look to the global North—the United Kingdom, Australia, Germany, and of late, the other BRICS countries of Brazil, Russia, India, and China. But with regard to free higher education, South Africa should look to its northern neighbours for lessons and pitfalls to avoid. Free higher education has not in Africa addressed the challenge of universalising access to higher education nor the realisation of social inclusion.

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AGNETE VABØ AND JANNECKE WIERS-JENSSEN

# 14. EUROPE: DIFFERENT APPROACHES TO FEES FOR INTERNATIONAL STUDENTS

*University World News, 3 April 2015, Issue 361*

All Nordic countries offer free higher education to their citizens. Traditionally, international students have also been able to study for free in this region but in 2006 Denmark introduced tuition fees for international students coming from outside the European Union and the European Economic Area. Then in 2011, the Swedish educational authorities also introduced this type of fee. The same measure was suggested by the central authorities in Finland and Norway, although abandoned after some public debate. In the Nordic countries of Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway, and Sweden, higher education is basically publicly funded. In Denmark, Finland, and Norway, some 95% of investment in tertiary education comes from public sources, according to the OECD report Education at a Glance 2014. In line with Nordic welfare state ideology, the opportunity to enter higher education should be equal for all citizens.

This line of thinking extends to many other areas of society, such as health. As a consequence, tax income accounts for a fairly high proportion of the gross domestic product in these countries. The Nordic countries are advanced societies with high employment rates and a high standard of living. Nevertheless, they are fairly small scale, geographically remote and the languages might be hard to crack.

The absence of tuition fees in public higher education institutions has served as an impetus to attract students from abroad. As more programmes and courses in English have been established and more exchange agreements have been developed, more international students have taken advantage of the opportunity to study for free.

## INTERNATIONAL STUDENTS

In Norway, the number of international students has roughly tripled since the turn of the millennium—a rapid increase which is also true for the number of PhD students and academic staff. About every third PhD is completed by a foreign citizen and the students come from a wide range of countries—the majority from Europe; but others from outside the European Higher Education Area are also highly represented. In Norway, for instance, the largest groups of incoming students currently arrive from Sweden, Russia, Germany, and China. A large proportion of these students participate in organised exchange programmes and many Europeans enrol in the EU

Erasmus programme. There are also a number of bilateral agreements with foreign universities, as well as programmes aimed at students from developing countries and certain partner countries.

In part, this growth is an intentional development, and the result of policies to internationalise education. The creation of more courses taught in English and various scholarship schemes are examples of instruments of this policy. Changes in the funding of higher education in the form of the introduction of incentive-based financing, in which production credits and scientific publishing matter more, have also contributed to the institutions' efforts to attract international students more actively than in the past. The development is also related to labour and other forms of migration patterns; a number of students with foreign citizenship have basically come to Norway for reasons other than enrolling in higher education.

## INTRODUCTION OF FEES

This backdrop also explains why the suggestion by central authorities in both Finland and Norway to introduce tuition fees for students outside the EU has led to public debate. This measure was perceived by students, politicians, and some institutional leaders as likely to cause a decrease in the number of international students from outside Europe—as had happened in Denmark and Sweden after introducing fees. Hence it was seen as undermining long-term efforts to enable higher education to benefit from a more international community of students. Nevertheless, the number of exchange students from Europe in Sweden has increased quite rapidly over recent years. Some institutions in more remote regions in the Nordic countries have become rather dependent on recruiting international students and feared that the reform could have drastic financial consequences.

The rector of the University of Oslo, the largest and most prestigious university in Norway, also argued that such a reform would lead to less diversity and lower quality in the student body if the numbers of international students from outside the European Economic Community in general, and from developing countries in particular, were to decline.

The student unions in Finland and Norway feared that the introduction of tuition fees for international students would lead eventually to the introduction of fees for national students as well. The Norwegian National Federation of Enterprises, however, argued that it was unfair that taxpayers should pay for the educational and social benefits of visiting students. Yet others claimed the competition for international students could increase the quality of teaching and make institutions more internationally competitive.

## IDEOLOGICAL SPLIT

These different points of view on the introduction of tuition fees are symptomatic of the different opinions in contemporary Nordic society which are split between

the idea of a welfare state higher education model on the one hand, and more neo-liberal approaches on the other. We doubt that countries such as Finland and Norway, given the social and cultural features of the two countries, will be able to attract a competitive body of international students if they introduce fees as Sweden and Denmark have done. In time to come, however, it will be interesting to monitor what distinguishes the recruitment patterns of international students in the different Nordic countries due to their various approaches to fees for foreign students.

GLYN DAVIS


# 15. AUSTRALIA: WHY I SUPPORT THE DEREGULATION OF HIGHER EDUCATION

*University World News, 30 January 2015, Issue 352*


In the absence of public appetite to invest in public education, a measure of fee deregulation is the only way left to fund education quality to a reasonable standard. Over recent weeks, some staff have written to vice-chancellors, urging them to reject the university deregulation measures advocated by federal Education Minister Christopher Pyne (The Conversation, 2014d). Public universities, they argue, should not be left to the "vagaries of the market." I disagree and would like to explain why.

## DECLINING LEVELS OF COMMONWEALTH SUPPORT

The idea of a public university is worth defending. The term suggests commitment to merit-based and equitable entry. A public university means a curriculum that emphasises intellectual inquiry regardless of the course chosen. It indicates staff, facilities and services to support student learning, and campus life to encourage exploration and growth. A public university is home to academic freedom in thought, teaching, and research, with governance that ensures academic oversight of academic matters. Australian public universities meet these tests. What they lack is adequate public funding. A generation ago, public universities received almost all their income from Canberra (The Conversation, 2014b). This changed from 1989. Within a decade, public universities were raising most of their income. Today, direct Commonwealth recurrent funds cover just 23% of the running costs of the University of Melbourne.

Like other Australian public universities, the University of Melbourne relies on student fees, competitive research grants, commercial activity and philanthropy to pay its staff, keep open the libraries and support student life. So, if majority Commonwealth funding is a defining characteristic, there is no "public" university in Australia.

Australia shares this trend with other nations. Direct public funding at Oxford in 2013–2014 met just 16% of running costs (University of Oxford, 2016). The University of California, Berkeley, receives less than 15% of its income from base funding (University of California at Berkeley, 2013). Yet Oxford and Berkeley retain the goals, ethos and culture of public universities—as do their Australian counterparts.

As overall enrolments in tertiary education rise, governments invest less per student. For Australia, the high point of university funding, measured as government spending on each student, was in 1975–1976. A 40-year decline has followed, with two recent federal reports confirming Australian public universities are underfunded for key teaching responsibilities (Bradley et al., 2008). This change reflects the reality of participation. When Australia supported free tertiary places—from 1974 to 1989—only a small percentage of young people went to university. This changed in the 1980s as school completion rates rose and more jobs required tertiary qualifications (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2013).

Faced with continued budget increases to fund tertiary expansion, the Hawke government introduced student contributions, encouraged fee-paying international students and began the reductions in per student funding that continue 25 years later. This decline in funding was not inevitable, but stronger demand for places has made governments less willing to fund the full costs. Creating new places is expensive. Recent regulatory impact statement figures suggest projected student growth in Australia will cost an additional A$7.6 billion in the next few years. It is disappointing, but perhaps not surprising, that governments baulk when facing such sums. For those who see tertiary education as central to personal opportunity and community well-being, tax increases to fund system expansion are more than justified. A great public purpose requires adequate public funding. Alas, not all share this view.

In response to a question to the National Press Club, I once argued for higher taxes on people like me so more Australians could access a quality university education (The Conversation, 2013b). The reaction was immediate, hostile, personal and visceral. The experience made me appreciate why politicians who argue for higher taxes remain rare.

## THE DIFFICULTIES OF CHANGING PUBLIC PERCEPTIONS

Some who are against fee deregulation propose a broad community debate about the nature and funding of Australia's public universities. It is a worthy aspiration, but the record is not encouraging. I have watched many intelligent and committed vice-chancellors, along with generations of talented student leaders, present the case for national investment in higher education. There is little evidence that all those speeches and media appearances, reviews and debates, detailed presentations and tearful pleas made much difference. Like student leaders, vice-chancellors work hard for policy influence but prove marginal to the big political choices.

Politicians don't necessarily disagree with the need to fund universities, in public or private. Almost all are graduates who recall with affection their days on campus. But when they go out to the electorate, the plight of universities is on no-one's lips. Politicians are skilled in reading the public mood. They know the electorate is focused on other issues. People rarely rate tertiary funding as a pressing issue compared with hospitals, schools, or border security.

Let me offer an example. During my term as chair of Universities Australia from 2011, vice-chancellors around the nation agreed to fund a sustained professional campaign for increased public funding (Universities Australia, 2013). We began by commissioning research to understand public attitudes. This confirmed that Australians value access to tertiary education—nearly 90% of parents hope their children will consider university study. Yet focus groups suggested little willingness to consider tax increases. Many felt that university funding was already reasonable, or even too high. Some believe that tertiary students hold a ticket to privilege and higher salaries. In their view, universities and their students hold little claim on further public contribution. The research revealed what politicians already knew.

Undaunted, Universities Australia carefully framed the planned campaign, employing one of the nation's most skilled political advertising firms to hone the message. The tone was positive—Australia's public universities do a great job, but national investment is too modest for the nation to remain competitive. Across the country, vice-chancellors reinforced the campaign with local messages, explaining to city and regional audiences the importance of vibrant tertiary education—promoting exactly the broad public debate you recommend.

We soon learnt a tough political lesson. Despite the campaign promoting the contribution of universities, the Commonwealth government announced two swift cuts to the sector—to research investment in the 2012–2013 MYEFO statement (The Conversation, 2012), and then more broadly to student and university funding in April 2013 (The Conversation, 2013b).

Even as Universities Australia ran advertisements and promoted public meetings, the then-tertiary education minister, Craig Emerson, announced reductions to university funding so the government could finance the schools package recommended by David Gonski. Emerson's decision made clear that schools have political salience but universities do not. It is an old message. At different times, all recent governments have cut university funding per student in real terms. There is no evidence that any paid a political price for doing so.

When challenged, governments point to growing overall public expenditure on tertiary education. Few point out that enrolments grow even faster, so the resources available to support each student decline. Markets have vagaries, but so does reliance on government. The public perception remains that public universities are adequately funded. Australia spends proportionally less public money on universities than most OECD countries, yet few outside the sector argue for international standards of investment (Jericho, 2014).

## THE CURRENT SETTINGS ARE UNSUSTAINABLE

This leads, inevitably, to the question of why vice-chancellors support aspects of an unpopular deregulation agenda. Start with the status quo. As everyone who works on a campus knows, classes are at times too large; teaching contact hours too few; opportunities limited for extended engagement with industry and community.

Fluctuating sources of income mean that universities rely on a large array of casual staff with insecure employment. The sector has been marked by large-scale redundancies, particularly for professional staff. Research funds are tightening, with less than one grant application in five attracting support from major funding schemes (The Conversation, 2014e). The status quo presents similar challenges for students. Student support is insufficient, yet was cut in 2013. HECS remains a vital equity measure, but staying alive through years of study can be hard.

There are few cheaper university alternatives. Since current regulation imposes uniform fees (with some marginal discretion, nowhere exercised), it costs the same to go to any public university in Australia. This is the unhappy reality of relying on government to fund higher education. These are not the elements of a sustainable system. And if no policy settings change, some or all of the additional A$7.6 billion required to accommodate new students will come from further cuts to universities.

## WHAT ARE THE ALTERNATIVES?

We might see a future government keen to improve funding for universities. Occasionally higher education ministers buck the trend. Brendan Nelson and Kim Carr each delivered major additional investment in research funding. Julia Gillard expanded enrolments for young Australians, as did John Dawkins a generation earlier. David Kemp and now Christopher Pyne sought to change fundamental policy settings. The political process can matter, and we should not give up on lobbying, marches, and canvassing.

Yet to achieve OECD standards of public investment in higher education, Australia would need an unprecedented boost in outlays. This implies a major shift in public opinion, and a willingness by government to contemplate higher taxes. It would run counter to the trend of the past 40 years, and against trends in comparable nations. Improved investment is worth a campaign—as people have done for decades—but experience cautions against pinning all hope on a shift in community sentiment. Alternatively, a future government could hold present funding rates but limit further enrolments to reduce demands on Treasury. This raises immediate equity problems and runs counter to the stated policy of both the Coalition and Labor. Yet it will become part of the conversation. Assuming no further public funding is made available, universities will need to lift international enrolments. This seems inevitable, but is it reasonable to ask the families of our region to fund Australian universities because Australian taxpayers will not?

More radically, we could change the nature of Australian higher education and create (or convert) institutions that only teach (The Conversation, 2014c). This would hold down costs for students. It is an old solution—Australia funded an early period of enrolment growth by directing many students into colleges of advanced education, which were not eligible for research support. Not surprisingly, this solution attracts little support from most vice-chancellors. We argue that every tertiary student should have access to research-informed teaching on a campus where research is part of

the infrastructure and culture. Nonetheless, we will hear more of this argument, particularly as private providers seek access to the title of "university" and a bigger share of the tertiary market (The Conversation, 2014a).

Those against fee deregulation oppose further fees for students. They point rightly to the risks of higher debt (The Conversation, 2014f). That concern must be weighed against the most likely alternative—further cuts to per student funding. Graduates are the primary beneficiaries of tertiary education, and HECS ensures only those who earn a return on their degree pay back some of the cost. Current funding rates mean the tertiary education offered to Australians at times falls short of global practice. In the absence of public appetite to invest in public education, a measure of fee deregulation is the only way left to fund education quality to a reasonable standard.

It has been a long and difficult journey for Australian university leaders to reach this conclusion. Many, including me, were the beneficiaries of more generously subsidised places on campus. Years in the classroom makes vice-chancellors deeply committed to the importance of a quality education for as many young Australians as possible. It is hard, nonetheless, to ignore the stark realities of current funding policy. For many, the federal funding cuts of 2012 and 2013 finally tipped the scales, turning idealists into reluctant pragmatists. Colleagues who long opposed higher student fees (and still find them deeply unpalatable) now face the consequences of chronic underfunding. They know a poor education is no bargain, whatever the price.

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ARIANE DE GAYARDON AND ANDRÉS BERNASCONI

# 16. CHILE: CHILEAN UNIVERSITIES: NOT SO TUITION-FREE AFTER ALL

*International Higher Education, Summer 2016, Number 86*

The dictatorship of General Pinochet in Chile (1973–1990) expanded private higher education and introduced tuition fees in the higher education public sector. Three decades later, Chile is the OECD country with the smallest share of public expenditure in the overall tertiary education spending. It also has the second highest level of tuition fees after US private universities, when adjusted to the per capita gross national product.

In 2011, Chilean students demonstrated massively against the marketization of the higher education system, making free higher education for all one of their key demands. The president at the time, Sebastián Piñera (a conservative), did not accede to this, but greatly expanded student aid as a response to the students' expectations. However, the issue did not go away, and by the 2013 electoral campaign, free higher education became a central pledge in the plan of the current president Michelle Bachelet (a socialist). Since her election, Michelle Bachelet and her government have been working to fulfill this promise. At the end of 2015, a law intended to open the way to free higher education in Chile was passed by congress.

## THE "SHORT TUITION FREE ACT" OF DECEMBER 2015

The government lacked the necessary legislative space in the congress' docket for 2015 and the technical wherewithal to design and negotiate with the universities an acceptable mechanism to replace tuition fees with public funding. Therefore, it chose to add to the education budget law for 2016 a rider that would create an initial form of tuition free status for some students and some institutions. This legislative strategy was controversial in congress and was resisted by the opposition on constitutional grounds, but was nonetheless passed in December 2015.

The budget act for 2016 provides funding to enable free higher education for enrolled students whose families belong to the 50% poorest among higher education students in Chile—i.e., families who earn less than US$250 per person per month. But to be eligible, students must be enrolled in state universities or in private universities that choose to take part in the program. Only non-profit universities with at least four years of accreditation are invited to join the program.

In 2016, 30 universities (50% of the total number of universities in Chile) will participate in the program for free higher education. As a result, some 30,000 first year students will have access to higher education free of charge, as well as 80,000 students in higher courses. With additional students whose status is currently pending, the ministry of education hopes to reach a total of 160,000 students in 2016. But this adds up to only 15 percent of the total student population, far from the "free higher education for all" target. The 2016 program is indeed publicized by the government as the first step of a gradual process that should end with free tertiary education for everyone in 2020, if the general state of the public budget makes it possible.

## IMPROVING ACCESS?

Demonstrating students in 2011 advocated for free tertiary education for all as a tool to improve access to higher education. But the "Gratuidad 2016" law is unlikely to foster access. There is no evidence that students accessing free tertiary higher education in 2016 would not have gone to university if they had to pay tuition fees with the pre-2016 combination of scholarships and loans. In fact, according to Chile's major household socioeconomic survey (CASEN), only 17 percent of young people in the 10 percent poorest households state that they do not participate in higher education for financial reasons. The most cited reason is that they did not finish high school or pass the qualifying examinations. Therefore, universal access to Chilean higher education seems to depend mostly on an improvement of the secondary school system, or on a change in university admissions criteria.

Additionally, the law currently targets only universities, while students from low socioeconomic backgrounds go predominantly to vocational and technical education. The benefit should be extended to professional institutes and technical training centers as soon as 2017, thus making it more inclusive for the most disadvantaged populations. However, it is not yet clear how this will be implemented (if at all), given budgetary restrictions. For the government, however, this policy is not about increasing access, but that means to realize a question of principle: if education is a human right, it should be free of charge for the student.

## THE UNIVERSITIES' CHOICE

Private universities are given the choice to participate in the program or not. While all 16 state universities participate, only 14 private universities chose to do so in 2016. Thirteen opted out, while the remainder is not eligible. The way government subsidies for students benefiting from free higher education are calculated does mean that some universities will lose revenue previously obtained through tuition charges. The government is not paying full tuition for every "free" student; instead, the per capita allocation is a per-program average of the tuition fees charged by all universities with the same number of years of accreditation, plus a maximum 20 percent increase for universities getting less per student than their tuition fees

level. In effect, the most expensive universities—the best private ones—will not receive full compensation for their students on the free track and will have to self-generate the missing revenue, or cut costs. While top-ranked universities might have leverage to secure other revenues from the government or private sources, most will experience a dent in their budget if they choose to participate in the program.

This is also somewhat problematic for diversity and inclusion. Students with the best scores in the university entrance test, who tend to be the most affluent, will have the option to select universities that choose to participate in the free program. The rest, often from less privileged backgrounds, will only find available slots in the less selective, for-profit, or poorly accredited, tuition-charging institutions. Equity could become a serious issue in Chilean higher education, as it is currently in the Brazilian free public system.

## FREE FOR ALL

With financial and access issues entangled in the current version of the law, there is reason to doubt whether the 2020 free-for-all plan will ever become a reality. The funding for this watered-down version of tuition free higher education came from an increase in taxes on Chilean firms. This increase came at a time of general slowing down of the Chilean economy, mostly because of the steep decrease in the price of copper. Currently, the low price of Chilean exports and the anemic growth rate of the nation's economy are not in line with the increase in the educational budget needed to expand free tuition and fund other educational reforms in progress.

Indeed, the 2015 tax hike generated just enough extra revenue in 2016 to pay for the tuition of some 200,000 students. The target of eligible students in 2016 had to be lowered from 60 percent to 50 percent of the poorest students. And the future looks grim. Fiscal adjustments are already in the forecast for 2017, with education predicted to take the biggest blow. How this will square with the will to open free tuition to vocational higher education is uncertain.

In the longer term, how the government will ultimately manage to fund free higher education for 1.2 million students in the public and private sectors remains unclear. This pertains to feasibility. Whether it is also advisable to make higher education free for all is another question.

LUCIA BRAJKOVIC

# 17. CROATIA: CROATIA'S NEW LINEAR TUITION SYSTEM: STUDENTS' FRIEND OR FOE?

Croatia's higher education system (in Southeast Europe) is nationally regulated and has been undergoing intense reforms since 2003, driven by the Bologna process. The vast majority of students study in seven Croatian public universities; one of these is the University of Zagreb, which offers the widest range of study programs and enrolls around 50 percent of the total student population. Up until the academic year in 2010/2011, there were two categories of students in Croatia, based on tuition-paying status. Full-time undergraduate students were either enrolled within the state-subsidized quota, and were not charged tuition, or were enrolled above the subsidized quota and therefore charged tuition. Under this system, universities typically secured a certain number of spots for tuition-paying students, according to their capacities: whether a student would enroll within or above the state-subsidized quota (i.e., would be charged tuition or not) primarily depended on merit-based criteria, such as the student's high school grades and entrance examination scores. Students were informed whether they "made the cut" for the state-subsidized quota upon admission. When compared to other European countries, this tuition system was most similar to that in Hungary.

## DEMAND FOR FREE EDUCATION

In 2009, students occupied the Croatian University of Zagreb's School of Humanities and Social Sciences, taking over classes and replacing them with public assemblies and student-organized lectures. The occupation lasted for more than a month. Furthermore, students protested in front of the Ministry of Science, Education and Sports and demanded an audience with the minister. Their demand was straightforward: free education for all admitted students. Students from other Croatian universities joined the protest, which turned into the largest student movement in Croatia, since the 1970s.

The demand for free education, which would translate into entirely publicly funded education, reflected a larger concern about the commercialization and commodification of higher education, and increasing perception of higher education as a private vs. public good. All these events took place during a

politically sensitive period of Croatia's final preparations for entry into the European Union. Under these rather unique circumstances, the students' requests made a significant impact on the higher education financing policy of the Croatian left-centered government. Even though their demands were not fully met, they led to the adoption of a unique "linear" tuition model, which may be the only one of its kind in the world.

## INNOVATIVE TUITION MODEL WITHIN THE BOLOGNA FRAMEWORK

Following the student protests, the Croatian government enacted a major change, regarding university tuition. Beginning with the 2010/2011 academic year all admitted undergraduate and graduate (master's) students will pay no tuition during their first year of studies. After the first year, students will be charged tuition depending on performance against merit-based criteria, according to a linear model based on the accumulated European Credit Transfer and Accumulation System (ECTS) credits measuring student progress. Under this approach the state would continue to pay institutions a subsidy of 487 (per student per year), after the first year for those students who have accumulated a minimum of 55 ECTS credits in the previous year of study, with 60 credits being the standard full-time annual course load. Students who meet this criterion will continue to study tuition-free; and those who do not meet this criterion will be charged different tuition amounts, proportionally to the number of ECTS they are missing below the 55 credit target.

While there is no state regulation for maximum tuition levels across different institutions, the subsidy that the Ministry of Science, Education and Sports pays to the public higher education institutions for each student is fixed, regardless of the field of study. The prediction is that around 70,000 students per year would benefit from this appropriation of 34,090,000 (70,000 students x 487). The amount is secured within the state budget until 2015. The Ministry of Science, Education and Sports will allow for an increase in the subsidies up to 10 percent yearly per institution, but the increase of enrollment quotas beyond 5 percent per year will not be allowed.

The government's rationale for this new system is that more students would be able to study without paying tuition. However, the real impact of this policy decision is yet to be seen, as 487 for student per year paid by the Ministry of Science, Education and Sports is significantly lower than the 1,174 of average yearly tuition charged by Croatian universities before the implementation of this linear model. Concerns have been raised across the academic community regarding the possibility that, within this new system, universities might increase tuition rates for students who do not meet the 55 credit criterion to make up for the substantial loss in tuition money. If such a scenario happens, the total financial burden on students could prove to be even greater than before the new system was introduced.

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## MERIT-BASED VS. NEED-BASED SUPPORT SYSTEM

This entirely meritocratic system does not take into account the fact that students coming from lower socioeconomic backgrounds might not have the same academic preparation, when entering college, and thus have greater difficulty obtaining the number of ECTS credits necessary for the tuition waiver after the first year of study. Another major problem for these students is the fact that there is no need-based student aid available, nor does a student loan system exist in Croatia. Many studies have found that grants and loans are crucial for offsetting the negative consequences of tuition and fees, especially for vulnerable and underrepresented social groups. Furthermore, even if these students meet the merit criteria and are not charged tuition, they would still have other out-of-pocket expenses—such as books, housing, dining and other living expenses, which might deter them from enrolling in college if there is no financial support available to offset these costs.

## IMPACT AND POTENTIAL FOR ADOPTION BY OTHER COUNTRIES

This tuition-charging model based on the accumulation of ECTS credits certainly presents an interesting and innovative approach within the Bologna system, and it seems that no other country has implemented a similar model. However, the lack of comparative perspective and the general difficulty of obtaining institutional level student data in Croatia make the assessment of the potential impacts of this policy on both students and higher education institutions rather problematic. Nonetheless, this example may be worth considering by other countries where student aid and loan systems are inadequate or nonexistent, which is notably the case in the post transition countries of central and eastern Europe. This model does provide incentives for student performance (i.e., addresses issues of merit), and if a country is able to establish at least a basic need-based grant system for its most vulnerable and at-risk student populations, this approach could have the potential to greatly improve student access and lead to a more equitable higher education.

# PART 4

# HIGHER EDUCATION, THE STATE,
# AND THE MARKET

# INTRODUCTION

Since Burton Clark's famous triangle of coordination was introduced in 1983, higher education researchers have been fascinated with the relation between higher education, the state, and the market. Questions about the steering mechanisms of higher education, the relation between key actors, and whose goals higher education should meet govern this inquiry. This section features contributions concerned with this very topic.

The section begins with a discussion of the question "What makes a good higher education minister?" Written by Julien Jacqmin and Mathieu Lefebvre, this piece explores whether education ministers with academic experience perform better on a number of outcomes, including funding allocation and the position of national universities on international rankings. Our second article discusses the economic goals and the achievements of higher education in low-income contexts; Rebecca Schendel, Tristan McCowan, and Moses Oketch try to raise awareness about the non-monetary goals and outcomes of higher education, suggesting that higher education is more than a tool for the market. Often, the connections among higher education, the state, and the market are best explored through discourses around innovation and technological developments, and the appropriate policy tools to promote such higher education outputs. In the next article, Watu Wamae discusses the need to develop science indicators on the African continent and to better design policies that promote innovation. Indeed, in today's globalized higher education systems, state actors become internationalized themselves. The article written by Ard Jongsma highlights the policy decisions of the European Commission—an increasingly involved supranational actor—and related higher education implications. Finally, we highlight how the involvement of national governments may have consequences for multiple subsectors of the higher education enterprise; the last article in this section discusses the different national policy approaches in the U.S. and Canada towards international higher education. While in the case of the U.S., international education is viewed as a soft diplomacy tool, aimed at increasing national security, in the Canadian context it is national economic competitiveness driving the expansion of international education.

Works highlighted here capture some of the intricacies of higher education policy making and the disproportionate focus on economic and market outcomes within the higher education arena. However, important aspects of the relation between higher education, the state, and the market are missing. For instance, the shift in funding streams for higher education from nation states to markets, and the increased impacts of management tools (traditionally used in the private sector) to govern higher education are not emphasized here. Therefore, we consider this section to be a complement to the previous collection of contributions focused on funding.

JULIEN JACQMIN AND MATHIEU LEFEBVRE

# 18. GLOBAL: WHAT MAKES A GOOD HIGHER EDUCATION MINISTER?

*University World News, 8 April 2016, Issue 408*

Academia is a rather awkward sector to (ad)minister. It is home to peculiarities such as academic tenure, peer-reviewed publications, and shared governance. Its higher education institutions are a key engine for local economies and they also play an increasingly active role at an international level, linked both to their teaching and research activities. Having experience of daily life within academia can be an asset if you are a higher education minister in charge of regulating the system. We have recently been studying whether higher education ministers with a background in academia as a lecturer, a dean or a rector perform relatively better than those who don't have that first-hand experience.

To study this question, we have explored data about past European higher education ministers and higher education characteristics. We have found that past sector-specific experience does indeed matter, although only in specific conditions. Comparing higher education systems is a complicated task as there are no representative and meaningful benchmarks such as a PISA—Program for International Student Assessment—ranking at the tertiary level. University rankings offer a limited perspective of the sector. They only focus on top research output mainly for the scientific disciplines done at the very best universities. Despite this narrowness, we used the results of the Shanghai ranking as a standardised measure to compare how past ministers were able to keep and attract top-notch researchers. We also controlled for various country-related characteristics (such as the state of the economy, the level of political decentralisation in the country, the importance of private higher education institutions and the level of expenditure on higher education). We observed that, on average, countries with a minister with sector-specific experience tended to do a better job.

There are several reasons. First, they have expertise in the sector. Universities are rather peculiar institutions. Having experienced them from the inside teaches you the foundations and values on which they are based. This can be an advantage when initiating reforms to help them evolve in the right way. Second, social capital accumulated in the past could be useful when communicating with the sector. Third, during his/her first days in office, this background in academia sends a credible signal about his/her competences and skills. This can placate some academics who

might have a certain antipathy towards government. He/she was, and might still be in the near future, one of them!

## POLITICAL NOUS

In addition to this, we found that having experience of life in academe had no impact on the funding received by the sector. Several academic works have recently argued that both money and well-functioning institutions are needed to improve the performance of the system. This suggests to us that these leaders have an impact through improving the way institutions work rather than on the way they are financed. Based on this research, should we parachute an academic in to fill the higher education seat in cabinet? We argue that this is not a good idea. Another characteristic is important: the minister's political background as measured by their past successful electoral experience. We found that our results are true for ministers who have some experience in academia and in the political world. Academia is very complex, but so is the political arena. This fact should not be overlooked. Even though we should be cautious about making firm conclusions based on our empirical analysis, we can start to sketch some of the desirable characteristics of a higher education minister. They should preferably be someone with hands-on insight into the higher education system, but also someone who feels at ease navigating their way through the political maze.

REBECCA SCHENDEL, TRISTAN MCCOWAN
AND MOSES OKETCH

# 19. GLOBAL: THE ECONOMIC AND NONECONOMIC BENEFITS OF TERTIARY EDUCATION IN LOW-INCOME CONTEXTS

There have been debates around the social impact of tertiary education in developing countries for decades. In the late 1980s, a series of studies commissioned by the World Bank seemed to indicate that, in developing contexts, investment in tertiary education would yield a much lower social return than that in lower levels of education. In contexts where primary education was scarce and illiteracy was rampant, there was a clear economic argument for prioritizing basic education to fuel economic growth. These economic arguments were also supported by social justice concerns that emphasized the ways in which university admissions processes disadvantaged marginalized groups. In contexts where only a small proportion of the population reaches university, advocates for prioritizing funding for primary education have long argued that public support for higher education is likely to perpetuate socioeconomic divisions within society. Although these concerns were valid in many contexts, the unfortunate result was a reduction in both international aid and domestic funding for tertiary education in many low-income contexts, a decision that triggered a "crisis of quality" across the sector.

However, shifts in the nature of production associated with globalization and the rise of the "knowledge economy," as well as increasing demand as a result of expanding primary and secondary enrollment, have redirected international attention to the importance of tertiary education in development. Development agencies and national governments are now considering renewing their financial commitment to tertiary education; and, as a result, the question of impact has returned to the discourse. In line with these developments, the Institute of Education, University of London, was recently commissioned by the UK Department for International Development to complete a rigorous review of the evidence of how tertiary education impacts development in lower-income contexts. Although the findings of the review may not always be surprising for those working in the field of international higher education, a number of important social functions of the university have been highlighted that have not been sufficiently emphasized in debates around public funding for tertiary education in the developing world.

## ECONOMIC BENEFITS

In terms of the economic benefits of tertiary education, the review yielded some significant and, in some ways, unexpected findings. The most robust finding was the clear impact that tertiary education appears to have on the individual earnings of graduates. Although this may appear an obvious point, there has not always been a strong relationship between higher education and higher earnings in low-income contexts. However, the findings of the review suggest that, as increasing numbers of young people access lower levels of education, the earnings of higher education graduates have also increased. The review also yielded important evidence of the impact of higher education on economic growth (typically measured as per capita gross domestic product). Given the mixed evidence in the literature around the respective contribution of different levels of education to economic growth, there is a clear link between the proportion of individuals with higher education and growth; and some studies suggest that tertiary education may have a greater impact on growth than lower levels.

## NONECONOMIC BENEFITS

In addition to economic benefits, the review also highlighted the substantial non-economic benefits that tertiary education contributes to society. Although the evidence is limited, what exists clearly demonstrates that tertiary education has a positive effect on individual graduate capabilities in a range of different areas—including political participation, health and nutrition, and women's empowerment. The review also identified a number of studies that demonstrate how tertiary education strengthens institutions—such as civil society organizations, governments, and public services—and positively impacts social norms and attitudes toward concepts such as democracy and environmental protection.

## GAPS IN THE EVIDENCE

Overall, the review exposed a significant lack of robust empirical evidence of impact in less-resourced contexts. Although there is a lot of literature that discusses impact, much of it is normative. From an initial list of nearly 7,000 titles, only 99 studies were included in the final synthesis. Within the existing literature, the body of evidence relating to the economic benefits of tertiary education is substantially larger than that relating to the noneconomic benefits. More research is clearly needed into the ways in which tertiary education contributes to human development in low-income contexts beyond measures of economic growth.

There is also a clear gap in the evidence around the ways in which different conditions affect impact. While many studies investigate the way that tertiary institutions and systems function, very few consider how the manner in which institutions function impacts development. For example, there is little evidence of how

public versus private provision—or how particular models of curriculum or modes of delivery (e.g., distance education versus face-to-face)—influence developmental outcomes. There is also little evidence of the impact of changes in other mediating conditions, such as the nature of the job market or the policy environment. Without evidence of how different conditions affect development outcomes, external agencies and national governments run the risk of supporting interventions and reforms that may not ultimately make a positive contribution. Conditions likely to act as barriers to impact include: insufficient primary and secondary education; low quality of teaching and research; limited academic freedom; and inequality of access and opportunities within the tertiary sector. As these conditions are often the norm in low-income contexts, the lack of impact observed in some of the included studies is likely to be the result of such barriers. A supplementary overview of studies assessing interventions funded by external agencies suggests that the most frequent intervention models do not directly address the principal barriers to impact. This finding carries significant implications for reform efforts across the developing world.

In recent years, widespread interest in revitalizing tertiary institutions in low-income contexts has been expressed. This interest has largely been inspired by the notion that tertiary education can be an "engine of development" and reflects an understanding that circumstances are changing in many lower-income contexts. As increasing numbers of young people complete primary and secondary education—and as the youth population surges across the globe—tertiary education is positioned as being crucial for economic development. This review supports such assertions. However, it also highlights the diverse noneconomic benefits that should also be acknowledged and considered in the development of policy.

WATU WAMAE

# 20. AFRICA: CONTINENT NEEDS ITS OWN SCIENCE INDICATORS

*University World News, 10 July 2011, Issue 179*

Evidence-based indicators in science, technology, and innovation (STI) help governments across the world to formulate policies and identify opportunities for development. The second round of a survey designed to capture such indicators across Africa, a project sponsored by SIDA, was recently launched in Ethiopia. But if STI indicators are to contribute effectively to a sustainable path towards social and technological transformation, they need to be sensitive to the African context. Comparisons of indicators such as research and development (R&D) expenditure between African countries must not dominate policy discussions. Besides, Africa is not well served by borrowing indicators from other regions. There is no point in simply reinventing the wheel, but Africa must develop measures of STI activity that accurately reflect African economies and experiences that are likely to be neglected because existing methods to capture them are lacking. In particular, we need to understand how to convert beneficial technologies into tangible benefits in Africa, and how to capture traditional as well as modern knowledge.

## COLLECTING THE RIGHT DATA

To develop effective indicators, African nations must first establish what resources they have and how to make the most of them. Most African economies are dominated by agriculture, although some resource-rich countries have industries such as petroleum exploration or mining of minerals. In the current context of rapidly emerging economies such as China, the demand for natural resources will continue to grow, and these industries will continue to expand.

This demand is closely connected to the boom in the development of infrastructure across Africa, such as roads and ports, providing opportunities not only for economic activity but also for learning about technology and applying scientific knowledge. Ensuring that this development benefits people requires STI indicators that can help policy-makers stimulate innovation in these sectors. Existing methods of data collection provide neat and tidy indicators for manufacturing, among other sectors, but this is clearly not the main driver of most economies in Africa. And although it is important to strengthen manufacturing, this must not come at the expense of

other key sectors, such as agriculture, health, extractive industries, and infrastructure development, even though these areas lag behind in useful methods for data collection and analysis.

## CAPTURING COMPLEXITY

Across Sub-Saharan Africa, the contribution of manufacturing to national income has not risen since the 1960s when it stood at 15%. In Kenya, for example, manufacturing accounts for 12% of national income, roughly half the contribution from agriculture (25%)—and Kenya has one of the strongest manufacturing sectors on the continent. Agriculture can involve the use of sophisticated technologies. And vegetables such as French beans and snow peas grown in Kenya are on supermarket shelves across Europe within 24 hours of being harvested. But like other sectors, agriculture straddles the formal and informal economies. It also draws on both modern and traditional knowledge. The STI indicators used must capture this duality of knowledge systems, as well as the informality of the economic activity. Agricultural innovation often results from work in research institutes, but also from the ingenuity of farmers, including those in remote areas, who use and adapt new ideas to suit their needs. These innovators are often part of informal networks that pool ideas and expertise, using them in novel ways to meet specific challenges.

This complexity raises the question of how STI indicators should be developed to capture innovative activity that is highly fragmented and informal, and that often goes undetected by existing processes. I am not suggesting that those responsible for collecting STI data should single-handedly deal with these issues. There must be broader national ownership of processes to develop such indicators in a systemic, strategic way. People need to understand that, like a national census, the collection of STI data is useful, meaningful and deserving of their cooperation.

## BENEFICIAL TECHNOLOGIES

Another major gap in Africa's STI system is the lack of specialised capabilities for innovation—the process of converting knowledge to tangible benefits for people and communities. This transformation depends on human capabilities or skills that can connect scientific output to local demand for solutions to existing problems. Without these capabilities, the products of scientific research will just gather dust. Policy-makers have tended to focus on capabilities for research and development to promote STI. But we need to give serious attention to the capabilities needed to translate the outputs from R&D into usable and accessible solutions to existing problems challenges, such as technical, engineering and managerial skills. Producing STI indicators that overlook these capabilities is not likely to lead to evidence-based policies that can effectively leverage innovation for development.

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Innovation is not just a technical process, but also a social and economic process of introducing beneficial technologies and helping countries achieve development. This is important for the shift from R&D as a determinant of progress to the broader perspective of innovation as a process of social transformation. STI indicators must provide policy-makers with the means to formulate evidence-based policy that is effective in mobilising innovation for development.

ARD JONGSMA

# 21. EUROPE: HE CHIEF HOPES BUNDLING PROGRAMMES WILL PULL IN MORE LEARNERS

*University World News, 8 July 2012, Issue 229*

Proposals to bundle all European education and training support programmes into a single programme are entering a decisive stage, as European ministers have accepted the majority of the European Commission's outline and the European Parliament is set to discuss further details during the remainder of the year. What looks certain now is that from 2014 the European Union will have one huge education and training support programme for the period 2014–2020, covering all levels of education while breaking down the sector and geographical boundaries that have separated earlier programmes.

In the past decade, European support to education and training has increasingly been criticised for being a hotchpotch of programmes, actions and budgets. Every time a need arose, a new initiative was launched. In this way Erasmus, Socrates, Tempus, and Leonardo came to live side by side with a host of smaller support actions. But this extreme compartmentalisation linearly opposed the holistic, lifelong learning mantra that the European Commission heavily promoted throughout the same period. It should therefore come as no surprise that Jordi Curell, who heads higher education in the European Commission's education and training directorate DG-EAC, laughs when he is asked whether there is a hidden policy message in the bundling of the programmes: "Well I hope it is not too hidden because that is the policy message indeed!" he says. "We believe education and training support has more impact if it is treated in a holistic manner. That means not just grouping together all support to the different education and training sectors but also linking this to our work on informal and non-formal learning."

DRAMATIC INCREASE IN SUPPORT BUDGET

The proposals for a new programme are not just an effort to streamline education support by the European Commission. The proposed €19 billion budget also represents a real and quite dramatic increase in reach. A massive five million people are projected to benefit from mobility made possible through the new programme. Among these are 2.2 million higher education students, an increase of almost 50% compared to the current situation (2007–2013). For vocational students, the number

of young people sent abroad on the back of a grant is projected to be doubled and exceed 700,000. Out of the €19 billion, €1.8 billion is earmarked for cooperation with non-EU countries. Only two entirely new actions have been proposed. These are a loan scheme for postgraduate students and 200 'knowledge alliances' which, according to Curell, are to further strengthen the links between the worlds of learning and work—an area that in speech and writing the commission has promoted heavily in recent years but has not been able to support with such a dedicated initiative until now. We will write in more detail about these new actions in a future University World News article.

## A FLEXIBLE TOOL PROMOTING COOPERATION

On paper, the new setup will give the commission a powerful and most of all flexible tool for promoting vertical cooperation in education and training. If no fixed allocations are earmarked for different traditional education sectors, such as higher education or vocational training, their interaction can and will be promoted with financial carrots. "It is true that we want this flexibility. In higher education, we want it particularly to make universities reach out to non-traditional learners, such as adult learners who are already in the labour market and are attracted back into education," Curell says.

But also in other areas it will open new opportunities for closer cooperation across education sectors that better fit the lifelong learning philosophy through, for example, new varieties of the current Leonardo Multilateral Projects that can be supported without being limited to a fixed set of subject areas. Also, geographically the arguments for grouping actions into one bigger and more coherent programme have become stronger and stronger in the past decades. "In higher education, international strategies today make little distinction between cooperation with other EU countries or universities in, say, Morocco, the US or even China. Linking into this trend made sense for us too," says Curell.

## COORDINATION OF THE NEW PROGRAMME

The new programme will undoubtedly have consequences for the national coordination of programme support. While in the past there were Tempus offices, national agencies and other coordinating units for European education programmes, these have increasingly but not entirely and not everywhere been grouped together. "In our original documents, we proposed one national coordination body in each country," says Curell. "This was not approved by the European ministers when they discussed our proposals under the Danish presidency in May." The commission will likely defend the coordination of all activities through one agency though, as anything else would counter the envisaged positive effect of bringing together all education support and would belie the entire underlying philosophy of approaching learning in a more holistic manner. "In practice, however, it now looks as if member

states are only ready to accept promoting the grouping of national coordination bodies, rather than making it compulsory," Curell says.

Across Europe, there seems to be broad support for the idea of moving towards one large programme for support to innovation in learning. What is less well understood and even joked about is the choice of the proposed name: *Erasmus for All*. One commission worker who unfortunately refused to drop the shroud of anonymity quipped that it was "a shame they already burnt Leonardo on a vocational programme", hinting that the renaissance jack-of-all-trades would have made a better model for the lifelong learning paradigm than a scholarly Dutchman.

But Curell defends the use of the name for a wholly different and more mundane reason. "Branding is very difficult and we realise that some people are perhaps not overly happy with the proposed name. Indeed, Erasmus is associated with higher education, but more than that it is associated with mobility. "It is one of the most popular and well-known EU brands today. It is perceived as a success story and that's what in the end made Commissioner [Androulla] Vassiliou suggest this name," he says. The proposals now have to travel through the EU bureaucracy before the new programme can materialise.

In May, the Council of (EU) Ministers (of education) adopted what is called a 'partial general agreement'. This means that they agreed on large parts of the text—the most notable exceptions being the €19 billion budget and budget distribution, the abovementioned national coordination bodies and the references to a student loan guarantee facility. Discussions in the European Parliament have started only recently and are time-consuming. The first discussions take place in the culture and education committee on the basis of consultations with stakeholders. Subsequently the rapporteur will present a draft report in which committee members can propose changes and on the basis of which other parliamentary committees are consulted. Then comes an actual vote in the culture and education committee before, finally, the report needs to be adopted in a plenary session.

ROOPA DESAI TRILOKEKAR

# 22. NORTH AMERICA: FROM 'SOFT POWER' TO 'ECONOMIC DIPLOMACY'

*University World News, 20 June 2014, Issue 325*

The absence of a federal ministry of education and the largely circumscribed role of the federal government in education in both the United States and Canada result in international education policy falling between the cracks of federal (foreign-international affairs) and state-provincial (higher education) responsibility. The two jurisdictions thus provide an interesting comparative context to examine factors shaping the federal role in international education and consequently its influence on higher education.

## HISTORICAL ROOTS IN THE US AND CANADA

The term 'international education' has deeper and wider roots in US federal history starting as early as the 1940s with the establishment of the Institute of International Education, or IIE, and the initiation of its key flagship Fulbright exchange programme. The 1950s saw the creation of the National Defense Act and with it the establishment of international centres, programmes, and administrative titles within US institutions. In the 1960s the Canadian federal government initiated its efforts and the first international office on a university campus was established. The federal government engaged Canadian universities in international development assistance programmes, largely in response to the country's position as a middle power, post World War II, and its foreign policy of 'humane internationalism'.

The US federal government continued expanding its investments in international educational and cultural exchanges throughout the 1960s and supported university student and scholar mobility, technical assistance-educational cooperation, and curriculum, language and area study programmes. While the nature of these federal programmes depended on a close association between the federal government and academic faculty and institutions in the US, such direct federal government involvement in higher education and engagement of academics in foreign policy was considered unacceptable in Canada.

## CHANGING POLICY CONTEXTS

US federal policy rationale shifted in the Cold War period—the 1970s. From an objective of promoting mutual understanding and world peace, cultural and

educational exchanges and initiatives such as the new Title VI programme were seen as tools to secure national interests and promote anti-communist and pro-America sentiments. The Canadian government was also invested in promoting its image abroad, but in the context of establishing a strong Canadian national identity and strengthening the 'Canadianisation' of higher education against US influence. It thus created Canadian studies programmes abroad and committed to a focus on cultural diplomacy. The 1980s and 1990s marked a new era for both the US and Canadian federal governments' involvement in international education. The post-Cold War period challenged the US to 're-invent' diplomacy and carve out a new global role.

Soon the rhetoric of globalisation and a global knowledge-based economy meant that both governments were invested in building national economic competitiveness through international mobility and recruitment of highly qualified and highly skilled talent. For the first time, there was close alignment of policy orientations between the two governments. The economic rationale for international education took prominence, the federal governments' interests were greatly influenced by domestic agendas, and a more instrumental view on higher education to meet national objectives took hold. In Canada, a wide range of new immigration regulations was introduced to make Canada more attractive for international students and scholars. The Canadian federal government established an Educational Marketing Unit within Foreign Affairs and supported new Canadian educational marketing centres abroad; the 'bullish' focus on international trade in Canadian foreign policy penetrated education, now seen as an export industry.

## SEPTEMBER 11 AND INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION

September 11, 2001 dramatically changed the landscape of international education in the US, and is often referred to as a 'period of crisis'. International education came to be viewed by the US federal government as a risk to national security. Restrictive immigration and visa policies and processes diminished the attractiveness and accessibility of US higher education to international students and scholars, to the benefit of countries like Canada.

In Canada, the demands to fill domestic labour market shortages further strengthened the government's resolve to both recruit the 'best and brightest' international students and retain them as immigrants. A strong policy hook, this rationale ultimately resulted in the Canadian federal government's 2014 announcement of its first-ever international education strategy. Paradoxically, post 9/11, international educational and exchange programmes in the US received a boost through its federal government's public diplomacy efforts to strengthen America's image and understanding in the world while also increasing America's understanding of the rest of the world.

## GOVERNMENT AND INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION POLICY

In both the US and Canada, higher education is the primary responsibility of the state or provincial governments; however, the federal governments have always invested

in international education under the aegis of their federal role in foreign policy and responsibility to protect national interests. But the nature of these federal investments has been distinctly different. In the US, the federal government has worked directly with faculty and higher education institutions to develop scholarships and curricula, and set up international research centres. The level and scope of funding has also meant greater dependence of US institutions on federal funds for international activities. In Canada, the federal government steered away from direct funding and support of initiatives for Canadian faculty and higher education institutions, and focused on overseas institutions. As a result, Canadian universities have had to rely on their own resources for developing their international activities; some universities have invested even larger amounts than the federal government. The Canadian approach has also meant minimal input and engagement of academics in the federal government's policy initiatives; while the US approach could raise flags on government interference with institutional autonomy and academic freedom.

## SOFT DIPLOMACY

A clear distinction can be made between the two federal governments' overall policy orientations, which have changed over time. The US approach has been more closely aligned with 'soft power diplomacy', where international education supports aims of national security and America's geopolitical interests as a 'super power'. The Canadian approach, begun initially as soft power cultural diplomacy, transformed into 'economic diplomacy', where international education supports international trade and domestic economic agendas.

What is most interesting is that the US 'soft power' approach results in an international education agenda supporting the internationalisation of the academic curriculum, encouraging mobility and more broadly supporting 'internationalisation at home'. The Canadian 'economic diplomacy' approach results in an exclusive focus on the marketing of Canadian higher education and international student recruitment and retention strategy: a rather risky proposition for Canadian higher education as proven by the experiences of other jurisdictions, such as Australia.

In conclusion, while the federal role in international education falls within the realm of foreign policy, the specific approach to diplomacy—often determined by a nation's geo-political location, its characteristics and specificities—ultimately determines the nature of the federal role, its engagement with academics and higher education institutions, and its subsequent impacts on the higher education sector.

# PART 5

# HIGHER EDUCATION IN A WORLD OF THREATS

# INTRODUCTION

Often, higher education is affected by the external threats that challenge society at large, spanning from large scale human conflicts to devastating natural disasters. This section, highlighting what many consider some of the most pressing crises in the education sector, assembles powerful examples of university and higher education system resilience.

The first article, written by Iván F. Pacheco and Ane Turner Johnson, discusses the role that higher education institutions play in peacebuilding, with a particular focus on the cases of Colombia and Kenya. Both countries have been affected by violent ongoing internal conflicts. This piece argues cogently that peacebuilding should become an ongoing mission of higher education institutions. Indeed, today's internal conflicts have implications beyond national borders. Most recently, this has become visible and pressing in the context of the civil unrest in Syria. As refugees were finding their way to safety, many European countries expressed concern regarding the support they were able and willing to offer to displaced populations. Hans de Wit and Philip Altbach offer an analysis of this situation and a call to action on the responsibility of universities to offer increased access to refugee students, faculty, and visiting scholars. In a related article, Terje Mørland and Stig Arne Skjerven discuss the need to have a more streamlined education recognition procedures for refugees, in the form of a European Qualifications Passport for Refugees.

Often, higher education not only responds to external threats and challenges, but offers constructive solutions to such events. Research conducted at universities around the world has been crucial to making sense of the senseless, and offering tools to create a better and more peaceful world. Matthew Francis discusses some of the contributions made by academic research in better understanding the emergence of the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria. Rafia Zakaria brings attention to ongoing security concerns that campuses in Pakistan are facing due to the Taliban threats. His article also queries the mission of universities (as spaces for higher learning) with respect to challenges both physical and ideological. Sometimes universities are targeted by extremist groups because of the very values they stand for. This has been the case in Nigeria, where Boko Haram has explicitly targeted students and lecturers. Tunde Fatunde describes the fear and precautionary measures that gripped campuses in the country following an attack at the campus of Federal College of Education, where 13 people died. Sometimes, the external threats that affect higher education are not human made. In 2011, Japan was devastated by an earthquake and tsunami; Kazuko Suematsu discusses the effects that this natural calamity had on the higher education sector of the country as well as the lessons learned. Finally, John Woods tells the story of the Virginia Tech shooting and calls for a ban on arm on U.S. campuses, a reminder that external threats occur in all parts of the world.

Together, the articles in this section tell a story of resilience and awareness. Higher education institutions are embedded in their contexts, and face the same challenges that society faces. In a world of threats, universities have the added mission of making sense of such events and building a culture of peace and solidarity for all constituents involved.

IVÁN F. PACHECO AND ANE TURNER JOHNSON

# 23. GLOBAL: HIGHER EDUCATION CONFLICT AND POSTCONFLICT CONDITIONS: COLOMBIA AND KENYA

*International Higher Education, Winter 2014, Number 74*

What role have universities played during armed conflict and postconflict? International organizations, such as UNESCO and the World Bank, have acknowledged the importance of higher education for economic development. They have also stressed the importance of economic development to achieve peace in conflict affected nations. However, the connection between higher education and peace building remains largely unexplored.

The cases of Colombia and Kenya can shed some light on this issue. These countries have many characteristics in common, as well as important differences. Both of them are medium size countries, they have similar number of inhabitants (Colombia, 47 million; Kenya, 42 million), and have suffered internal armed conflict. Colombia, which is currently considered a middle-income country, has been a relatively stable, yet a very imperfect democracy since 1819 (with a dictatorial episode between 1953 and 1958). Kenya, a low to middle income country, achieved its independence in 1963 from the British and has experienced political tumult—with aborted coup attempts, dictatorial presidential regimes, and general election unrest in 1992 and 1997. In 2007–2008, Kenya experienced yet another contentious election campaign that resulted in the deaths of over 1,500 people and the displacement of at least 300,000 Kenyans. The risk of violence continues as Kenya ranks 22nd on a list of 163 countries vulnerable to instability and conflict.

## COLOMBIA

Colombia's armed conflict started in 1964. It is considered a low intensity conflict and affects mostly the rural areas of the country. Unlike other armed conflicts, the Colombian educational system has not been dismantled as a consequence of the confrontation. However, the impact of the conflict in higher education is undeniable, and while the media gives some attention to the riots, infiltration, and effects of the conflict on universities, the efforts from many higher education institutions and their communities to build peace or to help people affected by the conflict rarely make it to the headlines.

Colombian higher education institutions have contributed to the demobilization of former combatants. Some public universities (e.g., Distrital, Pedagógica, and del Valle) admitted groups (about 200 people each) of demobilized guerrillas as regular students. Today, most public universities and some private ones have special quotas for demobilized combatants, forcedly displaced people, and veterans of the regular forces who have been decorated or have been seriously wounded in combat. For those who do not have the credentials to be admitted in higher education programs, some higher education institutions have created nonformal education programs, to train them in specific crafts so they can make a living.

Under the umbrella concepts of service and extension (outreach), many Colombian universities have developed programs to benefit displaced people, demobilized soldiers, or the communities in which they live. University clinics providing legal advice and representation, psychological guidance, and other services are very common. A few universities have projects on victims' memory recovery, including a radio program (Universidad Santo Tomas' "La Palabra Tiene la Palabra"), a Web page created to honor those leaders of land restitution processes (http://www.estatierraesmia.co/) or a spin off foundation from the Universidad Sergio Arboleda, to make victims visible.

## KENYA

The violence of the 2007–2008 presidential elections manifested predominantly in Nairobi, the Rift Valley, and the western and coast regions of the country. During the recent crisis, public services ground to halt, with many universities forced to close their doors. Yet, the impact of the election violence on higher education in Kenya has been virtually ignored by both the media and the scholarship. Even the famous Waki Report neglects to address the universities in any substantive manner. However, many administrators and faculty at public institutions in Kenya attempted to ameliorate the impact of the crisis, on campus and in the surrounding communities.

The epicenter of the conflict, Nairobi, is home to many higher education institutions, as well as two major public universities—Kenyatta University and the University of Nairobi. At these universities, activities, processes, and new practices related to conflict transformation occurred both throughout the conflict and post conflict. Attempts were made at both institutions to cut across conflict lines through conflict resolution workshops, as well as by providing charity to campus stakeholders affected by the conflict. At Kenyatta, the outreach office became central to the charity efforts—providing clothing and food to students and staff. Finally, university staff at both institutions reported a shift in their thinking, regarding the role of the university in society, capitalizing on the shared identity of those at the institution through counseling sessions with students and staff alike. At the University of Nairobi, administrators described seeking to disrupt misinformation campaigns that would incite violence on campus through peer counseling, involving student leaders and student led organizations. Moreover, the universities attempted

to contain potentially volatile issues that may have led to violence on campus—such as insisting upon tuition payment during the crisis, by deferring fees for students.

Recently, Kenyatta University opened a branch campus in the Dadaab refugee camp, in the northeastern province of Kenya, home to both Somali refugees and the internally displaced, bringing hope to many in the camp. The branch campus brings graduate and undergraduate programs in Project Management, Public Administration, Finance, and Education to Dadaab, considered the largest refugee camp in the world. Research consistently shows that increased investment in education drives down the potential for conflict; therefore, when refugees are repatriated, they will bring with them the knowledge and skills to rebuild a more peaceful society. As a result of the conflict and the universities attempts to redress its impact, institutions in Kenya have begun to acknowledge their agency in peace building and, subsequently, development.

## CONCLUSION

The armed conflict has affected higher education in both countries—in the Kenyan case, to the point of producing temporary closure of some universities. However, the impact of the conflict in higher education and, mostly, the potential contribution of higher education to the construction of peace have been, in general, ignored.

One important point in common to both countries is that conflict transformation efforts started during the conflict stage; universities did not wait until the end of the conflict, or the signing of a truce or a peace agreement, to start their peace building efforts. Peace building efforts have taken many shapes: from charity activities organized as outreach for the university community, to contributing to social and economic development; from conflict resolution workshops, to unemployment buffering through higher and nonformal education; from contributing to the demobilization of combatants, to the provision of higher education in refugee camps.

Peace building, as a role of higher education, must be more than just a reaction to conflict, it must be infused into the purpose of higher education in fragile states. Providing opportunities to universities to play a role in peace building and funding university activities in conflict abatement may contribute to a new discourse and sustainable responses to violence.

HANS DE WIT AND PHILIP G. ALTBACH

# 24. EUROPE: THE SYRIAN REFUGEE CRISIS AND HIGHER EDUCATION

*International Higher Education, Winter 2016, Number 84*

The rapidly escalating refugee crisis in Europe has been dominating the international news for several weeks, but surprisingly it is only very recently that the higher education community has become alert to its role and to the considerable dilemmas it will have to face. It is relevant to speculate about the needs and challenges of higher education as a result of this crisis.

The massive exodus of refugees, primarily from Syria, but also from Eritrea, Libya, Afghanistan, the Kurdish territories, and Iraq, numbering in the hundreds of thousands, must be added to already significant numbers trying over the years to move from Africa to Europe. The motivations for this massive migration are both political and economic: the refugees are escaping terrorism, civil war, and poverty in the countries they come from. Over the past several years the attempts of African refugees to cross the Mediterranean have been mainly perceived as a human tragedy resulting from economic hardship, and have received limited support from receiving countries and their communities and governments. The new influx of refugees from the Middle East, in particular Syria, seem to receive a more positive response, at least in Western Europe, although less so in some Central and Eastern European countries such as Hungary.

## THE HUMAN CAPITAL POTENTIAL OF MIDDLE EAST REFUGEES

Why is that the case? In the first place, refugees from Syria escape a country where both the Assad government and Islamic State commit terrible crimes against the local population. They are perceived more as political victims (which fuels sympathy in the receiving countries), than as economic refugees. Refugees from Iraq and the Kurdish territories are seen in similar ways. In addition, and this is where education enters the equation, refugees from Syria, Iraq, and the Kurdish areas are perceived to be better educated and therefore, potentially easier to integrate into society and the labor market in the receiving countries. In the current competition for talent, these refugees are not only seen as victims and a cost factor for the local economy, but in the long run also as welcome new talent for the knowledge economy.

Many media reports feature articulate, English-speaking young professionals from the Middle East expressing their hopes to continue their education or obtain skilled jobs and contribute to European economies.

While struggling with issues of quotas and capacity, Germany is grasping this potential, and other European countries are also beginning to frame their policies in more sophisticated ways. Although the humanitarian factor is understandably dominant in current official statements, the German authorities also make it clear that these refugees can also be an asset for Germany and other European countries in the short and particularly the longer term. German universities are expecting to accept approximately 10,000 of the 800,000 refugees that are now entering the country.

At least for now, there is little discussion about potential "brain drain" problems for Syria and Iraq. The immediate challenges overshadow long-term consequences, and in any case, most European and other industrialized countries have shown little moral concern about retaining talent from poorer countries. The literature is filled with discussions of "stay rates" and utilizing foreign talent, without regard for the needs of the countries of origin. While one may hope that well educated Syrians and Iraqis will return home when the situation improves, statistics show that relatively few refugees actually do that.

## RESPONSIBILITIES, CHALLENGES, AND OPPORTUNITIES OF THE ACADEMIC COMMUNITY

In a few countries, students, academics, universities, and governments are beginning to explore ways to integrate young Syrian and other Middle East academic refugees, students and no doubt also scholars and teachers into the educational system. This can be done by increasing the number of scholarships, speeding up the credential evaluation process, and providing language training and facilities such as dormitories. Organizations like the German Academic Exchange Service-DAAD, EP-Nuffic in the Netherlands, and the Institute of International Education in the United States can play an important role in getting the refugee issue on the higher education agenda— and advocate for scholarships and logistical help.

The universities themselves are of central importance. They can act quickly and independently in many ways. They can cut red tape relating to the admissions process, open study places for refugee students, and provide counselling and other services to traumatized students and their families. Since most students will lack appropriate credentials, universities can, through testing and other means, determine appropriate placement for students. In many cases, language and cultural training will be required.

All of this requires the commitment of human and financial resources. In a time of financial stress, this will not be an easy task. Governments, NGOs, and organizations such as the European Union can, and should, help.

One additional challenge must be mentioned, since it is a major concern of governments in the United States and the United Kingdom, and perhaps elsewhere.

It is the need to provide some assurance that refugees admitted to universities are genuinely focused on education and will not turn out to be security risks. For Americans especially, the memories of 9/11 remain strong.

The universities themselves will find that a positive response to this crisis will also yield significant benefits in terms of internationalizing the campus and providing the academic communities with opportunities for social engagement. There are also plans to create special universities for refugees in the region. There are apparently already three initiatives by Islamic foundations to build such universities in Turkey. The challenges for such plans are to find the right teachers, to guarantee continuity and quality education. Creating a new university is in itself a very difficult—and expensive—process. Doing so for traumatized students will be particularly problematical.

## CONCLUSION

All these initiatives are commendable but the problems are enormous. As Riham Alkousaa wrote in Al-Fanar Media (2015), the dilemma for a student is between paying a smuggler or seeking a scholarship. Unfortunately, the possibilities of success of the first option are higher than those of the second. The challenge for academic communities in Europe and elsewhere is to increase access of these refugees to higher education.

The longer the crisis lasts, the more difficult it will be to provide enough study places for refugees in higher education, and the more serious the brain drain impact is likely to be. Experience has shown that refugees who stay away from their home country for a long period and are well integrated in their new communities, are less likely to return. However, this cannot be an argument for the higher education community not to extend support to Syrian refugees, by offering more study places and scholarships for students, visiting scholarship positions to academics, and other measures. This applies to Europe, North America, and other parts of the world, and certainly to neighboring Arab states such as Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates, and Qatar, which have remained largely uninvolved and have let Lebanon and Jordan take most of the burden.

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TERJE MØRLAND AND STIG ARNE SKJERVEN

# 25. EUROPE: A EUROPEAN QUALIFICATIONS PASSPORT FOR REFUGEES

Roger Chao Jr (2016) writes in University World News that recognising refugees' higher education (and educational) qualifications may provide one solution to Europe's refugee crisis by helping refugees' integration in their host country. Article VII of the Lisbon Recognition Convention (1997) states that all the signatory parties should establish recognition procedures for refugees, displaced persons, and persons in refugee-like situations. However, with the exception of very few countries, including Norway, in the almost 20 years since this convention of the Council of Europe and UNESCO was signed, very little has been done in practice to ensure these obligations are being met.

The European University Association's Refugees Welcome Map documents the commitment of higher education institutions and organisations to supporting refugees. For example, in our own country, Norway, the University of Oslo has initiated an Akademisk dugnad, an extraordinary effort to integrate refugees and asylum seekers into our educational system. However, the main problem faced by many higher education institutions seeking to make it easier for refugees with higher education degrees to further their studies and work in their host country is how to identify refugees with the relevant qualifications.

## THE NEED FOR SPECIAL RECOGNITION PROCEDURES

The experience of the Norwegian ENIC-NARIC centre, NOKUT, confirms that challenges related to the recognition of refugees' qualifications can be addressed at the national level and that the national recognition authority plays an important role. Since 2003, NOKUT, the Norwegian Agency for Quality Assurance in Education, has been working on developing and implementing special recognition procedures for refugees. After more than 10 years of trial and adjustments, Norway has gained experience in the development and use of appropriate recognition tools for refugees (Skjerven & Malgina, 2015). Our toolkit contains recognition methodologies that can be adjusted to the current demands and situation.

In 2013, NOKUT developed a special recognition process for refugees and people with insufficient documentation, the UVD-procedure, to replace the inefficient

system of higher education institutions issuing their own documentation. The process is intended to be used by refugees who permanently reside and intend to stay and work or study in Norway. Language proficiency in Norwegian or English, as well as a residency permit in Norway, are necessary preconditions for applicants seeking to benefit from the process. However, the current situation with record inflows of refugees has created the need for an additional approach. From our perspective, it is important to ensure that even refugees without sufficient proficiency in Norwegian or English are offered a real opportunity to undergo a professional evaluation of their qualifications as well as to receive guidance regarding opportunities for further study and formal recognition or authorisation. In February 2016, NOKUT initiated a pilot project for the evaluation of qualifications of refugees, displaced persons and persons in refugee-like situations: NOKUT's qualifications passport for refugees. The purpose of testing out a qualifications passport is to find ways of assessing the qualifications of all groups of refugees, displaced persons and persons in refugee-like situations in a cost-effective way.

## A EUROPE-WIDE SCHEME

It is necessary, however, to look outside the national framework for ways of coping with this situation in a fair and effective fashion in the European context. We should take into consideration how time-consuming and resource intensive the establishment of appropriate recognition procedures for refugees, displaced persons and persons in refugee-like situations are, plus the likelihood that a high number of refugees will move from one country to another inside Europe.

To support and ensure that refugees will be able to participate in the jobs market and-or pursue further studies in Europe, NOKUT and UK NARIC have proposed the idea of establishing a scheme called the European Qualifications Passport for Refugees. Bearing in mind the legacy of the Nansen passport for refugees set up in 1922, it will establish a multinational framework to organise and establish a fast-track scheme to evaluate refugees' educational and training background while still ensuring their mobility around Europe. The overall goal is to enhance the mobility, employability and access to further studies of refugees, displaced persons and persons in refugee-like situations by promoting multinational cooperation on recognition of qualifications in Europe. To achieve this goal, we envisage the following measures:

- The appointment of a coordinating authority and information centre in charge of establishing and coordinating a multinational recognition scheme for refugees, displaced persons and persons in refugee-like situations.
- The implementation of an effective fast-track procedure for a centralised recognition model to evaluate the qualifications of refugees, displaced persons and persons in refugee-like situations, irrespective of which country the refugees first arrived in. It would have one methodology for refugees with a full portfolio of educational documents and another for refugees with insufficient documentation.

- Assessment: The European Qualifications Passport for Refugees would contain necessary information concerning refugees' educational background. The document would provide universities, national authorities and employers with relevant information on refugees' educational background subject to proper assessment and review.

The assessment would take place at the national level and would be carried out by relevant stakeholders with experience of credential evaluation. In some countries, assessments could be assigned to the national ENIC-NARIC office; in others, the task might be assigned to one or more universities.

We consider it important that the European Qualifications Passport for Refugees is valid for a limited period only. NOKUT suggests three years. This would be sufficient for refugees to apply for recognition in the country they reside in if needed and it will not jeopardise the national recognition schemes of receiving countries. The assessment of refugees' qualifications, including assessment of those without sufficient documentation, will continue to be an important component of the daily activities of universities and recognition authorities throughout Europe and in other regions.

However, at a time of unprecedented pressure to tackle the migration challenge, we believe there is a demand for a long-term and coordinated multinational approach to screening, evaluating and recognising refugees' qualifications. Bearing this in mind, the establishment of a European Qualifications Passport for Refugees may prove to be an important step for refugees, universities, the labour market, and society as a whole.

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MATTHEW FRANCIS

# 26. GLOBAL: RESEARCH DRIVES UNDERSTANDING AND DISRUPTION OF WORK OF ISIS

*University World News, 1 April 2016, Issue 407*

With their recent horrific attacks and no apparent end in sight to the conflict in Syria and Iraq, it may seem that there is little understanding of ISIS. However, research in universities is leading the way both in understanding and disrupting ISIS and this research is an invaluable resource to those tasked with fighting them.

Academics from across the world have made tremendous advances in understanding why people join violent groups like ISIS and also how they manage to do so. For example, much popular discussion of Islamist attacks focuses on the role of religion in motivating violence. But research has shown that while there is certainly a role that ideologies play—both in providing the prism through which people understand the world, what is deemed right and wrong, and what is non-negotiable and should be defended with violence—we also know that religion is only one of a number of factors to be considered (Francis, 2015). One way in which religion does play a role is that people and groups tend to seek out more extreme beliefs at times of uncertainty (Hogg, 2014). This can help us see how better education about religion and providing people with the critical thinking skills to challenge toxic ideologies can help them help themselves when confronted with extremist values (Clarke & Woodhead, 2015).

Many years of research on cults has led to a greater understanding of how disenchanted people find a sense of meaning in high-cost groups who often ask them to cut off ties with their families and friends (Van Eck, Duymer, & Twist, 2015). We know that the reasons people join these groups are highly individualised, and that tells us how we can support them out of those potentially damaging situations—something useful to consider in the kinds of prevention programmes that provide tailored support for individuals vulnerable to radicalisation, such as the UK's Channel programme (Home Office, 2015).

Research has also highlighted the importance of social networks for people making the decision to join extreme movements (Busher, 2015). In research on far-right groups we know that people find it easier to join these groups when they already know other people involved. This helps us understand the cases of block-recruitment of many young people from the West to join the fighting in Syria, for example (BBC, 2014). From these studies of the role of social networks, and of cults, we know that

there is a confirmation bias in the way people in these groups view the world—where their views are reinforced by like-minded people (Busher, 2015).

In the West, a lot of the focus on the conflict in Syria and Iraq has been in trying to understand this apparently new phenomenon of migration to conflict zones—by what are commonly seen to be 'foreign fighters'. However, historical research has shown that over the past 250 years around 100,000 people have undertaken similar journeys for a wide range of reasons, including to fight (Malet, 2014). While there is quite rightly much concern about what people may do when they return to their home countries, we're also starting to understand the scale of that threat—with evidence suggesting that less than 10% of returnees from a foreign conflict are involved in violence back home (Malet, 2015) and how blanket removal of citizenship to prevent return may, in the long run, be counter-productive. Research into lone-actor terrorists (let's not glamorise them by calling them lone-wolves) has shown how many leak news of their attacks beforehand. It has also helped us to understand the role personal events, such as experiencing prejudice or other causes of severe stress, play in the run-up to acts of lone-actor terrorism (Corner & Gill, 2014).

## WORKING WITH THE INTELLIGENCE AGENCIES

Importantly, much is being done to share all this research (and more) with policy-makers and practitioners to use in legislating against and seeking to prevent terrorism in all its forms. For example, the website RadicalisationResearch.org, funded by Research Councils UK, has curated high quality academic work on radicalisation, fundamentalism, and extremism since 2010. More recently, a new Centre—the Centre for Research and Evidence on Security Threats, or CREST—led by Lancaster University in partnership with the universities of Birmingham, Cranfield, Portsmouth, and the West of England, has been set up with funding, via the UK Economic and Social Research Council, from the UK security and intelligence agencies. This innovative partnership demonstrates the value placed on academic research in this area and the way it can directly inform the fight against terrorism.

CREST's work builds on the research highlighted above through its programmes on beliefs and values which explore how someone comes to hold violent extremist views. However, it also has programmes that can help disrupt planning of terrorist plots and investigate those involved. For example, through research on deception detection we know much more about the non-verbal cues that help differentiate liars from truth-tellers, how interviewing suspects and witnesses over the phone doesn't make any difference to the ability to spot deception and how structured note-taking can help investigators aid evidence retrieval. Other CREST programmes focus on how organisations like businesses can increase their security through improvements in social and not just technological practices, and research on how offline behaviour can be changed through online practices.

The threat from ISIS is constantly evolving, with new technologies and tactics often challenging the abilities of those tasked with keeping us safe. Academics around the world can, and do, play a leading role in meeting those challenges.

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RAFIA ZAKARIA

# 27. PAKISTAN: THE PHILOSOPHICAL BATTLE
# FOR CAMPUS SECURITY

On Monday 25 January 2016, the battered Bacha Khan University, target of a horrific attack by Taliban militants, opened again for a very short while. The reason was a meeting headed by the vice-chancellor of the university; its grim agenda: a review of the security provisions to the campus. The collective decision that emerged at the end of the meeting was a sad one; the campus was unsafe, there was not enough security to resume classes. Bacha Khan University, where 21 died and 30 were injured Wednesday before (Khan, 2016), was shut down indefinitely. Until they could be assured of security, the university administrators decided, they could not ask traumatised students and professors to come back to campus. In the aftermath of the sordid attack on the institution—said to be masterminded by the same Taliban leader who conjured up the attack on Peshawar's Army Public School a little over a year earlier, in December 2014—focus has been placed on the selection of education institutions as militant targets.

The Pakistani newspaper Dawn (using data from the University of Maryland's Global Terrorism Database) reported that more people (450 in total) died in attacks on schools in Pakistan than in any other country between 1970 and 2014 (Usman, 2016). Furthermore, in the same period Pakistan suffered the highest number of attacks (850) on education institutions of any country, according to the same database. The Pakistani city of Peshawar, the largest city closest to the tribal areas controlled by the Tehreek-e-Taliban Pakistan, saw more attacks than any other city in the world. More than any other region of the world, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, the province in which the city is located, saw its cities and towns become regular targets of attacks on schools.

The Global Terrorism Database may actually be under-reporting the scale of the problem. Education under Attack 2014, a global study published by the Global Coalition to Protect Education from Attack—whose leading members include UNESCO, UNHCR, UNICEF, Education Above All, Human Rights Watch, Save the Children and the Institute of International Education/Scholars at Risk—found that at least 838 attacks on schools had taken place in 2009–2012 alone.

None of this is surprising news. Since the terrifying attack on the now Nobel Peace Prize-winning Malala Yousafzai, the Taliban's predilection for attacking

those wanting an education has been well known. Terrorists like the Taliban focus on soft targets—and schools, along with their crowds of vulnerable children, and universities, with their similar populations of book-toting youths, present just that: easy targets. Scaling the walls of Bacha Khan University on a foggy morning when a commemoration was being held for a pacifist leader, gunning down students who were looking to participate in a commemoration of peace is a scene woven with blood, gore and irony—just the right recipe for terror.

## DECOLONISATION OF THE MIND

There is, however, more to the selection of schools than just this. From the beginning, the Tehreek-e-Taliban Pakistan, whose literal meaning is a movement of students, has had a particular epistemological opposition to the kinds of education that they see being taught in Pakistani schools. Evidence of this can be found in the letter that Taliban spokesperson Adnan Rasheed addressed to Malala Yousafzai in 2013. In relation to education, Rasheed provides a quote of a British colonial administrator named Lord Macaulay during a speech made to the British parliament in February 1835. Macaulay said: "We must at present do our best to form a class who may be interpreters between us and the millions whom we govern—a class of persons Indian in blood and colour, but English in tastes, in opinions, in morals and in intellect" (Hermann, 2013). The intent of the colonial-inherited education system in Pakistan is to produce a class of servile and subjugated people who are easily pliable to the needs of their colonial masters. The Taliban's decolonisation plan hence focuses on eradicating—by killing innocent students—this education system and replacing it with a theological system of education based entirely on the literal sayings of the Holy Quran. In simple terms, enlightenment values, from an empirically based science to ideas of literature and culture that are not based on theology and a metaphysics centred in theology are all tainted. All of them must be eradicated to enable a purification of the country and to reclaim a pre-colonial and hence authentic form of learning.

Connecting the Taliban's version of a decolonisation project to their attacks on schools and universities is crucial for two reasons. For one, it underscores that the fight against militancy and the protection of schools is not simply a military battle but also a philosophical one. Discourses that recognise the ills of colonialism without believing and promoting a concomitant and bloody obscurantism require promotion and elevation. Terror polarises discourse and its consequence in Pakistan has been either the denial of colonial shadows in ideas of learning or, far worse, an anti-intellectualism that comes close to the Taliban's obscurantism.

Second, it reveals how exclusively military efforts against Taliban militancy are destined to fail, relegated to transient victories until the group's leadership regroups and begins its onslaught again. Recognition of these epistemological realities also underscores the need to emphasise and promote initiatives that respond to the militant obscurantism preached by the Tehreek-e-Taliban Pakistan. One of the most recent

and expansive of these is the Muslim Science initiative that is emphasising Islam's long and pre-colonial genealogy of scientific enquiry (Zakaria, 2015). Consisting of scholars and university administrators from hundreds of universities all over the Muslim world, the initiative creates a genealogy of scientific enquiry that is robust and that counters the premise that scientific enquiry is inherently "un-Islamic" and located in colonial subjugation.

Ultimately, it is initiatives such as these, along with others that embrace decolonisation as an epistemological project crucial to defeating militancy, that can secure campuses like Bacha Khan University and countless others all over the Muslim world that are now targets for the obscurantist cruelty of Taliban assassins.

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TUNDE FATUNDE

## 28. NIGERIA: BOKO HARAM FEAR GRIPS CAMPUSES, DISPLACES STUDENTS

*University World News, 3 October 2014, Issue 337*

The recent attack by Boko Haram insurgents on a higher education institution in Kano, northern Nigeria's biggest metropolis, prompted President Goodluck Jonathan to order security agencies to protect university campuses. Ongoing confrontation between the Islamist sect and the military has compelled some students in the north to relocate to other universities in the country and elsewhere in West Africa. The current airstrikes by coalition forces against Boko Haram's allies in Iraq and Syria may, as in the past, prompt local fundamentalists to carry out retaliatory violence on students and lecturers. Thus, security measures have been increased. Lecturers who cannot relocate with their families have opted to accept their fate and remain where they are. It is a complex situation.

DEADLY ATTACK

On 18 September, two gunmen forced their way onto the campus of the Federal College of Education, which is affiliated to Ado Bayero University in Kano, and opened fire on students and staff. The outcome was 13 people killed and 34 wounded. A police spokesperson said the gunmen were suspected militants of Boko Haram. The sect has developed an obsession for attacking education institutions. Members are of the view that formal schools at all levels are vehicles of demonic Western education and values. According to intelligence sources, both local and foreign events compelled Nigerian President Jonathan to summon an emergency meeting of education stakeholders. Education Minister Ibrahim Shekarau and National Security Advisor Sambo Dasuki were present. The president ordered them to work with security agencies to put in place proactive measures to prevent violent reoccurrences on campuses. The first event was the ongoing military assault in northeastern Nigeria against Boko Haram, an Islamic sect that has instituted an Islamic Caliphate in areas under its control. The second was the international action by coalition forces against the Islamic State in parts of Iraq and Syria.

## CAMPUS FEARS

Maryam Ibrahim, a lawyer and human rights activist in Abuja, said: "There are genuine fears within university communities here in northern Nigeria that local Islamic fundamentalist groups influenced by pro-Islamic messages on the internet may commence terror campaigns against some campuses. "In the recent past they exploited political events in the Middle East to attack and kill some students and lecturers at Ado Bayero University." Ibrahim does not hide her admiration for Malala Yousafzai, the Pakistani teenager who has courageously stood up to her country's fundamentalists, the Taliban, who are opposed to girls' secular education. She wants university authorities and security forces to be proactive to avoid repetition of terror attacks. Islamic terror groups have never hidden their prejudice against universities. "Fundamentalists see them as institutions spreading so-called Western values, antithetical to Islam. They condemn as anti-Islam the ongoing airstrikes against Muslim fundamentalists in Iraq and Syria. Of course, they perceive Boko Haram's Caliphate as the commencement of a roadmap to establishing a genuine Islamic state in northern Nigeria. "There are fears within campuses in northern Nigeria that they may become targets. I am a practising Moslem. I deplore this culture of intolerance. Islam is a religion of peace and equity," Ibrahim affirmed.

## MILITARY PROTECTION

Universities in northeast Nigeria are currently under close military surveillance and protection. The region has been turned into a battlefront between Boko Haram insurgents and Nigeria's military establishment. Dr Musa Abdullahi of the sociology department at the University of Maiduguri in Borno state, confirmed that the military had reinforced its arsenal in the strategic town of Konduga, about 30 kilometres from the university. Konduga is a theatre in the ongoing war between Boko Haram and the military. "We are often traumatised by heavy artillery gunshots between Boko Haram and Nigerian soldiers. Both students and teachers are living in fear. "We hear rumours of impending attacks by Boko Haram on the campus," said Abdullahi, and added: "One of the consequences of these gunshots, which we are not used to, is that students broadly perform poorly in examinations because of trauma."

There have been similar security challenges at neighbouring Yobe State University, Damaturu. Ibrahim Karage, a business administration lecturer, revealed that Boko Haram insurgents had been driven out of the city by soldiers. "There is uneasy calm in Damaturu. These insurgents who engage in guerrilla warfare may resume their hostilities in the city. They have mingled with the peaceful local population. "Thus, students come for lectures from home and many of them don't stay on the campus to avoid been caught, at any time, in the crossfire between the insurgents and soldiers. I am confident that the Nigerian military will soon overcome these insurgents," he declared.

LIVING IN FEAR

John Lamido, a political science lecturer at Gombe State University in the northeast, confirmed that the university authorities had beefed up security. "This is a proactive measure to forestall attacks by unidentified armed men." In June last year, said Lamido, the university's senate chamber was blown up with explosives. Fortunately, lives were not lost—but some parts of the chamber were destroyed. The student population has nosedived. "Not many candidates are seeking admission in many of the universities in this part of the country. I know of students who have made up their minds to seek admission to universities in southern Nigeria and Ghana." Only the fear of Ebola, Lamido added, had persuaded students in some northern universities against seeking places in universities in Liberia and Sierra Leone.

The administration of the American University, Yola, in northeast Nigeria is collaborating with security agents to improve security around the campus. Unlike some other campuses in the region, it has not been attacked by insurgents. But students and staff fear that insurgents may brazenly launch attacks on the campus. According to security sources, messages issued on the internet by Al-Qaida and Islamic fundamentalists have been encouraging Muslims to attack American interests. "We have stepped up security around this university to prevent any terror attack because of the name, American University, Yola. We don't want to take chances," said a high-ranking security officer who did not want to be named. Sulaimon Kagi, a human rights activist in Abuja, is optimistic that the Minister of Education, Ibrahim Shekarau, would be able to protect lives and properties on campuses. As former governor of Kano state and a former security officer, "he should know the modalities for securing campuses, especially in northern Nigeria", he said.

The series of battles waged by the international community and countries against terror have assumed a global dimension. Said a professor of peace and conflict who did not want to be named because of the sensitive nature of the subject: "Universities in some African countries, including Nigeria, may come increasingly under attack by some Islamic fundamentalists because they perceive them—with passion and hate—as outposts and symbols of so-called 'Christian values of the West'. "We may witness, perhaps, long drawn battles between these negatives forces and those who are opposed to them. Unfortunately, the jihadists are well connected and well-armed, with strong financial muscle."

KAZUKO SUEMATSU

# 29. JAPAN: WHERE IS JAPAN HEADED AFTER THE EARTHQUAKE?

*International Higher Education, Summer 2011, Number 64*

The devastating 9.0-magnitude earthquake on March 11, 2011 put Japan into chaos. It claimed the lives of 15,000 citizens, with an additional 10,000 still missing, and 120,000 in evacuation centers as their homes were lost or destroyed. The estimated economic loss is said to be between US$200–300 billion and will have a serious effect on the developing northeast region of Japan. Countless aftershocks, in addition to the fear of the potentially catastrophic Fukushima Nuclear Plant, cause further worry and distress for the people in the affected area.

The earthquake also inflicted immense damage to higher education in Japan, especially in the area of internationalization. Supported by the Plan for 300,000 International Students by 2020, the higher education sector was in the process of internationalizing. The first project of the plan was Global 30, in which the government invested ¥4.1 billion to enable 13 core universities to lead the internationalization of higher education. Prior to Global 30, another five-year project, the Career Development Program for Foreign Students in Japan, had commenced and provided full scholarships, comprehensive business training, internships, and placement opportunities for international students. Japan's universities might have been behind their rapidly internationalizing neighboring countries but was catching up step-by-step until March 11 this year.

## NEGATIVE IMPACTS OF THE EARTHQUAKE

The immediate impact was a decrease in the number of current and prospective international students. At Tohoku University, the largest institution in the northeast region, 34 degree-seeking students withdrew after the earthquake. Forty-four out of 81 undergraduate exchange students discontinued their studies, 33 out of 43 scheduled to start in April, and one-third of the fall-semester applicants cancelled their study-abroad plan at Tohoku University. The loss of students is only about 10 percent of the total international student population. Yet, the number is likely to continue to fall as the earthquake incident has even affected international student enrollment at universities as far as Kyoto, located 350 miles south of the Fukushima Nuclear Plant. The continued decrease of international students is a serious challenge for the

Global 30 Project and Tohoku University, which planned to have 3,000 international students at the university by 2015.

## THE LESSON WE LEARNED

Ironically, the earthquake is an opportunity for Japan to evaluate its level of internationalization. During these past few months after the earthquake, a series of events have caused a question concerning Tohoku University's internationalization achievements. First, risk management standards could have been higher. The Tohoku region had been expecting a large earthquake for more than 10 years; and with a large number of international students from nonearthquake countries, the university should have included earthquake information during student orientation or handed out an earthquake booklet prepared by the local government. Furthermore, after gathering at the designated evacuation area on campus, the university dismissed students without clear instructions on what to do next. International students had to find their way to the evacuation centers all by themselves.

Second, the university should have taken a more active role in collecting accurate information and sending out timely messages to international students. The students, alone in unfamiliar evacuation centers without updates on the earthquake and the nuclear-plant accident, were vulnerable to information from inaccurate sources. Their worried parents and friends, whose interpretations of the incidents were largely influenced by the media in their countries, urged the students to leave Japan immediately.

In addition, a chain mail has been encouraging students to do so. One e-mail, claiming to be from the Chinese government, instructed Chinese students to gather at the Niigata Airport, 200 miles away from Sendai where Tohoku University is located, to catch a government-chartered flight. Over 100 students rushed to Niigata Airport, with many standing in long lines to buy a bus ticket; some even took a taxi in a group and shared the US$800 fare. Yet, no such flight existed. Those who could not afford full-fare tickets checked themselves into an evacuation center near the airport until representatives of the Chinese Consulate came to their rescue.

Likewise, a clear difference has occurred between international students and domestic students, as well as Japanese citizens, in response to the incident. International students rushed from Japan with unfounded fears, which could have been prevented if the university immediately provided information to assist international students to make a competent decision.

## COPING WITH THE CHALLENGE

While the university was not fully prepared for this megaearthquake, it quickly overcame this mistake. The international office modified an online application system for exchange students to create a safety confirmation Web page, where international students could report their safety, status, and even plan for their studies. At Tohoku

University, as of March 28, it was known that close to 1,000 students, two-third of international students, had been safely evacuated. By April 25, 86 percent reported their willingness to return before the new academic year would commence.

The Japanese government also came to provide support, by offering free airline tickets for government-sponsored scholarship students, who had gone home, to return to Japan and scholarships for self-funded international student at universities located in affected areas. Partner institutions all over the globe have extended their support by increasing quota and accepting our students to their exchange programs, raising money for the victims, or sending us encouraging messages. The alumni have sent us donations so that we can repair damaged buildings. This earthquake provided us with an opportunity to find strength in ourselves to recuperate, and we discovered the helping hands of our friends from all over the world.

## WHERE DO WE GO FROM HERE?

The internationalization of Japanese universities might have been set back by this disaster for some years. We, however, should not be deterred. We should face up to the challenges and change the crisis into an opportunity. By reviewing and reevaluating Japan as a destination for quality higher education, we can identify our advantages as well as our shortcomings—including the effect of the earthquake— and rebuild our strategy from the ground up, in order to meet the increasing level of competition in higher education.

These strategies, however, should not be developed independently by institutions. There are many stakeholders whom we can involve—such as policymakers, industries, local communities, nonprofit organizations, and even members of the international community. Constructing a network or creating a consortium, where ideas and insights can be shared, will lead to building better strategies. Universities in the affected area, including Tohoku University, can act as a liaison for these diverse stakeholders. This is the first step toward restoration and a new era of internationalization.

JOHN WOODS

# 30. UNITED STATES: GUNS SHOULD BE BANNED FROM CAMPUS

*University World News, 13 March 2011, Issues 162*

I graduated from Virginia Tech three weeks after losing the girl I loved in the worst shooting in American history. Three weeks after that, I moved to Texas and began doctoral studies at the University of Texas at Austin. The six months that followed were the worst of my life. Alone and numb in a new city, I tackled questions that ranged from difficult to impossible. Why us? Why Maxine? What would I do if I ever found myself in Max's shoes? Could we have prevented the shooting? Which seat in a classroom would be the safest in the event of a shooting?

In Texas, Senator Jeff Wentworth and Representative Joe Driver, thousands of miles away from my alma mater, brashly claimed they had an answer to my every question. Arm students and faculty, they said, in order to "prevent another Virginia Tech". At that time, I believed, naively, that if I shared the stories of the survivors with them, they'd simply withdraw their proposal and explore any number of the litany of ideas I imported from Virginia for preventing school shootings. I believed, naively, that they would honour our dead, our maimed, and our survivors. Virginia lawmakers have filed campus carry legislation a number of times. Survivors and families of victims of the 2007 shooting bury the bill every time. To my knowledge, none favour handguns in classrooms; for them, the focus has been on preventative measures: text-message warning systems, evolving campus safety policies, access to counselling services, clarification of federal and state privacy statutes, and even push-locks on classroom doors.

Indeed, many of these recommendations were offered by the Virginia Tech Review Panel, a non-partisan commission assembled to study the tragedy and make recommendations for future incidents. Chairing the panel was a retired state police superintendent, who had led the investigations into the 9–11 attack on the Pentagon and the 2002 Washington DC sniper killings. The other panellists included former Pennsylvania governor Tom Ridge, President Bush's first Homeland Security Secretary; the retired director of the FBI National Center for the Analysis of Violent Crime; experts in adolescent psychiatry, higher education and emergency medicine; a victim services expert; and a veteran circuit court judge. The panellists dedicated several months of their lives to comprehending the difficult details of a

painful tragedy—unlike the two Texas lawmakers pushing for more guns, who have expressed not the faintest glimmer of intellectual curiosity about the events.

In the end, the review panel specifically recommended against allowing firearms on campus, and further suggested that state laws be clarified in Virginia so that universities could ban firearms—the opposite of what Wentworth and Driver propose. All in all, the panel made over 70 recommendations, and only two others related to guns. The two gun-related recommendations are topics most of the campus handgun proponents not only refuse to address, but actively oppose. They concern fixing background checks. Background checks don't work, they say, and we can't fix them, so let's arm the public. Seung Cho, the shooter at Tech, had been ruled a danger to himself by a Virginia judge, and under federal law was forbidden to own a gun. Unfortunately, Cho passed the background check, as Virginia did not report mental health referrals to the background check system. Even if he had failed, the review panel noted, he could have visited a gun show and purchased the firearm from an unlicensed seller, no questions asked (the same loophole was exploited by the perpetrators of Columbine). The panel recommended closing both of these loopholes.

Texas finally closed the mental health loophole in 2009, but with fully one-third of the Texas House voting against it. Nearly all of those 50-plus members were sponsors of the campus handgun bills. The gun show loophole bill has never made it out of committee. Worse, the Texas legislature has taken few, if any, steps towards implementing any of the other recommendations of the review panel—and is on the brink of making major cuts to campus mental health services. If Wentworth and Driver were serious about campus safety, they would be talking about more than just guns.

The truth is that these lawmakers care more about ideology than campus safety. They have no knowledge of the many steps universities have taken to improve security since Virginia Tech. Driver was shocked when he learned that police active-shooter response involves shooting any person holding a gun, without verbal warnings an offensive strategy which enables police to enter situations much more quickly. In fact, the legislation's authors haven't any idea what happens day-to-day on college campuses. While debating with survivor Colin Goddard on MSNBC's Hardball with Chris Matthews, one author swore that Texas campuses don't have bars (they definitely do), and implied that alcohol was also absent from our universities (it's definitely not). Several proponents claim that only seniors, graduate students and faculty would carry guns.

The bill sponsors are apparently unaware of the binge drinking that goes on, or that a majority of crimes on many campuses are committed by seniors—exactly the people who would be carrying guns if the legislation passes (assuming the National Rifle Association doesn't win its lawsuit to lower the concealed handgun age to eighteen). Similarly, legislators seem unaware that most large college campuses experience no homicides in a given year, but several suicides. Last but not least, they are blissfully ignorant of the long list of campus administrators, student governments, faculty councils and university police chiefs that have expressed concerns about—if not outright opposition to—their legislation.

If lawmakers are unwilling to sit down with higher education and safety experts before considering such legislation, they are willfully and grossly negligent. If we allow these bills to become law in Texas, other states will follow, and we surrender something much larger than the rights of universities to self-regulate: the free and honest debate so important to the development of critical thinking skills.

Maxine was not in the wrong place at the wrong time, as newscasters said of the 32 victims. She was in the right place at the right time: in class. And guns do not belong there.

# PART 6

# INFORMATION AND COMMUNICATIONS
# TECHNOLOGY AND DISTANCE EDUCATION

# INTRODUCTION

Few topics have been as widely debated within the field of higher education—or been surrounded by as much controversy—as the rise of distance education and information and communication technology (ICT). Massive Open Online Courseware (MOOCs) have taken center stage in this debate, with multiple, divergent implications.

The first article in this section captures one extreme of this debate, suggesting that MOOCs will alter the very nature of higher education: Simon Marginson offers a hopeful take on MOOCs in an article written in the nascent stage of the online learning phenomenon. In the next piece, Stephen Foerster engages in a direct debate with Marginson, suggesting that hopes for the positive impacts of MOOCs are not warranted without qualification. Indeed, MOOCs have attracted a number of different critiques. Philip Altbach offers a rather critical take on MOOCs, focusing on the associated neo-colonial implications. As online courses are created mostly by western entities, and may often promote hegemonic contents, they advantage hegemonic players. However, the pragmatic realities faced by universities around the world have led many to embrace and endorse variations of distance education. One such variation, blended learning, is discussed in an article written by Pata Lee. Other MOOC proponents include Ben Wildavsky, who addresses the ability of universities in developing countries to satisfy market and student demand for education programs. For Wildavsky, MOOCs represent an imperfect alternative to "traditional" learning, combating higher education access barriers.

Many efforts have been made to underscore the limitations of MOOCs. Yojana Sharma reports on one such project. Discussions about distance education have also highlighted awareness about the digital divide separating regions of the world. Anna Bon discusses the imperative of addressing digital inequalities within African higher education and offers an analysis of some of the factors that contribute towards perpetuating this gap. One related space for advocacy within the African context has been the creation of digital libraries; in the final article offered here, Gracian Chimwaza, Blessing Chataira, and Chipo Msengezi discuss the imperative to increase access to knowledge by increasing the number of open source resources, a goal that is now achievable in the newly digitized world.

As ICT has become a powerful force in the higher education arena, both challenges and opportunities have been presented. The articles in this section collectively address some of important implications and opportunities for improvements in the use and scope of MOOCs and digitalization.

SIMON MARGINSON

# 31. GLOBAL: YES, MOOC IS THE GLOBAL HIGHER EDUCATION GAME CHANGER

*University World News, 12 August 2012, Issues 234*

Free Massive Open Online Courseware—MOOC—is less than a year old but it is already clear this will be the game changer in higher education worldwide. Right now, it is reverberating through the world's universities like a tectonic shock. The new paradigm, first developed in the northern autumn of 2011 by Sebastian Thrun and Peter Norvig at Stanford University alongside Silicon Valley in California, will be as disruptive to conventional delivery in higher education as the internet is proving in terms of disrupting book publishers, newspapers, and stores such as Myer and David Jones. Thrun's first programme in artificial intelligence quickly enrolled 160,000 students. His crucial innovation was not free courseware, which was a concept that was 10 years old, but online grading in multiple choice format, with certification at the end of the programme.

Stanford blocked formal certificates and credits into its conventional degrees but Thrun negotiated a compromise. Students completing the free programme would receive a 'Statement of Accomplishment' that carried the Stanford brand. It was not a substitute for Stanford degrees but a new kind of prestige credential adapted to the internet. It generated student-to-student tutorial discussions, work groups, and support systems. In the case of MOOC, format queries can be routed through FAQs and students can assess one another. It's free, dirt cheap to run, rigorous in standard and brings you the world experts. Physics from Higgs or Hawking beats the local science teacher—especially if you don't have one. Thrun's company Udacity now has more than 20 staff pumping out courseware.

Two Stanford colleagues have created the parallel company Coursera, which is building global enrolments in more than 50 programmes, using name professors from Stanford, Princeton, Berkeley, Michigan and Pennsylvania. Harvard and MIT have formed a partnership under the name 'edX'. Its open access programmes are branded with the two most prestigious names in the university world.

### WHY MOOC IS DISRUPTIVE

The MOOC paradigm disrupts normal higher education for two reasons that are inherent in the economics of internet-provided goods. Firstly, open access knowledge from institutions that charge up to US$50,000 per student per year: this reflects

the fact that knowledge is a 'public good'. It is non-rivalrous and non-excludable. As the late Elinor Ostrom said in her 2009 Nobel prize lecture: "Public goods are both non-excludable (impossible to keep those who have not paid for a good from consuming it) and non-rivalrous (whatever individual A consumes does not limit the consumption by others)." It's a good description of the web as a whole.

But prestige higher education provided free of charge has another feature that looks more like a market. When competing for free hits from the public, Massive Open Online Courses (MOOCs) from household-name Ivy League universities have a decided edge over Worthy Local College. It's not just an advantage, it's complete domination. When it comes to lesson content MOOCs and their celebrity professors blow ordinary local universities and their professors out of the water. Open courseware has the same logic as the winner-take-all markets in celebrity actors or top movies or music, discussed by Cornell sociologist Robert Frank. A tiny handful of producers and products dominate the global market, overwhelmingly. There is only one Elvis, and only one Harvard.

## WHAT ABOUT MAKING MONEY?

Can universities make money out of MOOCs? As with Google, the free service creates a global public, which can become the platform for advertising, and for commercial services such as advanced assessment and grading, employment placement, individualised counselling and publishing. edX and others might also place a low-cost pay-wall in front of their advanced programmes. It would be risky, but still far cheaper than conventional higher education delivery. And if employers agree that the contents of MOOCs look attractive, the alternate credential represented by MOOCs will generate employability benefits as well. 'Graduates' could entice employers with half a dozen prestige MOOCs on their CVs, in place of a three-year degree in business or computing. Then the revolution will have really been unleashed.

## SUBSTITUTE OR SUPPLEMENT

The MOOC model has the potential to disrupt conventional university education in two ways—as a substitute, and as a supplement. MOOCs' full power as a substitute is yet to be tested. The orthodox degrees provided by leading global universities (which means the American Ivy League, Oxford, Cambridge, maybe Peking University, Tsinghua, Tokyo and a few others worldwide) will retain their social and cultural capital and career-forming benefits. Worldwide promotion of the brand via MOOCs will enhance the value of those conventional degrees. The internet is effective in building status.

The question is what happens to other universities; especially given that employer take-up of MOOCs is unknown. It is likely that the existing market in fee-paying international education will be affected. The rapid growth of the world's middle-classes, especially in urbanising China and India, means that overall demand

for foreign education will continue to grow, because of the benefits of immersion in the most powerful economic languages (especially but not only English), and of acquiring foreign cultural knowledge and life skills.

No doubt, though, some prospective international students will decide that staying home and building up free Harvard or Stanford MOOCs on their CVs is a more cost-effective proposition than spending US$40,000 to US$50,000 or more per year on education and living costs for three or four years in the US, UK, Australia, Canada, Germany, France, or Japan. This could destabilise the economic basis of higher education in the full fee-charging export countries—or force them to offer more to international students than they have been offering up to now, like better services, additional language support or even employment placement.

Perhaps there will be less disruption of first-degree domestic enrolments. Many students like the onsite experience where they can meet one another. But some will opt for MOOCs if the 'statements of accomplishment' work with employers. The effects might be greater among lifelong learners, those seeking skill-upgrading, a change of direction or just interesting courses. Many will find attractive not just MOOC contents but the flexibility offered by online learning.

## WHAT ABOUT MOOCS AS A SUPPLEMENT?

MOOCs can augment local programmes with prestige content while, of course, dramatically reducing teaching costs. They can make local university degrees more attractive, but this could be a Trojan horse if the perception grows that the local institution adds little of value on top. If lectures, tutorials and assessment become more global—like textbooks did in the 20th century—many universities will have to reinvent themselves. It is likely they will step up their role in brokering work experience during degrees and become more serious about vocational and career counselling at the point of departure, possibly moving into employment placement at scale.

We can expect a multiplication of ancillary services and facets of the extra-curricular student experience and, in some institutions, a more pronounced emphasis on graduate research programmes where intensive teaching will remain essential. Some (perhaps most) universities will use MOOCs to reduce their personnel costs, though academic capacity is the weak spot in many institutions, and cutting academic capacity too far makes little sense in those universities that need research outputs to sustain their position in the global market. Yet MOOCs puts unprecedented pressure on the teaching-research nexus. Perhaps teaching-focused academics will be pared back, with MOOCs partly substituting for them, and more research-only positions created. The main onsite work in higher education in future could be research not teaching.

## THE NAGGING QUESTION

But there will be a nagging question to deal with, one that was always implicit but was never faced: 'What is the extra value added by the local degree and what does

this mean in terms of course content?' Universities outside the very top group of global providers may try to float their own MOOCs but they will be hard pressed to win at that game. So in terms of the curriculum and teaching-learning—as distinct from ancillary services—the only ultimate rationales for the continuing role of local universities will be that they can provide (1) local insights into content, including vocational preparation, and (2) more intensive, sensitive and personalised teaching than MOOCs in any format can provide. And that is going to test institutional budgets.

No doubt most universities will develop a blend of local and global content. But they will find themselves continually pulled towards the global side of the equation, which for different reasons will attract both the university producers (cuts costs) and the student consumers (sexy brand and contents). In this we see the mixed benefits that globalisation always brings, and the combined economic character of MOOCs as both public good and winner-take-all market. In that respect MOOCs are like the internet itself. Like the internet, MOOCs constitute a tremendous worldwide democratisation of knowledge, bringing Matthew Arnold's "the best which has been thought and said" taken to every corner of the planet. There is another side to that coin, of course. As Arnold's high Victorian educational mission always implied, MOOCs could enforce an unprecedented level of global sameness in higher education. MOOCs mean the homogenisation (and in this case the Americanisation) of knowledge, learning and culture. We do live in interesting times in higher education!

STEPHEN H. FOERSTER

# 32. GLOBAL: RELAX – HIGHER EDUCATION
# WON'T BE KILLED BY MOOCS

*University World News, 9 September 2012, Issues 238*

In a recent University World News commentary titled, "Yes, MOOC is the global higher education game changer," Professor Simon Marginson (2012) from the Centre for the Study of Higher Education at the University of Melbourne argues that MOOCs will spell the death of higher education as we know it. That may be an exciting thing to say—but there are some fundamental barriers involved that will be pretty challenging to overcome.

As someone who has worked in online education for a long time, I can assure any and all that not every student prefers to learn online, even if from a course that carries the imprimatur of a well-regarded university. There's nothing wrong with online learning. Indeed, research has shown pretty conclusively that there's no significant difference in learning outcomes between learning on campus and learning online. But just because two things are adequate substitutes for each other doesn't mean that all people will prefer the two equally. Especially when students have been raised to see higher education as a classroom-based activity with a tweed-clad professor at a lectern, they're likely to retain that as a preference even in the wake of a mountain of evidence that it is not strictly necessary.

## WIDE ACCEPTANCE OF ONLINE LEARNING

The good news is that unreasonable objections to online learning have largely become muted in the wake of repeated studies showing that distance learning is no less effective than classroom-based instruction. But while prejudice against distance learning has lost the day, this does not mean that there aren't many students whose needs are better accommodated by a course that takes place on campus. For example, many institutions focus on asynchronous learning when it comes to their distance learning offerings. That means that courses are designed for convenience so that students can participate whenever it's convenient for them rather than at a set time.

The trade-off for that convenience is live interaction, the sort that's part and parcel of a course in a classroom. It's possible to duplicate live sessions online, and more and more institutions are moving in that direction, but at present those students who are inclined towards real-time interaction with their faculty members

and peers are likely still to have reason to prefer the classroom. Moreover, it's not only the 'online' aspect of MOOCs that can be off-putting—the 'massive' one can be as well. In a course with tens of thousands of students, it's hardly realistic to expect personal attention from the rock star professor whose name is on the marquee. That's not to say the sort of peer-to-peer learning that MOOCs by necessity employ is pedagogically unsound; far from it. But it's not a mode of learning that's universally appealing, and a prestigious university name can only go so far to paper over the objections from a student who would like the option of directly communicating with his or her instructor.

## THE ACADEMIC CREDIT BARRIER

Another fundamental barrier is that MOOCs from prestigious universities do not lead to academic credit, and this is an important drawback to them that their cheerleaders need to consider a little more closely. Moreover, if I may be allowed a prediction, they never will lead to credit, especially from top universities. As much as educators may not wish to admit it, from an economic perspective education is not actually a university's true product: a prestigious credential is.

When employers start accepting MOOC certificates of completion as the equivalent to a university degree, then one will be able to consider them a substitute. Until then, however, one simply cannot. It's true that there's a movement toward educational badges (see below), but it's in its infancy, and if they do take off in the marketplace for labour, it won't be tomorrow. As evidence, for several decades now in the computing world there has been a system of what those in the education world are calling 'educational badges'. There is a large ecology of certifications that technology workers can earn that demonstrate their proficiency with various information technologies. Many of these certification programmes are administered from companies like Microsoft or Cisco, and are specific to the products of those companies. Other programmes are from 'vendor neutral' non-profit organisations like CompTIA and concern themselves with a broader category of technologies.

Those who are watching MOOCs closely may be interested in the relationship that has developed between the world of ICT certifications and that of higher education. In the 1990s there was something of a competitive aspect between them, where technology workers might consider an advanced level Microsoft certification just as useful to them in the labour market as a degree in information systems. Before long, however, the higher education system prevailed, not because workers or employers lost interest in certifications, but because higher education adapted to allow for ways to include them in its own system.

## HIGHER EDUCATION ADAPTS

The adaptation was that it became possible to earn advanced standing at certain universities for those who held certain certifications. In some cases, universities

would recognise these certifications as the equivalent to transfer credit, accepting them as though the transferring student had simply taken academic coursework elsewhere. In other cases, and this is the example more likely to apply to MOOCs, those certifications fit into those universities' established systems of prior learning assessment, wherein students who learn university-level material outside of the institution can put together a portfolio of evidence that, if approved, leads to advanced standing. It is this process, prior learning assessment, that would seem to be the best way for successful MOOC-takers to move forward if they wish for broad recognition of their learning, and the best way for universities to fit MOOCs into their established system of credit.

I hope I don't sound dismissive of MOOCs, as that's not my intention. MOOCs are a wonderful new tool in the toolbox of adult education. I'm pleased that universities are offering them. In fact, I'm doing one myself later this year. But as exciting as they are, they cannot be all things to all people, and local universities are in no danger whatsoever of being supplanted by them, at least not any time soon. It would be a shame if this false expectation overshadowed the real opportunities that MOOCs can and do provide, and caused unwarranted disappointment when the initial enthusiasm for MOOCs dies away and it becomes clear that they are not an educational panacea.

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PHILIP G. ALTBACH

# 33. GLOBAL: MOOCS AS NEOCOLONIALISM: WHO CONTROLS KNOWLEDGE?

*International Higher Education, Spring 2014, Number 75*

Massive Open Online Courses, or MOOCs, are the latest effort to harness information technology for higher education. The concept takes advantage of the significant advancements in technology that permits much more interactive pedagogy as well as more sophisticated delivery of content. While MOOCs are still in a nascent stage of development, their sponsors as well as many commentators and policymakers are enthusiastic, and see them as an inexpensive and innovative way of delivering content to vast audiences, while others see potential for profits.

One aspect of the MOOC movement has not been fully analyzed—who controls the knowledge. Considering where the content and the technology that support MOOCs originate, the answer is clear. MOOCs are largely an American-led effort and the majority of the courses available so far come from universities in the United States or other Western countries. The main providers are also in the technologically advanced countries. The technology in use was developed in Silicon Valley, Kendall Square in Cambridge, Massachusetts, and other hubs of information technology innovation. Early adopters have a significant advantage in this arena. While globalization has increased the sway of the academic centers in economically powerful countries, MOOCs promise to enhance this higher education hegemony by harnessing technology to the existing knowledge network.

Others, in diverse and less-developed regions of the world, are joining the MOOC bandwagon, but it is likely that they will be using technology, pedagogical ideas, and much of the content developed elsewhere. In this way, the online courses threaten to exacerbate the worldwide influence of Western academe, bolstering its higher education hegemony.

Two of the original MOOC sponsors, Coursera and EdX, are American initiatives—the first founded by Stanford professors and based in Silicon Valley in California and the second established by Harvard University and the Massachusetts Institution of Technology. Many other top universities, mainly in the United States, have joined these efforts. Coursera offers 535 courses in many fields of study—24 percent of the courses originate from outside the United States, Canada, the United Kingdom, and Australia; EdX provides 91 courses—19 of which are from outside North America and the United Kingdom. Some of these courses enroll as many

as 300,000 students, with average enrollments of approximately 20,000. The large majority of students come from outside the United States. Completion rates seem to be low—most less than 13 percent. Many in the MOOC movement are seeking to earn profits from MOOCs—a goal so far unmet.

## WHO CONTROLS KNOWLEDGE AND WHY DOES IT MATTER?

The large majority of MOOCs are created and taught by professors in the Unites States. Companies and universities with the funds to develop good MOOC courses—and with high development costs—are American. Udacity, an American MOOC provider, estimates that creating a single course costs $200,000, and is increasing to $400,000. The University of California, Berkeley, estimates development costs at between $50,000 and $100,000, with access to sophisticated technology required.

For the most part, MOOC content is based on the American academic experience and pedagogical ideas. By and large, the readings required by most MOOC courses are American or from other Western countries. Many of the courses are in English, and even when lectures and materials are translated into other languages the content largely reflects the original course. The vast majority of instructors are American. It is likely that more diversity will develop but the basic content will remain. Approaches to the curriculum, pedagogy, and the overall philosophy of education differ according to national traditions and practices, and may not reflect the approaches provided by most MOOC instructors or the companies and universities providing MOOC content and pedagogy. No doubt, those developing MOOCs will claim that their methods are best and reflect the most advanced pedagogical thinking. Perhaps, there are a range of approaches to learning and many traditions.

Why is this important? Neither knowledge nor pedagogy are neutral. They reflect the academic traditions, methodological orientations, and teaching philosophies of particular academic systems. Such academic nationalism is especially evident in many social science and humanities fields, but it is not absent in the sciences. While academics who develop MOOC courses are no doubt motivated by a desire to do the best job possible and to cater to a wide audience, they are to a significant extent bound by their own academic orientations. Since the vast majority of material used comes from Western academic systems, examples used in science courses are likely to come from America or Europe because these countries dominate the literature and articles in influential journals, and are taught by well-known professors from high-profile universities. Modes of inquiry reflect the Western mainstream. While this knowledge base and pedagogical orientation no doubt reflect current ideas of good practice, they may not be the only approach to good scientific inquiry or content.

These issues come into even sharper focus in the social sciences and humanities. In fields such as literature and philosophy, most courses reflect Western traditions of knowledge, the Western literature canon, and Western philosophical assumptions. The social sciences reflect Western methodologies and basic assumptions about the essentials of scientific inquiry. Mainstream ideas and methods in fields from

anthropology to sociology reflect Western trends, especially the American academic community. The major academic journals, editors, and editorial boards, big academic publishers are located in the global centers of knowledge, like Boston, New York, and London. It is, under these circumstances, natural that the dominant ideas from these centers will dominate academic discourse, and will be reflected in the thinking and orientations of most of those planning and teaching MOOCs. MOOC gatekeepers, such as Coursera, Udacity, and others, will seek to maintain standards as they interpret them, and this will no doubt strengthen the hegemony of Western methodologies and orientations.

English not only dominates academic scholarship in the 21st century, but also the MOOCs. English is the language of internationally circulated academic journals; researchers in non-English-speaking environments are increasingly using English for their academic writings and communication. Major academic Web sites tend to be in English as well. Because English is the language of scholarly communication, the methodological and intellectual orientations of the English-speaking academic culture hold sway globally.

The implications for developing countries are serious. MOOCs produced in the current centers of research are easy to access and inexpensive for the user, but may inhibit the emergence of a local academic culture, local academic content, and courses tailored specially for national audiences. MOOCs have the potential to reach nonelite audiences, thus extending the influence of the main academic centers.

## THE NEOCOLONIALISM OF THE WILLING

Those responsible for creating, designing, and delivering MOOC courses in all fields are in general part of the academic culture of major universities in the English-speaking countries. They do not seek to impose their values or methodologies on others, influence happens organically and without conspiracies. A combination of powerful academic cultures, the location of the main creators and disseminators of MOOCs, and the orientation of most of those creating and teaching MOOCs ensures the domination of the largely English-speaking academic systems. The millions of students choosing to participate in MOOCs from all over the world do not seem to be concerned about the nature of the knowledge or the philosophy of pedagogy that they are studying. Universities in the middle-income and developing world do not seem concerned about the origins or orientations of the knowledge provided by the MOOCs or the educational philosophies behind MOOC pedagogy.

I do not mean to imply any untoward motives by the MOOC community. I am not arguing that the content or methodologies of most current MOOCs are wrong because they are based on the dominant Western academic approaches. But I do believe it is important to point out that a powerful emerging educational movement, the Massive Open Online Courses, strengthens the currently dominant academic culture, perhaps making it more difficult for alternative voices to be heard.

PETA LEE


# 34. GLOBAL: MORE WORK NEEDED IN
# BLENDING ONLINE AND ONSITE LEARNING

*University World News, 28 August 2015, Issues 379*


Although the traditional lecture hall is unlikely to ever disappear completely, it is increasingly being supplemented—and in some cases replaced—by technology. And while a combination of both online and onsite learning as a teaching means is proving successful, more work is needed for this combination to truly internationalise the global learning experience. The digital revolution has turned conventional teaching and studying on its head, affecting students, academics and campuses worldwide. The role of digital learning is analysed in a chapter of Internationalisation of Higher Education (de Wit, Hunter, Howard, & Egron-Polak, 2015), a study focusing on 10 countries from within Europe and seven from outside, commissioned by the European Parliament committee on culture and education. The chapter is authored by Dr. William Lawton, a higher education consultant.


## EUROPE LAGGING

Despite the MOOCs—massive open online courses—revolution three years ago opening up new vistas in the fields of digital teaching and learning, Europe is still lagging slightly in the digital revolution. However, it has the capability to find new avenues for improving quality and access to higher education, said the study. More emphasis is needed on digital and blended learning "as instruments to complement the internationalisation of higher education, not only through MOOCs but also through virtual exchange and collaborative online international learning." Generally, the role of European higher education institutions in the digital disruption of education has been erratic. An exception is Spain's Universitat Oberta de Catalunya, or UOC, which since 1995 has offered 100% online degrees, while the University of Tübingen in Germany may have actually started the OpenCourseWare movement by publishing videos of lectures online in 1999—three years before MIT in the US. The study found that while most countries' national strategies for internationalisation revolved around physical mobility, short- and long-term economic gains, recruitment-training of students and staff and international reputation, attention should focus more on curriculum and learning outcomes.

## BLENDING PROVISION

For most higher education institutions, internationalisation is about mobility (and targets), internationalising the campus at home, and "preparing graduates for a global market of products, services and ideas." Innovations in digital learning would have a direct bearing on how this is achieved. Many academic experts see MOOCs "as a potential enhancement to traditional forms of pedagogy, not as a replacement or even a successor stage." The study says that most MOOC experimentation points towards blended provision, but that was already happening before MOOC mania: in autumn 2011, 32% of students in the United States took at least one online course. Through blended learning, higher education institutions can brace themselves for the future. Studies in Britain and America prove that students actually prefer blended learning to purely face-to-face or solely online study, so the most successful online offerings must find ways to include community and social interaction, and consistent faculty-student engagement. UOC and the London-based FutureLearn platform are examples.

## PROVIDER EXAMPLES

Universitat Oberta de Catalunya in Barcelona, the first 100% online institution in the world and nearly 20 years old, developed from a local institution with a global reach to a "globally sensitive university committed to internationalization." Last year it accepted students from Italy and Greece who went to Barcelona for the cultural experience but whose studies are wholly online—virtual academic mobility, physical mobility, and a blended overall experience. UOC has partnerships with institutions in Chile, Dubai, China, and Australia and this year will offer a fully online joint executive MBA in Islamic Finance, in partnership with Hamdan Bin Mohammed Smart University—HBMSU—in Dubai, the first online university in the United Arab Emirates. Students will take the first year of core courses on the UOC platform and the second year of specialised courses on the HBMSU platform.

FutureLearn, owned by the Open University in the United Kingdom, was first conceived as a UK-branded MOOCs platform, but the consortium now includes research universities in eight other countries including the Netherlands, Norway, China, and Korea. It is a for-profit company and has received no public funding. Its first eight courses began in 2013 and student numbers were capped at 10,000 per course. Of these, 94% said they would recommend FutureLearn to friends, and 92% said the courses met or exceeded their expectations. For each course, between 24% and 45% of students posted comments during coursework and the average number of comments per student was seven. The proportion of students discussing course content on the platform increased to an average of 38% for the 21 courses that began in January 2014. FutureLearn pushes its social media-style interaction as a selling point, the aim being to "create a community of lifelong learners" and "remove the loneliness of distance learning". This is also an attempt to build into the MOOC experience the concept of the co-creation of knowledge by students.

## MORE OR LESS EQUALITY?

Said William Lawton: "If digital learning is a vehicle for building that kind of engagement and responsibility, it would represent a reversal of the demoralising trend, in fee-paying jurisdictions like the UK and US, towards a consumerist conceptualisation of higher education where getting 'value for money' is presumed to exhaust the aspirations of students." He added that access to internationalisation activities has not yet been equalised, and while the European Higher Education Area has achieved a higher level of student mobility than the rest of the world generally, it is still low. Hence the belief that not enough is done to bring the digital revolution to families, schools and higher education. "This is a laudably egalitarian concern: digital literacy is an asset worth aiming for. "But the digital revolution is insufficient to overcome the class divides upon which inequity in mobility and access are based. Digital learning is neither replacing nor enhancing traditional mobility. It is merely supplementing it." And although MOOCs "are touted as an egalitarian innovation, as is the internet, higher education's future may be less egalitarian: the elite will still receive elite education and the majority will get something quick, cheap, and easy. The irony is that the digital revolution may merely hasten our progress toward this less egalitarian future."

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BEN WILDAVSKY

# 35. DEVELOPING COUNTRIES: MOOCS IN THE DEVELOPING WORLD: HOPE OR HYPE?

*International Higher Education, Spring 2015, Number 80*

The first university class to carry the unwieldy acronym of the massive open online course (MOOC) was created in 2008 at the University of Manitoba. But the muchtouted MOOC revolution did not truly take off until several years later, with the emergence of the Big Three: for-profits Udacity and Coursera—educational organizations, and the nonprofit Harvard-Massachusetts Institute of Technology collaboration EdX—an online course. They remain the best-known players today, typically featuring free noncredit classes that offer some mixture of short video segments, quizzes, online discussion boards, and writing assignments graded by peers.

From the start, the global potential of MOOCs, particularly in the developing world, was a large part of what made them so captivating. When two renowned computer scientists at Stanford University took their Introduction to Artificial Intelligence class online and offered it free to students anywhere in the world, they quickly attracted 160,000 students from 190 countries. There were famously more students from Lithuania enrolled in the class than there are members of Stanford's entire student body. Since then, other MOOCs have expanded on a massive scale. Coursera, the largest MOOC provider, has registered 10 million students in courses offered by more than 100 universities. Its business model remains unproven, but it is a sufficiently attractive prospect to have received $85 million in venture funding. Along with growth has come evergreater ambition. Coursera proclaims a vision of the future in which "everyone has access to a world-class education that has so far been available to a select few."

## THE SKEPTICS

However, if the advent of MOOCs was accompanied by enormous enthusiasm about their potential to democratize access to high-quality education in poor countries, it was not long before MOOC hype gave way to MOOC hate, or at least intense skepticism. Critics argue that MOOC boosters have made vastly overblown claims about who really benefits from free, large-scale online classes. Moreover, they see MOOCs as poorly tailored to non-Western cultures and even as instruments of neocolonialism.

Are MOOCs really a boon to the developing world, or have they been oversold? The critics cite much evidence to bolster their cause. For one thing, most MOOC students already have degrees and live in developed countries. When the University of Pennsylvania surveyed the more than 400,000 active users of its Coursera classes, it found that two-thirds came from the United States and other Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development nations. These 34 industrialized countries account for a modest 18 percent of the world's population. However, MOOCs do not appear to be reaching students with little postsecondary education. The same survey found that 83 percent of students taking Penn's Coursera classes already have two- or four-year degrees (and that about two-thirds of those in developing countries are male). Moreover, MOOCs have notoriously high dropout rates. Just 5 percent of those enrolled in 17 EdX classes in 2012 and 2013 earned certificates of completion.

Last, detractors maintain the democratization of education promised by MOOC boosters falls short because it is based on the flawed assumption that the rest of the world will benefit from what MOOCs are selling. Critics call MOOCs elitist instruments of Western academic dominance that are not appropriately tailored to non-Western cultures and risk undermining local institutions and academic traditions.

## MORE GOOD THAN HARM

It is surely no surprise that the MOOC craze that peaked in 2012 has given way to so much skepticism. Some of the warnings critics offer deserve serious scrutiny. But MOOCs will likely do more good than harm in the developing world, particularly if they are not viewed as static but as evolving forms of technology-enabled pedagogy.

MOOC myth-busters are correct to note that non-Westerners with little education from low-income countries make up a distinct minority of MOOC students, and that completion rates are low. But these observations can themselves be misleading. MOOC enrollments are so large that even, say, a 90 percent noncompletion rate can still result in some eye-catching 10,000-plus students with certificates of completion. Also, many students counted as "dropouts" may have sampled course offerings without ever intending to complete. Students' educational backgrounds, too, are not as universally privileged as first appearances might suggest. While two-thirds of EdX course registrants in 2012 and 2013 reported having post-high school education, that still leaves 223,000 with a high school education or less. Moreover, it should be no surprise that wealthier, better educated people have dominated the first waves of MOOC enrollment. After all, the personal computer and Internet revolutions started with elites before gradually transforming broad swaths of society.

What about of alleged Western neocolonialism in MOOCs' academic content, institutional affiliation, and pedagogy? Perhaps the first response to such ideologically freighted criticism is that no one is being forced to sign up for MOOCs. Just as Western universities are enormous magnets for students from developing countries who have the means and motivation to attend them in person, online courses from

the likes of Stanford University and Massachusetts Institute of Technology hold significant appeal.

WORKS IN PROGRESS

It is fine, to ask whether MOOCs can be effective pedagogically in a range of cultural contexts. Yet, the most useful way to think about MOOCs in the developing world is to view them as works in progress. In short, we are in a period of experimentation on a massive scale. As in the United States, some MOOCs could end up leading to short-term, practical certificates rather than full-blown degrees. Some will end up appealing to learners who are primarily "browsers," akin to library users. For more engaged students, there is growing attention to blended models that make the best use of high-quality course content, while giving students face-to-face instruction tailored to their own strengths and weaknesses.

In Africa, for example, where 93 percent of the college aged population is not in college, a range of MOOCs and MOOC-like ventures is serving students with blended learning classes. Finding the most appropriate technology is a challenge. Broadband Internet connections are often hard to access, making mobile phones the best way to reach some students. Development expert Guy Pfefferman notes that 25 million Africans had mobile phones in 2001—a number that jumped to 280 million by 2013. In countries such as Ghana, Cameroon, Nigeria, and Tanzania, 80 percent or more of the population now owns mobile phones. Against this backdrop, EdX has announced a partnership with Facebook to create a project called SocialEDU. The idea of the pilot program, which will start in Rwanda, is to go beyond today's MOOC technology to build a platform that capitalizes on readily available and inexpensive mobile devices. Content, provided by EdX, will be free. Facebook will handle the app and create the kind of mobile learning environment that many believe will be crucial to taking free, high-quality course offerings to scale in the developing world.

The combination of expanding educational aspirations, greatly improved technology, and more creative pedagogy will inevitably lead to more global experimentation with MOOCs, naysayers notwithstanding. MOOCs will surely need to evolve to serve students more effectively. But, the standard for new forms of higher education should not be whether they are perfect. It should be how they compare to the highly imperfect alternatives faced by many students, particularly in the world's poorest countries.

YOJANA SHARMA

# 36. GLOBAL: MOVE OVER MOOCS – COLLABORATIVE MOOC 2.0 IS COMING

*University World News, 7 November 2014, Issue 342*

Massive open online courses—MOOCs—offered by top universities have expanded worldwide over the last three years, gaining students globally for courses designed in the United States and elsewhere and disseminated globally on platforms like Coursera, edX, and the British-based FutureLearn. Their spread has the potential to disrupt the model of bricks-and-mortar universities each with their own courses—a theme much discussed in academia.

But a new type of MOOC—dubbed MOOC 2.0—could even disrupt the way courses are devised, altering the top-down university designed curriculum and the professor-to-student course structure that is still part of the MOOC model. Current MOOCs are top-down, the English language dominates and in the view of some they are a "one-way transfer of knowledge from the West to the rest," says Yoonil Auh, a professor of instructional technology at Kyung Hee Cyber University, an online institution linked to the Kyung Hee bricks-and-mortar research university in South Korea. Even as conventional MOOCs are expanding—Coursera last week announced its first MOOC with an Indian institution—the new type of MOOC is in the pipeline and is poised, if not to cause further disruption in higher education provision, at least to sit alongside traditional higher education and conventional MOOCs as an alternative.

## ONE WAY

Many conventional MOOCs are developed and designed for Western teaching and learning experiences, says Auh, the lead project designer for MOOC 2.0. "But the general consensus here [among those working on MOOC 2.0] is that MOOCs education must be a collective effort from all parts of the world." What is important, according to Auh, is that to avoid a "type of neo-colonialism," receiving countries must collaborate in devising the MOOCs their students will study. "The stance of MOOC 2.0 is higher education should find ways to address the needs of those at the bottom of the pyramid while being sensitive to their culture," Auh told University World News. "Content will not have to be taken in a specific order but would be more like cafeteria-style modules that can be customised; only those modules taken that are needed for their community."

MOOC providers have found that, contrary to their expectation of MOOCs serving countries and students not reached by traditional types of higher education, the typical student in countries like Brazil, Russia, India, China, and South Africa already has a degree. "Report after report shows that most enrolled students already have college degrees and those learners are economically considered the 'haves' in the countries where they reside," says Auh. But with much of the world's youthful population in the developing world, particularly in Asia, "it is a myth to think providing open online learning from the English speaking countries to the world will address the challenges of expanding higher education in the developing world."

## COMMUNITY INPUT

MOOC 2.0 is currently in alpha form to test its functionality—"we had a group travelling in the Congo who tested it from there, and we have also tested it in South Asia," said Auh. The platform will move into beta version with a course on global citizenship education for teachers in Korea, developed collaboratively with community groups and NGOs. The two-way platform is expected to launch early next year with not just institutions but also community groups, including civil society organisations, providing input for learning. "MOOC 2.0 will act as an academic mediator," Auh said. "The MOOC 2.0 technology is such that students can actually learn from each other and the MOOC is the facilitator."

MOOC platforms like edx and Coursera create a network of elite universities and brilliant professors and disseminate their content, notes Auh, but that might be less than 1% of universities. Out of the 99% of institutions who may not be doing so well in terms of research, there may be many that are innovative in terms of teaching. "We may discover whole new areas of how the content should be taught from the untouched territory of local colleges and community colleges that we have not yet tapped into," says Auh. Kyung Hee Cyber University already offers especially devised humanitarian programmes to non-governmental organisations and their members in the field. MOOC 2.0 parallels those philosophies and goals, according to Auh. His group at Kyung Hee Cyber University, known as the Global Campus Initiative, is interested in studying how people exchange and share information among their own community and language, even when geographically dispersed. It could become the first MOOC when MOOC 2.0 launches. And there are other projects that would work well on the MOOC 2.0 platform.

## PROJECTS

Kyung Hee Cyber University is working with the Royal University of Fine Arts, or RUFA, in Cambodia, which had not had a music department since the civil war known as the 'killing fields' in the late 1970s led to the massacre of intellectuals, including teachers of music and the arts. RUFA set up its first music classes four years

ago. University teachers had to go and live for three to four years in the community, cultivating and educating students to become music teachers.

One of the projects involves videotaping and documenting teachers in the field, that can be posted back on the MOOC 2.0 platform "for other teachers in the field, or other parts of the world to study and observe how they learn after music education had disappeared at the national level for decades," says Auh, a former violin child prodigy who studied music at New York's Juilliard School before turning to computer programming at Columbia University in the US. A similar project is being devised in Myanmar with independent NGOs starting up music education at the local level after it disappeared under Myanmar's military Junta. "The idea is to document how learning takes place and to develop the kind of curriculum that would meet their needs," Auh says.

In Africa, the MOOC 2.0 designers have had talks with the University of West Africa looking at entrepreneurship programmes linking up with universities in developing and developed countries to help businesses to set up locally. By sharing local experience on the MOOC 2.0 platform they learn from each other and from others in similar socio-economic environments which have little in common with that envisaged by Western management and business education on conventional MOOCs.


INCUBATION

While MOOC 2.0 is being developed at Kyung Hee, once it has enough members it will be hived off into an independent organisation. Kyung Hee is incubating it "until it gets mature". "But we are not promoting Kyung Hee's agenda as an elite research-based university but will be trying to bring in as many institutions as possible and also non-profit organisations. Our agenda is a much more democratic one," Auh explains. "MOOC 2.0 is not about technology advancement alone. Rather, it is an educational movement supported by technology that was not possible in the past." MOOC 2.0 is a bold move away from mainstream groups and an innovative approach to social inclusion, he says.

There have been other attempts at inclusion, notably the open educational resources, or OER movement, with its OER University—a community of academic institutions, endorsed by UNESCO and intended to make knowledge the "common property of humankind," which is a move towards sharing knowledge worldwide. However, even with OER much of the knowledge is from the West. "It will be a while before OER gathers content from institutions from other parts of the world that meet the level of our expectations," says Auh. MOOC 2.0 is not competing for market share with conventional MOOCs. Rather, it is using technology to provide a structure for sharing knowledge. "We see this as mindware, open to all," he says. And, Auh adds: in the 21st-century "collaboration is the new competition."

ANNA BON

# 37. AFRICA: CLOSING THE DIGITAL GAP IN AFRICAN HIGHER EDUCATION

*International Higher Education, Summer 2011, Number 64*

In the past decades, information and communications technologies (ICTs) have fundamentally changed higher education and research, with the emergence of the World Wide Web—the greatest human-information construct in history—and the introduction of ICTs in teaching and learning, which spurred new interactive dynamic learning methodologies and enabled cross-cultural and flexible collaborative interactions. ICTs have become essential for higher education, as an infrastructure, a channel for information and communications, and a tool that helps drive innovation.

## BOTTLENECKS IN THE ICT INFRASTRUCTURE

Currently, many sub-Saharan African universities are lagging behind in the deployment of ICTs, compared to peer institutes on other continents. A variety of technical weaknesses in the basic physical ICT infrastructure can often be observed at many sub-Saharan African universities—where Internet capacity (bandwidth) is usually insufficient, shortages of computer equipment and software are widespread, energy supplies are unreliable, information is poorly secured, and technical end-user support is often absent. It is evident that this state of ICT infrastructures has to improve. Over the past few years, African universities made great efforts to close the digital gap by building physical ICT infrastructures and implementing information systems. Often with support of externally funded projects, computers were acquired and campus networks were built. Student-information systems were installed and connections to the Internet put in place. Yet, the main challenges relate to teaching and learning, creating an adequate research infrastructure, and delivering high-level experts for African society.

## OPPORTUNITIES OF ICTs

African universities need a good ICT infrastructure—first, as a channel for distance education—which is considered of highest importance for Africa. ICT-enabled distance education in Africa is believed to increase educational coverage. Moreover, distance education can reduce enrollment costs and facilitate access, as an example,

for women and geographically isolated people. ICTs are necessary to improve research capacity. Although research is encouraged through higher education policies, academic publishing at African universities remains in poor state, and research infrastructures are still inadequate. ICT networks can provide a channel toward participation in international research communities, enabling publishing and joint-knowledge creation.

Africa needs good education programs to deliver high-level ICT experts for the labor market. Currently, many private ICT academies exist in Africa, delivering network specialists and system administrators—important experts at the vocational level. However, Africa also needs ICT expertise at the master of science and PhD level, to fill the high-level positions in industry and society, and to enable ICT research in the local context of Africa. The latter is indispensable, because the existing problems of the "digital gap" can only be solved with knowledge of the local context.

## CHALLENGES

The technical shortcomings in the ICT infrastructure at many African universities are often attributed to external factors. Indeed, high costs of ICT equipment and maintenance represent challenges for African universities that are permanently short of the budget. Another external factor hampering the proper deployment of ICTs in higher education is "brain drain" of ICT staff, because universities are unable to offer competitive salaries. Donor-funded ICT projects, with investment budgets for ICT infrastructure, only solve the equipment shortage temporarily but often fail to establish sustainable solutions for institutional ICT management. Often, more emphasis is put on the technical implementation of information systems and virtual learning environments, than on the use of these ICT tools within the local context. Despite many external factors hampering ICTs, higher education institutes in Africa can take measures to raise the quality of ICTs within the institutional walls, by improving on ICT governance, and creating organizational culture and climate that allows innovation.

## RECOMMENDATIONS FOR IMPROVEMENT AND INNOVATION

Definitely, ICT governance must be improved at the organizational level. Top managers need to understand the role of ICTs in their organization and focus on service delivery, project management, and organizational culture. They must be aware that introduction of ICTs always causes changes in organizational culture. An open dialogue between end users, the ICT service unit, and higher management is essential, in the process of organizational change and the adoption of innovations.

From the point of view of research, studies on how to adapt ICTs within the local African context are crucial for African higher education. One example of a specific African condition, related to ICTs, is the recent spread of mobile telephony

within African society. This phenomenon creates opportunities for new methods of (mobile) learning and knowledge sharing among people with low-reading skills and low incomes. Research topics—such as, development of "Web 2.0" tools for rural development, mobile learning, and knowledge sharing in rural communities—are a few examples of ICT-related research topics, which can be relevant in the African context. A useful example of a research methodology in the African context is the Living Labs concept, which applies a systematic approach of user co-creation in the development of new products and ICT services. The concept is user centered, makes use of collective intelligence and community activities, and may result in reinvention and adoption of "travelling ideas." In South Africa, Living Labs are now being used, for example, in the Meraka Institute. This concept may soon spread to other research groups in Africa.

If African universities are to succeed in their role as innovators for society, an innovative climate is needed for research and education to flourish. Opinion leaders play an important role in the spread of innovations. Nevertheless, innovation processes take time and never occur overnight. African universities need to convert themselves into learning organizations, in which knowledge is not static but rather dynamically linked to action and creating favorable conditions for knowledge transfer and cocreation of knowledge. In such an environment, the mind-set of the opinion leaders, be it managers or researchers, is of greater significance than the availability of technical solutions.

GRACIAN CHIMWAZA, BLESSING CHATAIRA
AND CHIPO MSENGEZI

# 38. AFRICA: BUILDING ON DIGITAL LIBRARIES' GROWING MOMENTUM

*University World News, 20 June 2014, Issue 325*

Institutional repositories are increasing in number, improving access to online archiving and preserving and disseminating digital copies of the intellectual output of research institutions. Doors are opening for students in low-income countries to access instructional and tutorial materials from leading universities in the developed world at the touch of a button.

Digital libraries—collections of documents organised in an electronic form—encompass learning tools that could potentially enable huge strides in research, teaching and learning in African academic and research institutions. They support the development of institutional repositories, open educational resources or OERs, and massive open online courses or MOOCs. OERs are educational resources that are openly available for use by educators and students, without the need to pay royalties or licence fees, while MOOCs are a recent development providing free online courses aimed at unlimited participation and open access via the web. There is a proliferation of new private colleges and universities in Africa, largely based on income from tuition fees. OERs and MOOCs are competing with this business model.

## BENEFITS VS PITFALLS OF ONLINE LEARNING

Free online courses have been seen as a way to 'democratise' education by allowing more people in the developing world to gain access to expensive, ivory tower teaching and learning. On the other hand, there are concerns that MOOCs may create an unequal global education system, in which most students in affluent countries will continue to receive face-to-face instruction while many students elsewhere take classes only on the internet. Instead of reducing inequality in higher education, MOOCs have the potential to 'reconsolidate' it.

It is important to note that to date, MOOCs have been reported to be successful in affluent countries where they have been used to complement face-to-face teaching especially in distance education. More and more materials are now available in English online and there is a motivation to learn and teach in the language. Does

that have a negative impact on investment in materials in the myriad of languages in Africa?—only time will tell. More and more higher education institutions across Africa are making use of OERs, with the aim of enhancing teaching and learning. The MOOCs and OERs movement is set to expand the capacity to meet growing demand for educational and learning materials on the continent.

But will these technologies empower and serve the needs of resource-poor communities of learners—those at the 'bottom of the pyramid' in Africa—or will they fan the expansion of the educational gap between developed and developing countries, where the developed world has access to not only quantity but high quality, current learning materials and developing nations still struggle to get the quantity? Many seem to agree that while we continue to uphold the benefits we must not forget the dangers and pitfalls of online learning, such as a possible reduction in the quality of learning and lack of access to the internet by students, especially in developing nations.

## LIBRARIES INCREASE

There is no doubt that the growth of digital libraries in African higher education, which got off to a slow start in the last two decades, has increased. And with the improvement of internet access, growth is set to reach unprecedented levels in the near future. Over the years, these institutions have taken advantage of improved access to the internet by providing users with a wide variety of digital library resources. Thanks to various initiatives, many African institutions have access to free or low-cost e-resources.

In the scientific, technical and medical disciplines, offline and online resources—such as The Essential Electronic Agricultural Library or TEEAL, Research4Llife programmes and eGranary—are allowing access to important content for educators, scientists and students in low-income countries and at a fraction of the cost. TEEAL is a full-text and searchable database of articles from more than 300 high quality research journals in agriculture and related sciences spanning several years, accessible via an external hard drive—an offline resource used widely, particularly in remote research institutions in Africa where internet is still unreliable or non-existent. The Research4Life programme gives free or low cost access to more than 44,000 peer-reviewed international scientific journals, books and databases provided by the world's leading science publishers. Materials available from research and educational institutions via institutional repositories are growing—though some still have issues of quality, currency, and relevance.

## GRAPPLING WITH REGULATIONS

Many factors have been stifling growth in the academic and research sectors. Some of these factors in Africa are regulatory environments, the shifting role of library professionals, low levels of commitment to institutionalising open access

and problems of economic sustainability. The World Bank's Country Policy and Institutional Assessment, or CPIA, argues that weak public sector management, particularly in the area of intellectual property rights and rule-based governance, hinders the development and implementation of open access scholarly resources. Many legal systems in Africa are yet to support and encourage researchers to adopt open access policies because they are unsure of whether their intellectual property rights will be upheld or enforced. As a result, obligation to institutionalise open access is low, and belief in its benefits, awareness and use of these resources is also low. In spite of these challenges the entry of large licensing initiatives, such as Creative Commons, into the African market could strengthen existing legal frameworks and sensitise communities on intellectual property and copyright law. It is still early days on this—we have a long way to go to real open content.

## CHANGE TO SUIT HIGHER EDUCATION

The proliferation of information and communication technologies, or ICTs, and e-resources has provided benefits to higher education. The continuing reduction in the digital divide is supporting reduction of the research gap. According to publisher Elsevier, the research output from Africa has doubled and the continent is moving towards a knowledge-based economy. Investments in ICT infrastructure and developments with the undersea fibre optic cables have seen more African scholars accessing moderate internet connections. Already, internet penetration rates in Morocco, Tunisia, Egypt, Nigeria and Kenya are above or close to the world average of 34.3%. Smartphone penetration has been reported in double digits in all the regions of Africa—the spread is growing in leaps and bounds. This has encouraged the use of electronic academic resources and open educational resources.

Although e-learning is a significant feature of education and training, there are still many challenges in developing a clear model of what services institutions provide. It is necessary for information specialists and faculty to acquire relevant skills in order to support the transition to 'openness'—shifting from, for example, cataloguing to creating and maintaining interoperable, web-scale metadata, advising scholars on the complexities of licensing and communicating with other open access repositories. Therefore, there is a need for intensified training and skills building in this area. Users still do not know enough about what is available and for whom. Are we innovating to encourage use or access, or both? Not much has been done in information literacy training, which is invaluable for professionals and users to become skilled information users.

## RAISING THE BAR

Library development and digital education have not been a priority of many governments in Africa. This is because there are still many challenges like food, water, health, electricity, sanitation, and transportation. As a result, libraries lack

technology and adequately trained staff. They suffer as shrinking budgets limit maintenance of library services and use of new technologies, online databases, e-journals and general access to the internet. With more investment, trained employees and high information literacy, digital libraries will flourish. No doubt, within a decade digital libraries will significantly shape and influence the structure of higher education in Africa—especially in improved access, knowledge sharing and materials preservation—and the library will be at the centre of this development.

# PART 7

# REFLECTIONS ON HIGHER EDUCATION
# AND ITS MISSION

# INTRODUCTION

Universities represent historical, social institutions, embedded in various national context, which are compelled to constantly adapt to their complex political and socio-economic environments. Competing external demands influence the core missions of universities—teaching, research, and service—and press universities for change. This section brings together works that reflect on the (sometimes fluid) mission and scope of universities using a variety of perspectives.

The first article, written by Miri Rubin, offers a historical take on medieval universities, the social realities they reflected, as well as some of the lessons relevant for the present-day university as an institution. In a short but compelling piece, Patti McGill Peterson discusses how important it is for universities to maintain the mission of shaping societies while striving to respond to their ever-changing demands. In an article focused on the African context, Janice McMillan advocates for the reactivation of the civic mission of universities, creating responsible and civically-minded students. Eric Fredua-Kwarteng discusses the effectiveness of universities in Africa in creating graduates who are capable of disrupting the local status quo. While profiling the Ghanaian case, the author suggests that developmental universities would better suit the service mission of institutions, and ought to be developed on the continent. The section concludes with an article written by Steve Tombs and David Whyte, which makes the case for academics to be more grounded in the public space and in relevant societal debates.

Together, these articles suggest that universities represent key societal actors imbued with great responsibility for the societies they exist in. The task of balancing new expectations with the less pressing, but fundamental values of universities, will remain a challenge that universities need to embrace.

MIRI RUBIN


# 39. EUROPE: THE EUROPEAN MEDIEVAL UNIVERSITIES, FROM THE PAST AND TODAY

*International Higher Education, Spring 2012, Number 67*


As a historian of the Middle Ages, I am frequently asked about the links between universities then and now. Given the momentous changes affecting modern-day institutions of higher education and the lives of so many people—students, parents, teachers, and employers—such questions have become more frequent and more urgent. Given a great deal is different between the medieval universities and our own diverse global array of institutions, this makes comparisons difficult. None the less, an assessment of the role of medieval universities reveals some telling affinities that may hold lessons for today's turbulent times.

## CHURCH AND STATE

When universities emerged between 1150 and 1200 in Italy, France, and England, they responded to the needs of the main institutions of governance—the Church and dynastic kingdoms. Both systems' institutions required bureaucrats, trained in the procedures of government and its language, Latin. Latin still depended on the conventions developed in the classical antiquity, and these were transmitted through the study of the liberal arts of rhetoric, logic, and grammar. Jobs for graduates—bachelors of arts—ranged from the drafting of letters, treaties, and keeping of financial records.

Church and states managed justice, this also required legal experts: men trained beyond the liberal arts to higher degrees in law, just as they progress in the United States today—from the bachelor of arts to further studies in medicine and law. To support this all-important training—popes, kings, and emperors were willing to allow groups of students and teachers to come together in Bologna, Paris, Oxford, and Cambridge. They exempted scholars from taxes and allowed students and scholars to be self-governing. The papacy licensed universities to award degrees that were recognized throughout Europe. The bachelor of arts became the gold standard for a certain type of literacy and administrative capacity throughout the Christian world.

MEDIEVAL REALITIES

Yet, potential employers who stood to benefit most from well-trained personnel did not provide comprehensive funding for students. They exempted universities from some dues—just as much of today's educational sector enjoys charitable status in many places—thus, each student needed to seek support. For some students, this was easy. Clever monks were supported by their religious houses; bishops sponsored men on the condition that the scholars worked for them after graduation; lords of manors supported talented local boys who would return as household chaplains, secretaries, or parish priests. Most students had to create packages of funding, based on patronage, family support, and paid work. Accordingly, dropout rates in medieval universities were very high; the lists of matriculated students were always much longer than of those who graduated with the bachelor of arts. For students who relied on the whims of benefactors, any breakdown in the relationship could force them to drop out. Given the more precarious supports for university study, students are less likely to complete their courses. If students are required to beg and borrow support, they may well fall out of the system—wasting the time and the funds already invested in them.

Another interesting point arises from the high-dropout rate at medieval universities. Those who left before graduating were still able to use the skills acquired to secure employment. The skills were highly transferable and in such short supply, that even people who had studied for only a year or two had an advantage. They could become one of thousands of teachers, tutors, scribes, and recorders that medieval society required—modest medieval equivalents to Steve Jobs and Mark Zuckerberg.

Finance of universities was closely linked to student enrollments during the Middle Ages. Outside certain areas of present-day Germany and Italy, most landed and titled people educated their sons at home. Their heirs did not need to follow a profession taught and accredited by the universities. Nor were universities the sole recruiters and trainers of bright, ambitious men. Whole areas of activity were not taught in universities. There were guild apprenticeships for surgeons, merchants, and notaries; the Inns of Court for aspiring lawyers; Chancery training for civil servants; workshops for artists; and military training at royal and aristocratic courts and within fighting units.

Finally, regarding creativity, the futility of some aspects of medieval university learning, especially the system known as scholasticism, has long been the subject of satire—just as it was lampooned in the Middle Ages. Scholasticism was a method of training through dialectical probing, applied to questions ranging from medical to theological studies. Dialectical questioning for and against a preposition was familiar to all educated people and enabled some sharp and radical thinking. The philosopher Peter Abelard (1079–1142) used it in Paris (albeit before the university was founded) to question the existence of God; the theologian John Wycliffe (ca. 1330–1384) in Oxford, to question the nature of the sacraments and the relationships between church and state; and the biblical scholar and theologian Martin Luther (1483–1546)

at Wittenberg University, to assail a 1,000-year-old system of Christian belief and practice, changing it forever. Far from being stale and predictable, medieval universities produced not only civil servants and ecclesiastical bureaucrats but also radical thinkers, whose work had real impact and who—despite their challenging critiques—died in their beds, not in prison cells.

## CONTEMPORARY LESSONS

With millions aspiring to university education in Europe, the United States, India, and China—we face the challenge of making universities an effective training ground, while also a center for creativity and boldness. In the medieval universities, young men were set apart for a period of intensive intellectual and social interaction, away from home, among peers, and in the presence of inspiring teachers. The skills imparted were highly transferable because they were generic: the ability to analyze texts, argue a case, examine problems from all points of view, and interrogate questions in order to reach solutions. Their liberal arts curriculum was already hundreds of years old, and it combined instruction in verbal dexterity with training in numbers and proportions. Like graduates today, some in the Middle Ages expected to serve and manage in their own countries, while others aspired to travel beyond on missions or for further study—armed with highly transferable skills. They studied all that was essential for the critical understanding of systems, for managing complex entities, for observing the world and for the forging of solutions to ever-emergent challenges.

Such educated men expected to interact throughout their careers with people accomplished in other skills and trained otherwise: surgeons, notaries, architects, painters, merchants, soldiers, and map makers. Guilds, courts large and small, Inns of Court, and family workshops all trained people to crafts that could lead to financial reward and renown. A combination of bookish learning and guild training was necessary to produce such marvels as the 13th-century remaking of Westminster Abbey or the poetry of Geoffrey Chaucer, a century later.

## LESSONS FOR TODAY

Thinking about medieval universities might provide some beneficial lessons. Perhaps we should not burden students with having to seek finance during this crucial period of training. Such burdens lead to suboptimal performance and the wasteful abandonment of precious university places. Since their skills are a common good, everything should be devised and encouraged—comfortable student loans, scholarships, state support, and charitable endowment—to keep universities free at the point of access. Another lesson is that the universities are not alone in fostering excellence. While the skills of high-level critical thinking and communication are essential to all forms of governance, other forms of reasoning and practice also deserve support and remuneration—design, craft, engineering, and more.

Transferability of skills should be central to higher education. As students are challenged by the rich heritage of human understanding—literature, languages, arts, social theories, sciences, and philosophy—they develop out of those specialized intricacies the ability to analyze and build, correct, and complement. What is worth studying should not be decreed by crude utilitarianism. For training the mind, we need both Latin and mathematics. At a time of flux in modern higher education, policymakers, presidents, and academics should not overlook the past when mapping out the future.

PATTI MCGILL PETERSON

# 40. GLOBAL: THE MISUSES OF THE UNIVERSITY

*International Higher Education, Spring 2015, Number 80*

We live in an age where understanding your core mission and being true to it are fundamental concepts for healthy organizations. My concern for the future of higher education is the number of stakeholders, who place upon it an ever-expanding list of competing demands and their impact on its core mission. When Cardinal Newman wrote about universities in the 1850s, he wanted to define not only their purpose for students but also their purpose in society. Central to Newman's conception was the student and the environment for teaching and learning. It was connected to society but not driven or heavily shaped by it. Fast forward to Clark Kerr about 100 years later—the uses of the university trump the idea of the university. His "multiversity" is a mega purpose institution—a place of competing visions and, according to Kerr, is so many things to so many other people that it must be at war with itself.

Juxtaposing Newman and Kerr is not merely an act of nostalgia. It is a signal that demands on universities, and higher education in general have grown exponentially. Higher education has been placed increasingly in the position of providing the antidote for whatever issues governments, business and industry, major donors, and other stakeholders define as needing solution. In this scenario, it is very difficult to be true to a core educational mission and to plan strategically to enhance it over time. Institutions are like Napoleon on the Russian front, with their line of advance too wide and their supply lines too short.

All higher education institutions, not just those tertiary institutions with vocational missions, are increasingly held accountable for matching their education offerings with workforce needs and the employability of their graduates. This has led to the steady "vocationalization" of higher education at the undergraduate level. The dangers of designing higher education curricula for immediate usefulness are real. Gearing degrees to the contemporary workplace and training students for specific jobs can potentially pave the way to chronic unemployment. The forces of globalization and new discoveries can shutter factories, bypass entire industries, and throw graduates who are narrowly educated on the slag pile of human obsolescence.

While we need not return to the Studium Generale to be true to higher education's core mission, it is time to consider how to balance relevance with timelessness and short-term usefulness with long-term competency. As we look to the future, we need to reckon with what "useful" means in considering higher education's obligations to

its students and society. If the core mission is to educate students well for a lifetime, its usefulness will include an intellect developed for a personally rewarding life, the wherewithal for informed citizenship, and the ability to move productively between multiple jobs and careers.

Great universities and well-developed higher education systems will legitimately be asked to respond to societal needs. The challenge will be in managing those demands without losing the very thing that has made them great.

JANICE MCMILLAN

# 41. AFRICA: DEVELOPING CIVIC-MINDED UNIVERSITY GRADUATES

*University World News, 6 February 2015, Issue 353*

Living in the age of 'supercomplexity' in which the world is increasingly unknowable, disruptive, unequal, and disturbing, we are constantly assailed by difficult questions, competing priorities and a multiplicity of choices and options. In South Africa and Africa more broadly, we see this daily in the urgent, complex, heated debates around poverty, inequality, democracy, justice, responsibility, and restitution. Many people argue that universities need to play a more active role in building more 'civic-minded, global citizens', who can deal with these complex challenges. Universities need to move beyond the 'mantra' of knowledge and skills and consider ways to bring students into, and equip students for 'being' in the world in new ways.

Martha Nussbaum, an American philosopher and author, writes in one of her essays, *Cultivating Humanity and World Citizenship*, that there are three capacities that higher education should nurture in "cultivating humanity" in students: the ability to critically examine one's own traditions and beliefs; the recognition of one's community and fellowship with human beings around the world; and the ability to consider what it might be like to walk in another person's shoes. Taken together these capacities—if they are built into teaching and learning—can help to develop students as active, critical, aware, and civic-minded graduates.

## CREATING CIVIC MINDEDNESS

Higher education in Africa and South Africa is increasingly shaped by global pressures and national priorities; given this, some authors have commented on the need for more 'civic-minded' graduates. The work of such authors gives meaning and identity to the term civic minded. Yusuf Waghid, professor of philosophy of education at Stellenbosch University, views attributes such as compassion, criticality, and a sense of responsibility as necessary to enable students to contribute towards what he calls "civic reconciliation and transformation."

Crain Soudien, professor of education and deputy vice-chancellor of the University of Cape Town, has argued that in the relationship between education and citizenship, there are two positions. The first position is that we need to teach young people their history and culture in order to "build their dignity and feelings of self-worth," and

the second position is that education needs to provide young people with the "high skills knowledge—the cultural capital—that will enable them to operate within the complexity of a globalised world". As challenging as it is, Soudien has noted that it is critically important to give students both a sense of self and of local history, and a connection to the kinds of knowledge that can enable them to understand the complexity of the global.

## EMBEDDING CIVIC MINDEDNESS

Cultivating a sense of self and developing an understanding of the concerns of both local and global communities have shaped the development of the University of Cape Town's Global Citizenship: Leading for Social Justice Programme or GCP, which was launched in 2010. Linked to the university's goals of enhancing the quality and profile of its graduates, of being an Afropolitan university and of contributing meaningfully to South Africa's development challenges, the programme aims to:

- Expose students to global citizenship and social justice issues, beyond degree or discipline.
- Develop in students the capacity for leadership on contemporary global-political and social justice issues.
- Promote awareness of students as future global citizens.

The campus-wide GCP programme is open to all students from all faculties and levels of study. The mainstays of the programme are three extra-curricular short courses: Global Debates, Local Voices (GC1); Service, Citizenship and Social Justice (GC2); and 60 hours of self-organised community service with structured reflection (GC3). The need to fit in with students' academic responsibilities has determined the programme's strong online learning component. The three courses appear on the transcript as continuing education short courses. The GCP is a learning programme but not a conventional academic project. It engages students as thoughtful and opinionated scholars and citizens, who are keen to learn, think about, critique and respond to key contemporary issues.

Given our African context, we bring social justice into the framing of our questions and considerations from the outset and use this lens to think about whether and how we might be responsive to, and responsible for, the world in which we live. The programme is concerned both with 'the global' and its connections with 'the local'. Two of the short courses look at these issues, albeit in slightly different ways. GC1 considers global issues first and asks how these are realised or represented locally—that is, it focuses on how we respond to global issues locally manifested. GC2 focuses more specifically on how, in our engagement and partnerships with local communities, we have the potential to mirror global dynamics and power relationships in microcosm. At both levels, we challenge students to confront the centrality of power in local and global relationships.

In addition, while this programme is important in its role in building active citizens, it has a key role to play in the making of the intellectual. It is about building a sense of citizenship and social activism through intellectual engagement. We want students to have the opportunity to be critical thinkers—not just through opportunities for social activism and engagement, but also through deep and engaged critical thinking, so that they also have a sense of the world of ideas and how these two aspects are related. These are key attributes of civic-minded citizens. It is clear that a concept like a 'civic-minded graduate' has both universal meanings and local significance. Both South Africa in particular and Africa more broadly require graduates to engage with social justice issues, from a global and local standpoint.

Education therefore needs to be designed not just to be about but also in response to injustice. There is a need to frame understandings of civic mindedness and global citizenship so that we can help students enact these identities in particular contexts in specific ways. From our work on the GCP, learning and education for civic mindedness and citizenship provides an important 'lens on the world', a way of learning about and engaging with the world in new ways, reflecting new forms of being through which students can develop new sensitivities.

Finally, we believe that challenging one's assumptions and really understanding the meaning and practice of critical thinking, analysis, and reflection, are key to dealing with uncertainty and to engaging in more inclusive and non-stereotypical ways with others, thereby developing civic mindedness. Crucially, this provides an opportunity for an enriched and wider education experience outside of one's primary degree programme. As the GCP enters its sixth year, the challenge is how to bring relevant aspects of the teaching and learning approaches on the programme to bear on the curriculum more broadly. The programme has developed a credit-bearing course in the engineering faculty that has run successfully for the past two years, but more colleagues need to be encouraged to open up opportunities for socially responsive teaching and learning across the disciplines. We need teaching and learning that engages the student not only as an emergent professional but also as a committed, thoughtful and civic-minded young citizen. This means rethinking pedagogy and the complex relationship between knowledge, skills, and values.

ERIC FREDUA-KWARTENG

# 42. AFRICA: THE CASE FOR DEVELOPMENTAL UNIVERSITIES

*University World News, 30 October 2015, Issue 388*

Over the decades, African universities, particularly the publicly funded ones, have played a significant role in developing human resources for state bureaucracies including ministries, departments, boards and agencies, the education sector, and the professional class, such as lawyers, bankers, judges, engineers, doctors, accountants, and managers. Nonetheless, African universities have had minimal to zero impact on producing the people who can solve the developmental problems plaguing the African continent. In fact, the graduates turned out by these universities tend to perpetuate the status quo rather than transform the state organisations that employ them. They are imbued with a colonial sense of entitlement, lack problem-solving skills, and demonstrate low levels of work productivity. I want to argue for the conversion of existing classical African universities into developmental universities, using Ghanaian universities as a case study and addressing the question: considering the myriad social, economic, and political problems confronting Ghana, what kind of university does it need?

## THE CONCEPT OF A DEVELOPMENTAL UNIVERSITY

The curricula, pedagogies and philosophical orientations of classical universities focus on preparing students for government employment. Private classical universities, in particular, derived their core mission from merely expanding access to university education, focusing primarily on teaching, preparation of students for professional fields (such as human resources, accounting, management, information technology, and theology) and on profit-making.

Under the market economy regime with its deregulation of higher education, some entrepreneurs have identified an opportunity for making profit by establishing private universities and university colleges in Ghana. Ghana at this time needs 'developmental universities', not the classical universities that have dominated the higher education landscape since the attainment of political independence. In a 1957 speech, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, the first president of Ghana, laid down the following vision for developmental universities for Ghana and the rest of Africa: "We must seek an African view to the problems of Africa. This does not mean that Western

techniques and methods are not applicable to Africa. It means, however, that in Ghana we must look at every problem from the African point of view (….) Our whole educational system must be geared to producing a scientifically-technically minded people. Because of the limitations placed on us, we have to produce, of necessity a higher standard of technical education than is necessary in many of the most advanced countries of the Western world (….) The university will be the coordinating body for education research, and we hope that it will eventually be associated with research institutes dealing with agriculture, biology and the physical and chemical sciences which we hope to establish."

Though Dr. Nkrumah made this speech 58 years ago, the core ideas are still as valid for our contemporary times as they were at the time he articulated them. In other words, developmental universities are research-oriented. They have a strong established research culture from undergraduate to postgraduate level that contributes to the clarification, analysis, and solution of local, regional, and national problems. This orientation is reflected in their mission statements, management style, and curricula as well as their pedagogies and assessment practices.

In 2006 the Uruguayan academic Professor Judith Sutz gave the following definition of the developmental university: "To increase their contribution to development through the production and distribution of knowledge, universities in developing countries need to transform themselves into 'developmental universities'. But to achieve this, other participants, such as industry and government, must also be prepared to take on new responsibilities. No ready-made model exists to guide these changes; they will require both creativity and the willingness to engage in thoughtful dialogue, both within and outside universities."

Though teaching is part of the mission of developmental universities, it is not their dominant mission. Their dominant mission is research production, transmission, and utilisation and preparation of students to engage in social and scientific research activities. It is through such research activities, as Dr. Nkrumah rightly envisioned, that the problems of tropical Ghana in health, agriculture, sanitation, energy, food preservation, and storage could be solved. In this case, Dr. Nkrumah envisioned Ghanaian universities as agents or nodes of problem-solving and production of knowledge, not citadels of privilege and consumers of scarce national financial resources without any reciprocal contribution. In addition, a developmental university is not internally focused or stagnant but views itself as a developmental agent or node for development. Accordingly, it maintains partnerships with government, industry, and community organisations.

## WHY DEVELOPMENTAL UNIVERSITIES?

First, Ghana's developmental problems as a nation-state are still present despite claims of economic prosperity and the discovery of oil. These include tropical diseases such as malaria, tuberculosis, schistosomiasis, onchocerciasis or river blindness, leprosy and Guinea-worm, grinding poverty, hunger, high infant mortality,

poor urban sanitation, housing, malnutrition, low labour productivity, unsafe drinking water, dangerous road networks, and dysfunctional bureaucracy. These developmental issues require the establishment of developmental universities in Ghana that are committed to making a contribution to the solution of these problems, as Dr. Nkrumah envisioned.

Second, the social role of classical universities in Ghana has always been that of the reproduction of colonial relations rather than any transformation of those relations. They do not empower their students to critically interrogate and critique the colonial stockpile of knowledge that has destroyed their students' psychological health and self-confidence. Instead, they deepen such psychological problems by inviting students to genuflect and consume imported knowledge unthinkingly. Parroting knowledge uncritically, as has become a major characteristic of classical universities, has not helped Ghana's developmental efforts. This is certainly what Dr. Nkrumah meant by developing an African view for African problems. This does not imply that Euro-American or Asian bodies of knowledge are valueless to Africa, but that some of those bodies of knowledge are irrelevant given the context of African problems. Of course, Ghanaian classical universities offer degree programmes in engineering, medicine, management, economics, psychology, anthropology and sociology, but they are not designed to develop and sharpen students' critical and analytical skills to question prevailing practices and the body of knowledge and ideas embedded in imported learning resources.

Third, Ghana has many research institutes under the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research, such as the Food Research Institute, the Crops Research Institute, the Animal Research Institute, the Institute of Industrial Research, the Oil Palm Research Institute, and the Savanna Agricultural Research Institute. These research organisations are waste pipes, lying dormant and in dire need of leadership in scholarship, research and applied knowledge to make them productive and contributors to the country's development. It was the vision of Dr. Nkrumah that Ghanaian universities would work in conjunction with these research organisations to produce knowledge for developmental purposes.

Sadly, this vision of developmental universities has not been translated into policies, let alone action plans. Indeed, the lack of a comprehensive national higher education policy with links to national development plans has compounded the problem, allowing Ghanaian university leaders to chart their own path while at the same time demanding an injection of public funding and investment. Furthermore, the emergent consensus in research literature is that investment in economic infrastructures, education and human resources, development and technology transfer are grossly insufficient to ensure economic growth and development in Africa. Consequently, many aid organisations like the USAID are targeting African universities as conduits for development in their specific countries. Unless Ghanaian universities are converted into developmental universities, the efforts of these aid organisations will be in vain. In fact, knowledge production and utilisation is a crucial tool for minimising, if not eliminating, underdevelopment problems in

Africa. With the abundant endowment of natural resources and cheap labour, it is impossible to overcome developmental problems in Africa without the contributions of local intellectuals in the form of knowledge production and utilisation. While not all Ghanaian intellectuals are found in or are affiliated with universities, a vast majority of them are; hence, their knowledge production and transmission is crucial for national development.

In line with the current discourse on African university transformation, it is not surprising that the former secretary general of the United Nations, Kofi Annan, added his voice to calls for the establishment of developmental universities in Africa: "The university must become a primary tool for Africa's development in the new century. Universities can help develop African expertise; they can enhance the analysis of African problems; strengthen domestic institutions; serve as a model environment for the practice of good governance, conflict resolution and respect for human rights; and enable African academics to play an active part in the global community of scholars." As a matter of fact, a classical university is converted into a developmental university when it becomes a primary tool for generating knowledge for national purposes. Its courses and pedagogy engage students to develop expertise, analysis and problem-solving via field, laboratory and literature research. Its faculties have a well-planned research agenda and are active participants in global discourses as researchers, scholars and practitioners in their individual fields of specialisation. In addition, its academics are passionate advocates on regional, national, and continental issues, not only in academic publications but also on television and in the daily, weekly, and monthly media.

Lastly, university graduate unemployment in Ghana has now reached a national crisis point. It is argued that Ghanaian university programmes are mismatched to the job market requirements; hence university graduates do not possess the prerequisite skills like analytical, communication, problem-solving, and team-building skills. Nevertheless, it is not the courses alone that are irrelevant to the job market. The teaching strategies that are used to deliver the course contents are completely out of date and do not contribute to the development of student employability skills. The professor-dominated teaching practices that characterise Ghanaian classical universities offer students practically no opportunities to develop and hone their analytical, communication, problem-solving, and team-building skills.

In developmental universities, by contrast, students develop skills in how to read literature critically, evaluate and synthesise the information from a variety of sources rather than having the professors read the texts for them and dictate notes to them to copy and consume. These skills are crucial for a research culture which is at the epicentre of developmental universities. In addition, in such universities students are not passive recipients of information or knowledge; instead they participate actively in classroom discourses through presentation, debate, reflection, discussion, questioning, critique and group work. Again, these pedagogical strategies are integral to the culture of research.

A COMPREHENSIVE NATIONAL POLICY

Successive Ghanaian governments in the post-Nkrumah era have failed to lay down any precise, comprehensive national policy framework to guide and regulate the establishment and operation of universities to ensure they contribute to the economic, cultural and political development of Ghana—that is to say, any university that is allowed to operate in Ghana should have a mission, research agenda, corresponding curricula, and pedagogy that contribute to the fulfilment of national needs, priorities, and aspirations. This assertion is being made mindful of the fact that the Ghana National Accreditation Board, or NAB, was established in 1993 to issue accreditation certificates to higher education institutions that satisfy its standards and regulations and also to conduct periodic external quality assessments of those accredited institutions. Nevertheless, the NAB policies and regulations are hotchpotch documents which are not aligned with any national development plans. The absence of a comprehensive national higher education policy framework has made it increasingly difficult to hold university leaders to account for the developmental role of their institutions. It is from a comprehensive national policy that the NAB would derive its accreditation and quality assurance criteria for universities in Ghana.

STEVE TOMBS AND DAVID WHYTE

# 43. AUSTRALIA: CRITICAL SCHOLARSHIP IN A HOSTILE CLIMATE: ACADEMICS AND THE PUBLIC

Corporations are involved in every area of our lives. In our education, health, welfare, and criminal justice systems, they are ever-present. So obvious is this 'fact' of life that it is often only in moments of crisis—such as the recent Hazelwood coal mine fire for the residents of Morwell in Australia (ABC, 2014)—that we bother to question the consequences of corporate activity. That said, and with no hint of irony, in the same week that the fire at Hazelwood was extinguished, the Abbott government announced its "red tape bonfire": 12 deregulation bills, to be rolled out through the autumn, all of which will further free business from its burdens of regulation (Hurst, 2014).

## WHOSE 'BURDEN' IS IT?

The idea that regulation is a burden to be lessened is a mantra for politicians and a growing number of academics. But this ignores the weight of evidence that the significant burden of corporate activity is shouldered by the most vulnerable. Combined World Health Organization and International Labour Organization data shows that more than one in eight deaths across the globe are the result of air pollution or working (Khullar, 2014). Our research has shown that most deaths caused by working and air pollution are caused by corporate activity. This is a basic but very clear indicator of how profit is privatised and how the 'burden' of risk is really distributed.

This should be the starting point for thinking about how we regulate corporations, particularly in the wake of the Hazelwood fire. Carcinogenic air pollutants in Morwell have been estimated at 20 times the average level (Davidson, 2014). However, such facts are barely acknowledged by academics when they analyse and develop strategies of corporate regulation. We used to take it for granted that university researchers would be able to ask the most difficult, challenging, and important questions. At the very least, they would expose political rhetoric when it is palpably nonsense. There is a very large body of academic researchers—with the most influential based in Australia—who study corporate regulation. Their work tends to end up in obscure

journals; much of it is funded by governments and corporations themselves; and it is used by policy-makers to legitimate deregulation. These researchers rarely stand alongside social movements that seek to challenge the dominant political agenda, which sees public protection as a 'burden'.

## THE ENTREPRENEURIAL UNIVERSITY

The freedom to ask awkward questions about corporate—and, relatedly, state—power is increasingly subjected to a range of subtle and not-so-subtle controls. Reliance on, or craving for, business and state funding for research makes it less rather than more likely that academics will ask why governments have failed to protect us from corporations. Academics are not just pushed to seek such funding: they are increasingly performance-measured by the extent to which they secure it. Those pressures are driven by university managers obsessed with rankings tables, generating pressure to publish academic papers in a narrow band of 'prestigious' journals at the expense of publishing for wider, non-academic audiences. Meanwhile, 40% to 60% of all Australian university academics are on fixed-term, often short, contracts (Bexley, James, & Arkoudis, 2011). The casualisation of employment within contemporary universities weakens the ability of academics to resist the entrepreneurial demands of management. The net effect of these changes is that university researchers—nudged and cajoled into courting business—are less likely to open up the skills and resources of the university to those relatively powerless, vulnerable, disadvantaged groups in our societies. They are also less likely to frame their research questions in line with the concerns and needs of these groups, and are less likely to make the fruits of their research freely available to groups outside the university.

## HOLDING POWER TO ACCOUNT

These observations raise certain key questions. Where might non-official knowledge that challenges our assumptions about corporate activities and who really shoulders the 'burden' of these be generated? How might this knowledge contribute to a debate about the more effective regulation of corporate activity and about greater state accountability for its collusion in the production of corporate harm? And finally, how can academic work support those engaged in struggles for justice—such as the residents of Morwell, consistently reassured by government and corporations that they are in no danger from the airborne pollution caused by the fire? However hostile the climate of the entrepreneurial university, those of us who work in academia enjoy relative privilege—some much more than others. We have access to resources that most other workers simply do not enjoy. This entails a responsibility to put those resources to work in a genuinely critical way that aspires to further social justice.

As the fallout from Hazelwood unfolds, whatever the inquiry uncovers (Cook & Toscano, 2014), we can be certain of one thing. A critical scrutiny of the history of

the mine, its privatisation, the licensing and regulation regime, and the nature of the response to the fire would all shed some light on the murky world of state-corporate relationships, where power and profit collide and collude. We can also be sure that both the government and the owners, GDF Suez, will do all they can to ensure that business-as-usual proceeds, protected by the state, even as it claims legitimacy in the name of protecting workers and the public.

It is the role of academic researchers to challenge the political rhetoric and the collusive relationships between government and corporations that allow workers, communities, and the environment to be endangered. We can only do this by aligning ourselves more closely with the social movements and campaigns fighting for social justice, rather than with governments, politicians, and corporations.

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# PART 8

# THE CENTRALITY AND CRISIS OF THE ACADEMIC PROFESSION AND THE STUDENT EXPERIENCE

# INTRODUCTION

Two actors are generally seen as the core of the academic enterprise: faculty and students. UWN and IHE have devoted generally less space to issues connected to faculty and students than to other topics. This section, however, combines articles focused on both populations. The challenges faced by students and faculty sometimes overlap, and sometimes diverge. Academic freedom for faculty has been one of the key topics addressed by the two publications; the student experience and the role of student activism have also received attention. Further, issues around mobility have been highlighted for students and faculty alike.

The first article in this section discusses the troubling challenges faced by academics who are perceived as enemies of the state. Brendan O'Malley provides compelling and informed examples of the repercussions experienced by academics around the world, including but not limited to detention without charge and restrictions on academic freedom. The article also discusses the important work conducted by Scholars at Risk, an independent organization that attempts to help academics facing political threats. Kemal Gürüz offers a cogent analysis of the changing manifestations of university autonomy and academic freedom, using a historical perspective. Ramez Maluf notes the importance of academic freedom in order to create world class universities, with a particular focus on the Arab world. Indeed, contemporary national governments aspire to create world class universities. As quality research and academic freedom are interdependent, academic freedom has found a new rationale to convince governments that have traditionally been less inclined to accept it.

Faculty around the world face many challenges. As public funding declines, universities in the U.S. seek to cut costs, and often one area of austerity is the number of tenure track positions available at universities. However, Iván F. Pacheco offers a distinct approach to this problem by pointing out the increasing opportunities for faculty track positions in Latin America.

As previously noted, the number of articles focused on students has been somewhat scarce in the two publications, of which three articles have been selected for this section. In a powerful testimony of the impact and role played by students in their respective national contexts, Philip Altbach and Manja Klemenčič offer evidence to support that student activism is still a potent force world-wide. In the following piece, Klemenčič discusses the importance of creating a sense of community and responsibility among students towards university campuses, and society at large. The last article in this section profiles the unfortunate reality of extreme pressure faced by some students during their study. Karryn Miller offers a sobering view of student suicides in South Korea as well as some of the considered measures to address this pressing problem.

INTRODUCTION

Students and faculty remain pivotal actors within the higher education arena and attention to the issues they face and the opportunities they are presented with should be of crucial importance to analysts, researchers, and policy makers. The articles in this section highlight a few of such issues and opportunities, but by no means represent an exhaustive view of this critical sphere of inquiry.

BRENDAN O'MALLEY

## 44. GLOBAL: WHERE ACADEMICS ARE HOUNDED AS 'ENEMIES' OF THE STATE

*University World News, 26 June 2015, Issue 373*

On 15 January 2014, Chinese police raided the home of Ilham Tohti, a Chinese economics professor and advocate for the rights of the Uighur ethnic minority group. They seized computers, mobile phones, passports, and students' essays. The professor and seven of his students were arrested. They were reportedly held incommunicado for respectively five and eight months, without access to a lawyer. Professor Tohti was charged last July and in September, as reported by University World News, he was subjected to a closed criminal trial. He was accused of spreading "lessons containing separatist thoughts" via his website, Uighur Online. His defence lawyers said they were denied access to evidence in advance of the trial and were barred from calling defence witnesses during it. Human rights groups suspect that recorded statements by three of the students—that were presented as evidence that the professor sought to stir ethnic tensions and anti-government sentiment—were made under coercion. The professor was found guilty of advocating independence for the region of Xinjian, attacking government policies related to family planning and ethnic and religious issues, expressing support for 'terrorists', and 'internationalising' the issue of Uighur rights by speaking to foreign journalists. He was sentenced to life in prison and the court ordered the confiscation of his assets. In December, the students were sentenced to three to eight years in prison, also on charges related to separatism. Reports indicated that the three students whose statements were used against the professor received shorter sentences.

Professor Tohti's story was reported last week in a new report, Free to Think, published by the New-York based Scholars at Risk's Academic Freedom Monitoring Project. The Scholars at Risk, or SAR, report rightly highlights that 485 higher education students and members of staff were killed in its four and a half year reporting period, as reported in the University World News news section this week (O'Malley, 2015). The incidents ranged from individuals being picked off by unidentified gunmen to mass attacks with guns or bombs by armed groups, which are reported across the world. But an interesting finding below the headline figures is the extent to which state authorities, even in non-conflict countries, are using violence, imprisonment, and lower levels of intimidation to put pressure on students and academics in order to silence alternative points of view.

Many of these go under the radar of international media attention but collectively stymie the legitimate work of universities as places where plurality of view and critical thinking are encouraged in order to widen and deepen knowledge to the benefit of all. As the report says, attacks on higher education "are not limited to conflict, instability or overt violence."

## DETENTION WITHOUT CHARGE

In many societies members of higher education communities, including administrators, scholars and students, regularly suffer arrest, interrogation, detention with or without charges, prosecution, and imprisonment, the SAR report says. The monitoring project considers such conduct "wrongful" when the application of coercive legal authority is intended to punish, deter or impede academic speech, content or conduct, or, in the case of imprisonment, when the intent is to sanction a member of the higher education community for their exercise of protected rights. The monitors have documented at least 86 incidents involving prosecution or imprisonment of members of higher education communities in 37 countries, including China, Malaysia, Saudi Arabia, and Ethiopia. The report says these represent only a small fraction of the overall problem. By their nature, informal detentions and interrogations may take place in isolated areas out of view, limiting the possibility of there being witnesses. "They often include implied or explicit threats of retaliation or violence against the individual, colleagues or family for speaking publicly, making identifying and monitoring incidents even more difficult," the report says.

## RESTRICTING CRITICAL INQUIRY

Prosecutions of individual scholars and students are typically brought under laws aimed at restricting critical inquiry and expression, SAR says. In particular, these include "opaque and overbroad blasphemy, lèse majesté, civil and criminal defamation, sedition and terrorism laws which make illegal the mere expression of opinions or ideas on certain topics, without any link to violent or otherwise criminal acts or intentions whatsoever." The report cites the example of Azmi Sharom, a law lecturer at the University of Malaya in Malaysia, who in September last year was charged under the Sedition Act for giving an interview to a newspaper in which he compared the current constitutional crisis with an earlier one, based on case law and democratic principles.

Similarly, in August 2014 in Thailand, Khon Kaen University student Patiwat Saraiyaem and activist Pornthip Mankong were arrested on charges of lèse majesté, or insulting the crown, for attempting to stage a satirical play at Thammasat University a year earlier. And in Saudi Arabia, Yousef al-Khoder, a Qassim University law professor, was convicted on a charge of inciting disorder, providing false information about Saudi Arabia to international organisations and media, and taking part in the founding of an unlicensed human rights organisation. He received

an eight-year sentence, which was later overturned, although he remains in detention pending trial, the report says.

Tyrell Haberkorn, SAR's researcher for Thailand, says the Thai lèse majesté law is used in combination with a range of other legal instruments to "restrict the freedom of expression and political freedom of academics." Many of these instruments have resulted from the changes brought about by the military coup of May 2014. Haberkorn is a fellow in political and social change at the Australian National University and is currently writing her third book about violence, human rights, and cultural politics in Thailand. She told University World News that after the coup, until 1 April this year, martial law was used to interrupt academic seminars and arbitrarily detain those who dared to protest in the streets or who had been marked as dissident prior to the coup for up to seven days of 'attitude adjustment' in secret incommunicado locations.

When martial law was revoked on 1 April, the junta issued executive orders to ensure the same detention and 'attitude adjustment' practices continued. In addition, it extended the use of military courts to try civilians and greatly extended the use of the lèse majesté law and its stipulated punishment of three to 15 years. "The widespread criminalisation of dissident thinking and protest means that the space for critical thinking inside universities is shrinking. Lecturers and students must all be careful of what they write, say and do, even inside the classroom," says Haberkorn. According to the SAR report, by sanctioning the mere expression of thought, lèse majesté and similar laws threaten the freedom to think itself. "They impose artificial boundaries on research, teaching, and publication, undermining quality, creativity, and innovation."

## FORCED INTO HIDING

The power to sanction, once granted, "resists constraint," the report adds, citing the example in Pakistan of a blasphemy law ostensibly intended to protect threatened social values, but which threatens the heart of higher education and society itself. "The mere allegation is enough to cause scholars to lose their positions and force them into hiding or exile," the report says. For example, Bahauddin Zakariya University English professor Junaid Hafeez was accused by a student of posting a blasphemous statement on Facebook and quickly had to flee as a mob gathered on campus demanding action against him. He was later arrested, charged under the blasphemy law and jailed pending trial, where he remains, and those defending the accused face similar attacks. Defence lawyers in such cases regularly report death threats. In May 2014 Professor Hafeez's defence lawyer was assassinated in his office. He had taken over the case after his predecessor dropped out due to death threats.

According to Rafia Zakaria, SAR's country-based researcher for Pakistan, academics are soft targets because, unlike the elite, they can't afford to protect themselves and the blasphemy law has become an all-purpose tool for silencing people, and in effect a way of crowd sourcing violence. In the case of mob attacks

over alleged blasphemy, the state is complicit, she argues, because there is no political will to change or end the law. "Once an allegation is made, everyone is afraid: the police are afraid to register the case, and judges are afraid to decide the case, because they don't want to become subject to those mobs." In some cases, there is evidence that extremist groups have gathered the mob—their flags and activists are seen at the scene. Other cases are more ambiguous and this is used by the government to say, "We don't know who is behind it so we can't arrest anyone," Zakaria says. "Lots of people are silenced or in exile because of the blasphemy law. You never even get a trial," she adds. "There are thousands of pending blasphemy petitions but judges are too afraid to hear the case."

## ATTACKING THE IDEA OF EDUCATION

In Pakistan's case the effect of the state's complicitness in allowing extremist groups a free hand to persecute academics is to leave the very idea of education under attack. "In this country," Zakaria says, "you have people who believe that scientific knowledge and rational based thinking is the product of the colonial era and there should just be theistic learning, based on the Koran. That is why universities are under attack. "It is also true that if you destroy liberal scholars, especially those who are teaching Islam or Islamic studies, the potential to have a counter ideology to the extremist ideology is eliminated. So, there is a strategic and tactical aspect to attacks. On the one hand, they are saying we are going to take over this space and impose our hegemony over it. And in the long run we are going to destroy people who might enable people to think about what is happening in a different way."

## TARGETING DEMONSTRATORS

The flip side to complicity in persecution by the mob is when authorities try to characterise groups of legitimate protesters as a threat in order to justify violence by the forces of the state against them. In Venezuela, for instance, according to the Center for Human Rights of the Andrés Bello Catholic University of Caracas, the Minister of the Interior, Justice and Peace accused students of terrorism, assassination, coup d'état, possession of drugs, weapons and explosives, in an attempt to demonise student protests. Yet no detainee has been accused of any of the crimes listed, according SAR's country-based researcher for Venezuela, Mayda Hocevar.

The context is one of high social tension. Venezuela is suffering rampant inflation—at 68%—and acute shortages of food, medicine and other goods and is experiencing extreme insecurity and high levels of impunity, says Hocevar, who is a professor of theory of law at the University of Los Andes. "The public powers are all under the government control. The government has persecuted and imprisoned opposition leaders and there is no independent judiciary." Peaceful and social protests have been severely repressed and attacks on universities have increased since the Constitutional Chamber of the Supreme Court decided in April last year

GLOBAL: WHERE ACADEMICS ARE HOUNDED AS 'ENEMIES' OF THE STATE

that peaceful demonstrations and public meetings had to be authorised, she says. The situation worsened in January this year when the Defense Ministry authorised military forces to control and repress civilian demonstrations, giving them freedom to decide when to use potentially mortal weapons against protesters. According to SAR, attacks on universities have included shootings, use of tear gas and pepper gas, the burning of university libraries, campus radio stations, and medical facilities.

Student protesters and activists, in particular, have been targeted. During February-May 2014, when social and student protests were most intense, more than 50 attacks to more than 20 universities were counted, Hocevar says. "The attacks came mainly from the Bolivarian national guard, the national and regional police forces and also from the so-called colectivos—illegally armed civilians that sometimes act on their own and sometimes in collaboration with public forces," Hocevar says. In January this year, there were mass arrests of protesters at the University of Los Andes. In February two students were injured while protesting against the killing on 24 February of a 14-year-old student. In May, Conan Quintana, a university student leader from Universidad Pedagógica Experimental Libertador, Caracas, was killed in unknown circumstances. And on 20 May, 15 students from the University of Los Andes, Mérida, were injured while protesting against Quintana's death.

## PUNITIVE EMPLOYMENT ACTIONS

More subtle forms of attacks on higher education include punitive employment or administrative actions, such as loss of position, demotion, and denial of promotion, with the intention of deterring or impeding academic speech, content or conduct, or temporary or permanent expulsion of students. The SAR monitors documented 37 such incidents in 22 countries including Egypt, Malaysia, and Russia. In addition, states frequently restrict scholars' and students' freedom of movement, as yet another means of controlling access to information and limiting inquiry and expression—and this can also be a direct attack on internationalisation. The monitors documented 12 instances of restrictions on travel or movement in seven countries, including China, Egypt, Bahrain, and the United Arab Emirates, but stressed that these are just the visible tip of the iceberg. "Evidence suggests that many states deny exit, entry or return to scholars because of academic speech, content or conduct, either in isolated cases of a single scholar or publication, or more systematic denials of anyone proposing research on restricted or sensitive themes," the report says.

## BARRED FROM TRAVEL

In the case of house arrest, scholars are typically barred from travel outside of tightly circumscribed zones and limited in their ability to attend or hold meetings or even communicate with others, and such restrictions are often accompanied by "continuous or interval surveillance" by state security agents. "All of these deepen the isolation and leave the scholar vulnerable to more extreme forms of attack, including

arrest, prosecution and violence," the report says. Other times family members are targeted. Typically, this occurs when a scholar has fled threats or attacks in his or her home country and gone into exile. The state may then deny exit permission to family members left behind, effectively holding them hostage in an apparent attempt to either punish the individual or "exert some control over the scholar's academic or public expression abroad," the report says.

## ATTACKS ON DISSIDENT THOUGHT

Taking together the various types of pressure used by states, a picture emerges of the authorities in some states seeing universities as a threat precisely because they not only allow, but also encourage, freedom of thought and freedom to question, which is vital to political and other forms of development. According to Haberkorn, for instance, the 22 May 2014 coup in Thailand represents an explicit attack on dissident thought and freedom of expression. During the long period of political contention that began prior to the previous coup in Thailand—which took place on 19 September 2006—there was a tremendous growth of cultural political dissent, she says. "This included the establishment of small publishing houses and independent bookstores, the emergence of a new generation of critical writers and poets, and the opening of the gates of universities to serve as a place of education and conversation for all of society," she says. In particular, during the four years prior to the coup, universities and university seminars became a space not only for students and professors to discuss among themselves, but also for ordinary citizens to join and direct the conversation as well, she says. "It is clear that this was deeply threatening to the status quo. Academics, publishers, editors, and writers were among the first to be targeted for detention and 'attitude adjustment' following the coup." A year later, students, who are in the front lines of protest, have become the military's primary target.

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KEMAL GÜRÜZ

# 45. GLOBAL: UNIVERSITY AUTONOMY AND ACADEMIC FREEDOM: A HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

University autonomy and academic freedom are intimately related but form different concepts. The former is an institutional authority; the latter is a personal privilege accorded to academics to safeguard unfettered pursuit, transmission, and dissemination of truth and knowledge. What follows is an interpretation of the historical roots of these concepts and, in particular, how the determinants of university autonomy evolved in response to changing views regarding higher education.

## HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The two concepts evolved over centuries in a mutually reinforcing fashion. Their historical roots can be traced back to the Authentica Habita (Bologna, 1158), which exempted students and teachers from tolls and taxes and protected them against undue justice, and Parens Scientiarum (Paris, 1231), which recognized the right of the university as a body corporate to award degrees. The first was an edict by an emperor; the second was a papal bull. Such bulls and edicts provided privileges and support and stipulated detailed conditions under which the institutions and teachers could operate and function—including syllabi, graduation, and promotion requirements, libraries, facilities, and codes of conduct. The price for seeking protection, financial support, and legitimacy from an external authority was accountability. Over time, the nation-state supplanted the Vatican and the emperor/king/prince as the external authority. According to Peter Scott, the modern university and today's higher education systems are creations of the nation-state since the late 19th century.

Two models emerged with the advent of the nation-state. Napoleon's Université de France (1806) was, in effect, a system of national education that replaced all universities in France and the occupied lands. Wilhelm von Humboldt was put in charge of reviving German universities after Napoleon's defeat. His views on the structure of the university are collectively expressed as freedom to teach (Lehrfreiheit), freedom to learn (Lernfreiheit), and the unity of teaching and research (Einheit von Forschung und Lehre). Many of von Humboldt's views were found to be utopian, and he was fired. These, however, formed the basis not only for the modern

research university but, according to many, also the modern concept of academic freedom. Although still lacking a universally accepted definition, academic freedom is widely regarded as an inviolable attribute of the modern university, and is fully internalized in the West.

From the beginning of the 19th century, state bureaucracies in continental Europe took on a "regulatory" role, indeed regulating every aspect of university activities. Thus, university autonomy came to be defined as the relative powers of academia and the state bureaucracy in making decisions regarding activities of the university. Outside of the Anglo-Saxon world, market and society were not significant actors then.

For centuries, criteria for university autonomy remained essentially unchanged. In 1965, the International Association of Universities defined university autonomy as the authority to make decisions regarding: who will teach, what will be taught, who will be taught, who will graduate, and what will be researched—with only perfunctory reference to financial matters. This definition is obviously not fundamentally different from what is embodied in Parens Scientiarum.

## AUTONOMY IN A REGULATORY ENVIRONMENT

In the late 1970s, OECD-CERI (Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development-Center for Educational Research and Innovation) undertook a survey of decision-making structures in 52 institutions of higher education in Europe. A "relative index of autonomy" was defined on the basis of institutional authority to make decisions on 20 issues referred to as "indices of autonomy." These ranged from creation of teaching posts, appointment and promotion of academic staff and granting a leave of absence, appointment of rector/president and vice-chancellor, teaching methods, curricula and student admissions, and various aspects of resource allocation and budget management—down to minute details. While UK universities scored 100 on the relative scale, Dutch, French, Austrian, German, and Swiss (federal) universities were at the bottom with scores of 43, 42, 32, 29, and 20, respectively. In many cases, especially in countries outside the Anglo-Saxon world, public resources were allocated in the form of detailed line-item budgets; and many decisions, including a number of those on key academic matters, were made by bureaucrats outside of the institutions. This was typical of the regulatory state that left little room for institutions to define their missions and choose the means to achieve them.

## AUTONOMY IN AN EVALUATIVE AND GLOBAL ENVIRONMENT

Since the mid-1980s, the role of the state changed dramatically, in Guy Neave's words, from "regulatory" to "evaluative." There was a marked shift worldwide from the "state-academic oligarchy axis" to the "market-society apex" in Burton Clark's "triangle of coordination." The university autonomy survey, carried out by OECD

in 2003, reflected the changing landscape of higher education worldwide. This time, eight broadly defined, rather than 20-detailed, indices were used. These were institutions' authority to own buildings and borrow funds, set academic structure and course contents, employ and dismiss academic staff and set salaries, decide size of student enrollment and level of tuition fees, and freedom to spend budget according to institutional mission and objectives. In marked contrast to the detailed indices used in the 1980 survey, which reflected the regulatory role of the state at the time, indices used in 2003 were much more broadly defined. They dealt more with financial and human resources diversification and management, clearly reflecting the change in the role of the state from regulation to evaluation and, again in Guy Neave's words, to "steering from a distance" and the "rise of market forces" in university governance. Rather than quantifying autonomy, countries—including Mexico, Japan, Korea, Australia, Turkey, Poland, United Kingdom, Ireland, Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Finland, Australia, and Ireland—were evaluated in terms of their universities having full, limited, or no autonomy in making decisions. Results indicate, given models of institutional behavior in decision making, a worldwide trend consists of less bureaucratic, less political, and more entrepreneurial universities. State universities in southern Europe and Latin America are possible exceptions to this trend.

Higher education across the globe continues to become more international and more competitive. New types of both higher education providers and stakeholders/actors exist. The latter now constitute supranational bodies (OECD and UNESCO), international quality-assessment agencies (International Network of Quality Assurance Agencies, European Quality Assurance Register), processes (Bologna), and agreements (General Agreement on Trade in Services, if and when it comes into force). These new realities create challenges for defining and implementing academic freedom in a changed environment.

RAMEZ MALUF

# 46. ARAB WORLD: ACADEMIC FREEDOM KEY
# TO BEING WORLD CLASS

*University World News, 14 August 2011, Issue 184*

To many educators in the Arab world it may seem ironic, indeed bewildering, that the universities enjoying the highest ranking are in Saudi Arabia, arguably the most conservative state in the region. In almost every ranking of universities, King Saud University and King Fahd University of Petroleum and Minerals rank first and second respectively. In some rankings, Saudi Arabian institutions claim the first four or five positions. Older and arguably more prestigious universities operating in a far more liberal environment, such as the American University of Beirut (AUB) and Cairo University, tend to rank well behind Saudi universities. In the most recent ranking by CybermetricsLab, AUB and Cairo University rank 6th and 8th respectively, with Saudi institutions claiming the first five spots.

But do these rankings mean anything? Is the methodology used in developing the rankings reliable? The answer is a guarded yes and no. Most of the rankings of Arab universities are based on their web visibility. Some ranking agencies, such as the Spanish-based CybermetricsLab, do a more thorough job and look at the quality of entering students, faculty salaries and student-to-faculty ratios. However, none go beyond that. Still, these are telling criteria. What the rankings do not take into consideration are such things as employment records of graduating students, average salaries of alumni, retention, SAT scores, comparative admissions requirements, research grants, and other criteria normally used when comparisons are made among institutions in a single country as in, for example, the United States or Britain.

In a region as wide as the Arab World, it would be impossible and very likely meaningless to take these criteria into consideration, because universities operate in different markets, where salaries are not commensurable, school systems differ considerably and institutions cater to different student populations, often in different languages—Arabic, English and even French in the Maghreb or in Lebanon. Very few Arab students entertain the idea of moving to another country to attend university, in contrast to the United States or Britain, where it is very common for students to relocate to another state or region for tertiary education. Indeed, an indication of the limitations of rankings is the fact that the first spots are claimed by institutions in countries where freedom of expression is the most limited.

Of the first 10 spots in CybermetricLab, six are claimed by universities in Saudi Arabia, two in Egypt and one each in Lebanon and the Palestinian Territories. That could very well reflect a bias in the rankings in favour of technical disciplines such as engineering, medicine or business studies. That bias allows for universities where technical studies are of quality, such as King Saud University and King Fahd University of Petroleum and Minerals, to claim top positions. While students at these institutions may be receiving a good professional education, they are not enjoying the whole university experience. What they are not getting, in the words of the 19th-century Islamic reformer Jamal Al Deen Al Afghani, is a good dose of philosophy, what he called falsafa, philosophy or critical thinking. "If a community does not have philosophy," wrote Al Afghani 100 years ago, "and all the individuals of that community are learned in the sciences with particular subjects, those sciences could not last in that community for long. That community without the spirit of philosophy could not deduce conclusions from these sciences."

Recently some educators, both at the secondary and tertiary level, have scoffed at the importance of critical thinking, or the ability for faculty to assess it or to nurture it. However, the general consensus remains, rightly so, that to encourage the aptitude, the desire, the pleasure of questioning accepted knowledge—and the knowledgeable—is a good thing. Only an educated mind can entertain a thought, mull it over, and then decide whether to accept or reject it, to paraphrase Aristotle. At truly reputable universities architecture professors, say, must be able to deride the palace of the ruler or the temple named after him. An economist should be able to criticise the national budget and the fiscal policies of the government and give examples of financial mismanagement without fear of repercussions. A fine arts professor must be able to express and explore sensualities, and a theatre instructor must take pride in transgressing social mores. The latitude of freedom required by professors of philosophy, religion, history, and political sciences is even much greater. They may want to question the nation's traditions, or the wisdom of its wise men, or the official interpretation of history, or the country's political system. Where these freedoms do not exist, university education is imperfect.

If universities in the Arab World want to enjoy high international rankings, of the right kind, they must make freedom of thought and expression a priority for their faculty and students. Otherwise, all the money governments may pour into beautiful campuses, facilities and equipment, in Saudi Arabia, Qatar, the UAE or elsewhere, will fail to turn their institutions into truly world-class centres of education—whatever the internet rankings might say. It is the job of universities to promote and encourage free and creative thinking and thoughtful governments should recognise this fact. Hopefully, the radical political changes taking place in the Arab world will take notice of this fact.

IVÁN F. PACHECO

# 47. LATIN AMERICA: CRISIS AND HOMESICKNESS: A NEW OPPORTUNITY FOR BRAIN GAIN IN LATIN AMERICA?

*International Higher Education, Summer 2015, Number 81*

There is growing pressure on Latin American countries to produce larger numbers of highly skilled talent. A solid base of teachers with the qualifications to train such talent is imperative to serve that demand. However, these countries' ability to produce, retain, or attract high-level faculty has been historically poor. The universities produce insufficient numbers of doctoral-degree holders, and those doctoral programs that do exist are often of poor quality. In addition, brain drain remains a problem. Yet, things might be changing: overproduction of PhDs and deteriorating working conditions for faculty, particularly for adjuncts, in industrialized countries may represent an opportunity for the developing world.

There seems to be a surplus of PhDs in many fields in some industrialized countries, and in some of them a deterioration of the academic profession has been observed. The majority of the professoriate in the United States are adjuncts, non-tenure-track professors, or contingent faculty. Recently graduated PhDs in many fields are having trouble finding good jobs—that would compensate for the time, effort, and money invested in the doctoral studies—or finding a job at all. For some, these are signs of the emergence of "academic proletarianization." Academic proletarianization is not unique to the United States. Spain is an interesting case to explore. Despite significant differences across regions, academic salaries for tenured professors in Spain are competitive in the European Union context. In contrast, compensation for professors hired on fixed term contracts is usually very low. A study by the Catalan Association of Public Universities (ACUP) showed that in Catalonia, monthly salaries for full-time non-tenure track faculty are in the range of US$409 (for profesores asociados) to US$1,637 for post-docs. This situation, combined with the general economic difficulties that the country is facing, has prompted many potential professors to leave the country in search of a better future. This trend has been illustrated several times in El País—one of the main Spanish newspapers—and other media.

In contrast to the surplus of people with doctoral degrees in the United States, Spain, and other industrialized countries, most developing countries have the opposite problem: the number of scholars and scientists with doctoral degrees

is very low compared to the countries' needs; and the pace at which local higher education systems are producing their own doctoral-degree holders is not sufficient to fill the gap. Brazil, a heavyweight in Latin America and the country with the most doctoral-degree holders and doctoral students in the region, has a shortage of PhDs. Despite producing 12,000 PhD graduates per year, it only has 1.4 doctorates per 1,000 inhabitants aged 25 to 64 years old, compared to 23 in Switzerland, 8.4 in the United States, or 6.5 in Canada.

Your Crisis, My Opportunity? This situation seems to be a perfect case for a supply/demand solution. There are some countries with a surplus of highly skilled talent and other countries with a great demand for such talent. However, it is not that simple. Academic mobility is not as fluid as the mobility of unskilled labor, and attracting talent has proved to be challenging.

Some Latin American countries have designed programs to entice international professors and researchers. The Universidad Nacional Autónoma de Chile launched PAIR, the International Regular Academic Program, which has attracted approximately one hundred Spanish professors, as well British, Italian, Mexican, and Argentinian academics. Ecuador is perhaps the country with the most aggressive strategy to attract talent in the region. As part of an ambitious plan to improve the country's education, some Ecuadorian public universities have launched international calls aimed at highly qualified faculty (i.e., master's- and doctoral-degree holders). Recently, the Universidad Nacional de Ecuador launched an international call to attract 500 professors from all areas of knowledge, to be expanded to 5,000 in the next five years. Even though the call was open for all nationalities, the Ecuadorian government focused its efforts on Spain, where it placed full-page invitations in local publications. Salaries offered were competitive when compared to those paid to adjunct faculty in Spain. This, and the economic crisis in Spain, motivated a good number of Spaniards to apply and, for those hired, move to Ecuador. Having Spanish as a common language has contributed to the success of this initiative.

In contrast, Venezuela is suffering a massive case of brain drain. SciDev.Net reported that the Universidad Central de Venezuela had lost approximately 700 professors between 2011 and 2012, and the Universidad del Zulia has not been able to fill 1,577 vacant teaching positions. Working and living conditions in Venezuela are deteriorating, and most of those who went abroad to complete advanced training programs have decided not to come back to the country. Researchers, teachers, and highly skilled workers have migrated to different countries in the Americas, Europe, and Oceania.

## HOMESICKNESS MAY NOT BE ENOUGH

Many countries are focusing their efforts and resources on attracting home expatriate academics who left the country to study abroad and decided to stay. At the end of 2013, Colciencias, the Colombian government's agency for research and innovation, launched "Es Tiempo de Volver" (It is Time to Come Back), a program aimed at

attracting approximately 200 researchers from the diaspora. In addition to a relatively good salary—although not competitive with the remuneration typical of the countries where most of the expatriate researchers were based—the program offered tax exemptions, a relocation allowance, and a research grant. In April 2014, there were over 10,000 applications, 900 of them from holders of doctoral degrees.

Argentina, through its program Raices, has repatriated over 1,000 scientists since its creation in 2003. In addition to the repatriation component, the program also includes a networking strategy, by which Argentinian researchers who are not willing to come back to the country can keep in touch through short research stays or by directing research projects—such as theses and dissertations—from abroad. The success of these initiatives varies from country to country but, in general, they all have the same weakness: they address only their own conationals, overlooking potential candidates from other countries who might be willing to migrate in search of better economic and academic opportunities.

## CONCLUSION

Salaries are by no means the only variable that professors take into consideration when deciding to move to a different country, but they are an important factor. The existence of a solid academic community, infrastructure for research and teaching, and other elements also carry weight in any decision to relocate. The overproduction of doctoral-degree holders in many industrialized countries, together with the poor job availability for young professors entering academia in those places, may play to the advantage of nations with less-established academic communities, which are willing to attract members of the diaspora as well as international talent. Confining recruitment efforts to their own national can be a mistake for countries with low numbers of PhDs, as there is a growing stock of highly skilled researchers and professors willing to cross borders in the quest for a reasonably good working opportunity.

PHILIP G. ALTBACH AND MANJA KLEMENČIČ

# 48. GLOBAL: STUDENT ACTIVISM REMAINS A POTENT FORCE WORLDWIDE

*International Higher Education, Summer 2014, Number 76*

Students were a key force in toppling Ukrainian autocrat Victor Yanukovych. They were on the Maidan battleground in Kiev from beginning to end. They were also instrumental in the 2004 Orange Revolution in the aftermath of that year's presidential election, which was marred by corruption and outright electoral fraud. Students were active on Tahrir Square in Cairo when Hosni Mubarak was forced from office, and they were active participants in all of the Arab Spring movements.

The beginnings of student-dominated youth movements in "color revolutions" come probably with the Serbian Otpor ("Resistance") movement, which was started in 1998 as a response to the repressive university and media laws introduced by the regime at the time led by Slobodan Milocevic. In 2000, Otpor organized a campaign "Gotov je" ("He is finished"), ultimately leading to Milocevic's defeat in elections. Organizations such as Kmara in Georgia, active in the Rose Revolution in 2003, KelKel in Kyrgyzstan in the 2005 Tulip Revolution, and Pora in Ukraine were all inspired and trained by Otpor. Students occupied the Taiwan legislature protesting a trade agreement with China for several weeks in March 2014—and spearheaded a protest rally of 100,000.

Although the era of student revolutions may have ended a half century ago, students continue to be active in politics, and they are often a key force in political movements directed toward social change around the world. Students may no longer be at the center of political movements, but they are often indispensable participants, frequently helping to shape the messages, ideologies, and tactics of protest movements.

Students have also been engaged in university politics and policy. German students successfully pushed to have free higher education restored, convincing politicians and the public. Similarly, high school and university students in Chile demonstrated for extended periods to improve educational quality, end for-profit education, and eliminate tuition and fees. They finally succeeded when Michelle Bachelet won the presidency in 2013. In Canada, the "Maple Spring" protests in 2012 emerged from students' opposition to the government's announcement of increased tuition fees and led to the fall of Québec's government.

In some parts of the world, student agitation, often relating to campus issues, cause governments to shut universities for extended periods. This has occurred in Nigeria,

and universities in Myanmar were closed for several years after student protests against the military dictatorship. In many of these cases, student demands have combined local campus issues with broader political concerns. They seldom had success in social change, although sometimes university policies or conditions have altered.

Despite continuing activism and impressive but often ignored success, student activism has not received the scholarly attention that it once did. This may be because movements that may originate on the campus often move quickly off the campus and to the streets and involve many other segments of society. Unlike the 1960s, when students were often both the originators and main participants in protest movements, more recent movements have involved a wider section of the population. Students often lost control over the protests, and in fact in some cases student leaders left the campus to run for public office or participate in a broader leadership coalition. Nonetheless, students have remained a key spearhead for oppositional movements and protests.

## THE "IRON LAW" OF STUDENT ACTIVISM

There is an iron law of student political activism. Students can often bring public attention to political issues and, when there is an undercurrent of discontent, may help to create political movements that may destabilize or even defeat regimes. As a social group, students tend to have the leisure of time to exchange and develop ideas and organize within the tightly knit university environment; and the public tends to be sympathetic to students' concerns. But students cannot control national politics once a regime is removed. They may infiltrate political parties; but, in the wider political arena, the typically adversary and non-compromising voices of student activists do not get far. Societal politics is generally about political power vested in economic and military resources, in ability to build alliances and forge compromises. While energetic and driven, if students enter the political arena, they may become only a marginal voice—since they seldom possess the substantial and procedural knowledge, experience, and networks required for the larger political stage. Indeed, in most cases, politics after the end of the social movement moves in directions quite different than advocated by the students. Thus, students may be a precipitating force for social and political change, but never control the outcomes.

Events in both Egypt and Ukraine support the "iron law." Students in general did not favor the ascendance of the Muslim Brotherhood to power following the Arab Spring, nor were students in general happy with some of the ultranationalist forces that became influential in the recent Ukrainian events.

## SUCCESS ON THE EDUCATIONAL FRONT

Students have sometimes had better success with educational issues. Although massive student demonstrations—and the opposition of British academics—failed to keep high tuition fees from being imposed in England and Wales, students were successful in Germany in rolling back tuition charges so that all of the German

states are now committed to free higher education. Protracted demonstrations by high school and university students in Chile resulted in major education reforms and the roll-back of previously high student tuition fees.

The contemporary student protests on the educational front tend to be against cuts in public finding of higher education and increases in tuition fees, both of which are associated with neoliberal reforms in higher education. Austerity measures, following the global financial crisis, have accelerated the implementation of such reforms in countries where they previously did not exist. Although the differences between countries continue to be pronounced, a sense exists nevertheless that the national higher education systems are becoming more alike in the sense of being more market-oriented, even in countries with a strong social-welfare tradition. The fight against tuition fees remains the single most powerful mobilizing force for student activism worldwide. Other social-welfare concerns—such as availability of student housing, subsidized food and transportation—occasionally lead to more localized types of protests initiated by the local student unions and typically also fairly quickly resolved. Quality assurance is almost never an issue salient enough to mobilize students to political action. These questions are handled by the elected student representatives, who consult the universities voicing student expectations and their satisfaction.

## 21ST CENTURY STUDENT ACTIVISM

Many argued that student activism would disappear in the era of higher education massification. Diverse student populations, part-time study for many, the non-elite social backgrounds of most students, the increasingly high cost of higher education in many countries, and other factors all argued against active political and social engagement. This clearly has not been the case. Students remain a potent political and social force, and only the modes of their involvement have been changing. Students are less likely to vote and less likely to join political parties. But they more likely take part in online petitions, join boycotts, express views in online forums, involve themselves in advocacy social networks, and participate in demonstrations and protest movements. The nature of student activism still very much depends on which part of the globe is being considered. As the World Values Surveys depict, in Western societies where entire value systems have shifted to postmodernism, students are becoming more individualistic and perhaps more interested in subjective well-being, self-expression, and quality of life.

There are other societies where democratization, including minority rights, freeing political processes and institutions from corruption, and so forth, remain salient and compelling issues. Even in postmodern postindustrial societies, some students remain politically engaged—as evidenced by student involvement in the "occupy" movements and student participation demonstrations against tuition increases in England. The potential grievances that may mobilize students into student movements for social change are obviously very different, depending on which part of the world being considered.

MANJA KLEMENČIČ

# 49. GLOBAL: HOW TO DEVELOP A SENSE OF BELONGING

Several years ago, I conducted field research in Podgorica, Montenegro on higher education reforms. Among my interviewees were student union representatives from the University of Montenegro. At the end of the interview I asked them about the main activities of the student union over the past year. The students' faces lit up as they described how almost 100 students had volunteered to shovel snow around the university and other places when the city was snowed in.

A year later I happened to describe this story to a provost at one of the private north-eastern universities in the United States. The provost mentioned that their university was also snowed in and there were not enough seasonal workers to hire for snow removal. So the administration had called on students to help out and offered remuneration. How many signed up? Just one. What responsibility do students feel towards their universities? How do they relate to their universities? Higher education is for students, of course, first and foremost about self-formation. Being a student is about gaining knowledge and developing skills, joining a profession, finding a job. It is also about learning to take care of oneself and how to balance competing time commitments. It is about building relationships and developing a unique identity. Being a student is centred around self-development: the present and the projected future self.

Higher education administrators understand these conditions of studentship. At the heart of the higher education enterprise is the question of how universities cater for students' academic and personal development. The United States model of student affairs administration, which emphasises the personal and social aspects of studentship alongside the academic ones, is diffusing to other parts of the world, including continental Europe where traditionally universities did not consider student life outside the classroom—except perhaps student housing and cafeterias—as among their responsibilities. An awareness that academic conditions, such as the quality of teaching and learning, cannot be separated from students' health and social and economic well-being are beginning to gain ground in institutional strategies. These changes are more notable in contexts where institutions compete for students and devise marketing strategies around student satisfaction. Measures of student satisfaction drive institutional leaders to consider carefully how to meet student expectations.

## STUDENTS' RIGHTS CHARTERS

The expectations of universities with regard to students and students' responsibilities to their universities are usually less clearly stated, except in terms of academic responsibilities and discipline. The students' rights charters in the United Kingdom stand out in their explicit emphasis of students' university citizenship. Strictly speaking, students' university citizenship is more than just student engagement in the university community and showing stewardship of the university environment, facilities and resources. It implies students' voluntary contribution to make a positive impact on their university and its community beyond their own narrow self-interest, to work for collective benefits or communal interests.

So what is students' university citizenship? Does it involve shovelling snow, providing input into curriculum planning, voting in student union elections, volunteering as a subject in university research and so on? First, students need to be aware of the real possibilities they have to contribute and have the freedom to do so. The more difficult question is how to motivate them to contribute beyond their immediate self-interest. Students' sense of belonging to their universities comes to the fore here. A sense of belonging—when students have invested in the university, consider it to be a personalised space and perceive affective interpersonal relationships there—has been shown in research as essential for positive student experiences and academic success and, more generally, for a student's subjective sense of well-being, intellectual achievement, motivation and even health. Belonging refers to a student's perceptions of intimate association with the university: to feel a central and important part of the university and a sense of ownership of their university, each of which fulfils their human need for inclusion, acceptance and efficacy. These in turn strengthen students' sense of responsibility to the university; evoke university citizenship and even expectation of having a voice and being involved.

Higher education officials can intervene in the institutional 'habitus' to create conditions that strengthen a sense of students' belonging to the university and consequently students' integration and agency. Such interventions are particularly called for in the case of first-year students, but also for selected groups that might require additional support, such as, for example, first-generation students or international students.

## WELL-BEING

Data from the International Student Barometer by i-graduate reveals that universities globally are doing well in helping international students cultivate a sense of belonging. In 2014–2015, 89% of all international postgraduate taught students surveyed globally (out of 78,381 respondents) said they felt part of a committed academic community, as did 86% of all international undergraduate students (out of 100,821). This corresponds closely to the sense of belonging expressed by domestic students surveyed globally (88% for postgraduate and 87% for undergraduate

students). Where there were lower ratings it was from part-time domestic students (83%), which may be explained by the difficulties of balancing the demands of work or family commitments with academic life. As we—hopefully—shift the focus from student satisfaction to student well-being, students' sense of belonging will need to be more carefully considered in institutional strategies and monitored with both qualitative and quantitative tools like i-graduate's.

Students' sense of belonging is equally central to the notion of students' university citizenship. From a focus on student engagement as a goal in itself we need to move towards a more nuanced discussion of student agency in critically shaping their interaction with and within the higher education environment and of how these interactions can be extended from self-interested pursuits to also acting for the collective well-being and in the collective interest. A university is built on strong interdependencies between students and staff and this nurtures a collective spirit and enables collective behaviour. It is when universities embrace expressive individualism and commercial values that students' sense of citizenship to their university is inhibited. Next time your university is snowed in get students to help out or at least check if they would like to!

KARRYN MILLER

# 50. SOUTH KOREA: STUDENT STRESS FUELS SUICIDES AS STANDARDS RISE

*University World News, 26 June 2011, Issue 177*

A spate of suicides among South Korean students has fuelled fears that the country's higher education system is too tough, with pressures increasing as universities seek to compete with institutions overseas. South Korean students are known to be diligent. From a young age—as early as pre-school—many Koreans attend hagwons (private schools specialising in different subjects) after regular school hours. The pressure does not ease once they enter university. "Education is very important and a big issue in Korea culturally and socially," said Bruce Lee, director of administration in the Office of International Affairs at Yonsei University. "In the case of university students, it is quite competitive getting a job after graduation, so that makes students study hard."

Matthew Hobden, an English language instructor at the University of Incheon, believes "Koreans have been brought up to study hard because of the country's history. Sixty years ago, Korea was a war-torn country, now it is thriving. This has been achieved through hard work. That hard work has been transferred to hard study; study hard and you can achieve anything, type of attitude." But these days it's not just about studying hard—it is about studying in English and/or studying abroad. Has the globalisation of an already competitive system caused too much stress on South Korean students? Or is globalisation providing more opportunities and helping these students expand their horizons?

The Korea Advanced Institute of Science and Technology (KAIST) has grappled with these kinds of questions recently as four students and one professor from the prestigious college committed suicide. The KAIST Herald, a monthly publication put together by undergraduates, listed some of the factors widely accepted by the public and media about what may have contributed to the students' deaths. One possible cause was the pressure of a grade-point average (GPA)-based tuition fee structure under which those with a lower GPA had to pay higher fees than their peers with a greater GPA. Under the current system students are given a full tuition scholarship up front. However, if a student's GPA falls below 3.3 they are made to pay—this amount varies by how low they are below the mark. A lack of time for extra-curricular activities due to a heavy workload and the pressure of 100% of courses being taught in English were also cited as having an impact in KAIST

Herald articles on the topic. Although KAIST took an English curriculum to one extreme other South Korean universities are also choosing to offer more classes in English.

According to Lee, "28.54% of classes [at Yonsei] were taught in English in 2010." South Korean universities are also expanding the number of international programmes and exchanges with overseas universities, as well as bringing in foreign professors, in order to become more globally competitive. The Songdo Global University Campus (SGUC), an expansive property in Incheon that will offer programmes from foreign universities including from Russia and the United States, is a prime example of South Korea's move towards a more globalised higher education system.

Students are also being exposed to education opportunities outside their country. "Around 100,000 K-12 [kindergarten through to 12th grade] South Korean students are currently overseas for foreign education," said Sung Soo Kim, director of the global human resources cooperation team at the Ministry of Education, Science and Technology. Around 150,000 post-secondary students are currently studying abroad, according to 2010 figures. "They are very brave to embrace the opportunity of globalisation in an active way rather than avoid it," he said. He believes this increased exposure to the outside world is not a cause for added strain. "I think globalisation is causing excitement and opportunity for young students rather than stress." He also believes there are many benefits, such as being able to attract the most capable students and staff from all over the world [to South Korea] and the strengthening of the global competitiveness of his country's higher education system. "The exchange of people can be a powerful tool for both parties to deeply understand each other," he said.

However, Hobden does think that learning English has put added pressure on students. "It is something that they must learn and score relatively well in to secure a 'good job' later in life. TOEIC [Test of English for International Communication] is a major concern for Korean students." But overall he thinks a more international campus environment, with more English classes, exchange programmes and international graduate programmes, is not a major cause of anxiety. "The majority of these added courses and programmes are elective and are therefore chosen at will. If anything, these courses and programmes give them [Korean students] more options to see the world, develop their character and so forth." Lee agrees. "I think globalisation has broadened students' view of the world and offers an opportunity to experience various cultures."

Following the suicides KAIST is re-evaluating its policies to ease the burden on students. Other South Korean universities are also trying to make life a little easier. Helena Jung, a representative from the Incheon Free Economic Zone (IFEZ), which is involved with SGUC, said: "The specific programme plan [for SGUC] is not fixed yet, but we are considering some programmes for helping students in terms of counselling and other forms since we feel that these kinds of programmes are definitely necessary for students and almost all Korean local universities are running

these types of programmes." To help students feeling under pressure Yonsei has a counselling centre. "There are various programmes composed of psychological testing and counselling from 'three-us systems' (find us, change us, share us), which support understanding and developing the self and sharing with others," said Lee. The university employs in-person counselling, telephone counselling, and internet counselling for individuals, groups, international students, and students who have dropped out.

# PART 9

# UNETHICAL BEHAVIOR IN HIGHER EDUCATION

# INTRODUCTION

It has been widely acknowledged that higher education and universities occasionally experience abuse and corruption. From grade inflation to fabricated research and abuse of power, the list of violations of ethical standards in universities is substantial. This section brings together articles that discuss unethical behaviors in higher education around the world.

In the first piece, Stephen Heyneman highlights cases of endemic and systemic academic corruption, asking important questions about corruption behaviors and possible overlap with cultural features, as well as socio-economic effects. An important question for universities and policymakers is how to minimize and address corruption practices in higher education: Robin Matross Helms discusses multiple modes of combating unethical standards, including preventative, detention, and punitive measures.

Few cases of academic dishonesty become prominent in the public sphere. Irene Ogrizek discusses one of such cases, by profiling the fraud committed by the Dutch social psychologist Diederik Stapel, who falsified data for multiple experiments. The article also provides an analysis of the psychology of such behavior, as well as external academic pressures that contribute to dishonesty. As part of its mission, higher education has a responsibility to contribute towards addressing corruption outside the university, in addition to addressing the corruption within. Goolam Mohamedbhai identifies cases of societal and academic corruption in the broader African context. Specifically, the article discusses issues such as university admission fraud, student and faculty dishonesty, and fake degrees and diploma mills, as well as some of the tools available to address some of these challenges. In a related article focused on academic dishonesty in East Asian universities, Rui Yang offers a rather critical take on the prevalence and effects of academic corruption in the region. The section concludes with an article written by Elena Denisova-Schmidt and Elvira Leontyeva on corruption associated with the national entrance examination in Russia.

Together, the pieces in this section offer compelling examples and analyses of the prevalence of corruption in the academia world-wide, but also discuss tools to mitigate or prevent such cases. If universities are to perform their social mission and help create critical, active, and honest citizens, they are compelled to first improve and reflect on their internal operations.

STEPHEN P. HEYNEMAN

# 51. GLOBAL: THE CORRUPTION OF ETHICS IN HIGHER EDUCATION

Once the dean called me about a grade for the daughter of the rector.

The rector was in the hospital. The dean said that he has suffered enough already and that I should not make him suffer any more, so I should give his daughter a good grade.

– Assistant Professor in Kazakhstan

Admissions were a way to make money. Big money.

– Administrator in Georgia

Universities are commonly thought to be a haven for young adults. No matter how unstable the polity or how dismal the prospects for the economy, education investments are treated as sacrosanct. Recently, however, it has been discovered that education systems can be as corrupt as other parts of government and the economy; and that values of fairness and impartiality, once thought to be universal characteristics of university systems, can be supplanted by the interests of specific individuals, families, ethnic groups, and institutions. Such misconduct includes the abuse of authority for both personal and material gain. Higher education can be corrupt through: the illegal procurement of goods and services; cheating in the provision of its normal functions (admissions, grading, graduation, housing, and academic products); professional misconduct (favoring of family members, sexual exploitation, bias in grading, research plagiarism, etc.); and cheating in the paying of taxes and the use of university property.

## HOW COMMON IS IT?

In student surveys of Bulgaria, Moldova, and Serbia, between 35 and 45 percent believed that the official selection process could be by-passed. Approximately one in five admitted to having bribed a university official; in Moldova, the figure was two in five. Within universities, a wide variation exists in the propensity to bribe. Disciplines in highest demand—economics, finance, and law—have higher competition for entry, higher tuitions and fees, higher potential for earning, and hence higher stakes. These disciplines are more likely to be corrupt.

Education corruption is universal but the type differs from one region to another. In North America, the problem appears to be student and faculty plagiarism and cheating on examinations. In addition, breaches in institutional ethics include the misconduct of research, ethical questions surrounding fundraising and sports, admissions and testing, academic governance, as well as classroom improprieties—showing up late for class, unfairly assessing homework assignments, and showing preference to specific genders, nationalities or opinions. Outside the countries of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), corruption is more frequent but occurs in different ways. In Vietnam, Cambodia, South Asia, eastern Europe, and the former Soviet Union, the main problem appears to be corruption for monetary gain— the propensity to seek bribes in exchange for higher grades, accreditation, and entrance to selective programs of study. In sub-Saharan Africa, corruption includes frequent instances of professional misconduct and sexual exploitation in the classroom.

## IS CORRUPTION CULTURAL?

Some people might argue that corruption and cheating is cultural and imbedded within the moral standards of the community. This situation might imply that students favor it and have no shame when participating. Generally, however, students express shame and remorse. In Croatia, 89 percent claimed that it was "wrong" to cheat on an examination, approximately the same portion as in the United States (90%). On the other hand, some reports suggest that American students who cheat also say they are satisfied with their personal ethics. This suggests that, in certain circumstance, cheating can become a behavioral norm, "disconnected" from personal ethics.

## ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL EFFECTS

Corruption may enhance efficiency when prices (tuition, fees, or wages) are distorted by regulations. Some university systems require that faculty salaries remain uniform across disciplines; hence, retaining talent may require unregulated payments. However, the net benefits of efficiency from corruption are less likely in universities because corruption affects other social goals for making the education investment. Because universities serve to model good behavior, allowing a university to become corrupt may be more costly than allowing corruption in the customs service or the police. Since one purpose of the university is to purposefully teach how to behave in the future, if the university is corrupt, one can expect future citizens to be corrupt as well.

Corruption has a negative effect on quality. The university becomes a high-priced, low-quality good if officials admit or give high grades to the less qualified. Instead of increasing internal competition, corruption limits it. Since honesty rests on the proof of a lack of violations, a university suspected of being corrupt reduces the power of its graduates in the labor market. With the private sector and particularly with companies that draw from international labor markets, the effect of having a reputation for corruption may be more serious than with local governments and state-owned enterprises.

Corruption negatively affects both private and social economic returns to investments in education. If students can purchase grades they have less incentive to learn. An employer does not know whether the student completed the degree on the basis of academic ability or because he or she bribed university officials. The signaling value of a university degree is reduced. Employers reduce risk by avoiding graduates from suspect institutions and by putting into place testing, internship, and other filtering mechanisms. Graduates need to accept significantly lower salaries until they can demonstrate their economic value through on-the-job experience. Graduates from universities suspected of corruption are not likely to be considered for technical and professional jobs. If they sort into government jobs where the potential for bribes is high (customs, police, etc.), the private income costs of corruption are reduced, but the social costs remain.

## WHO CAN RESIST?

In circumstances where corruption is the norm, such an issue among faculty is not universal. Faculty "resisters" exist even in the most debilitating environments—some directed by virtue of moral principle and others on the basis of pragmatic assessment. Regardless of the source, their strength leads to the judgment of a universal standard for the professoriate. This standard consists of the promise to treat all students with fairness and impartiality. It requires the selection of universalistic norms (of fairness to students and colleagues) over loyalty to family and friends. In this simple but meaningful way, certain faculty in some of the world's most isolated universities represent, in fact, "quiet heroes." They stand up for their principles, without legal or administrative support, and not based on the possibility of professional recognition or financial reward; instead, they often stand up for fairness in defiance of senior administrators.

## INGREDIENTS OF THE MORAL ACADEMY

In what ways must a university with international aspirations prove its adherence to universal principles? A university that reveals no public stance on the issue might be judged as having little interest in how the public perceives its integrity. A number of mechanisms exist to lessen the possibility of corruption and lower the perception that a university system could be corrupt. These include codes of conduct for faculty, administrators, and students; statements of honesty on public Web sites; university "courts" to hear cases of misconduct; and annual reports to the public on changes in the number and types of incidents on a year-by-year basis.

## WHAT CAN BE DONE?

Many non-OECD countries are trying to participate in the Bologna process so as to make university degrees equivalent and facilitating transfer of course credits and

credentials. It is hard to imagine why a country or a university in the European Union with a high reputation would allow its degrees to coincide with those of a university or a system of universities that face a perception of corruption. On the other hand, the European Quality Assurance Register or other mechanisms might include anticorruption evidence as criteria in the process of European accreditation; hence the process itself might be used as a means to clean up that problem from higher education systems. Another implication concerns development assistance agencies that make investments in higher education. These agencies may have to rethink if their investments are made in systems with high levels of perceived corruption. However, an effective policy intervention must acquire information about the experience and cost of corruption. Regular surveys of students and faculty would be helpful. In fact, a survey of one university at two points in time demonstrated a decline in corruption. This suggests that when the potential of exposure and professional embarrassment becomes real, the propensity to engage in corruption declines.

ROBIN MATROSS HELMS

# 52. GLOBAL: COMBATING UNETHICAL BEHAVIOR IN HIGHER EDUCATION

*International Higher Education, Winter 2012, Number 66*

Examples of unethical behavior can be found in tertiary education worldwide, in rich and poor countries alike, spanning virtually every process and function of colleges and universities—from admission to academics and research, financial management, and hiring and promotion. Such behavior hinders the effective functioning of institutions, erodes public trust, and ultimately, if left unchecked, has the potential to prevent tertiary education institution systems from fulfilling their missions and obligations to their stakeholders. A variety of approaches are currently in use to combat unethical behavior in tertiary education. These measures fall into four categories in terms of purpose: those that aim to prevent unethical behavior, those that are designed to detect it, those that punish it once it has been detected, and those that address all three of these functions at the same time.

## PREVENTIVE MEASURES

Measures designed to prevent unethical behavior include standardized processes and procedures implemented by institutions and governments, as well as legislation that increases oversight of institutions or aims to prevent problematic behavior—by making it illegal. Examples include automated scoring for examinations and other standardization of admissions procedures, antidiscrimination laws and policies, and legislation that addresses fraud and other financial misconduct. Institutions and organizations may also implement broader policies focused on morals and ethics rather than specific actions—attempting to preempt the impulse to engage in unethical behavior earlier on, by creating a culture and climate in which such behavior is not accepted. Examples include student honor codes and faculty ethics policies, set forth by institutions and disciplinary associations.

## MEASURE FOR DETECTING UNETHICAL BEHAVIOR

Unfortunately, not all instances of unethical behavior can be prevented. In order to minimize the impact of such behavior, effective and efficient measures are needed to detect it as early as possible. In recent years, new developments in technology have come to play an important role in unveiling unethical behavior. Computer programs

have been developed to detect plagiarism and verify the authenticity of degrees. Telephone "tip lines" allow individuals to call and report problematic behavior anonymously, and e-mail systems have been designed for the same purpose. Beyond detecting individual instances of problematic behavior, various organizations worldwide are using surveys to examine broader trends, rates, and types of unethical behaviors in a given geographic area or tertiary education system.

## PUNITIVE MEASURES

Measures that aim to detect corrupt and unethical behavior are only worthwhile when complemented by measures that punish such behavior once it has been discovered. The most severe of these measures is legal action, including the arrest and prosecution of offenders, as well as lawsuits that result in financial or other consequences if it is determined that the alleged perpetrator acted illegally. Such measures are applied in cases of a variety of types of unethical behavior, particularly bribery and undue influence in admissions, the production and awarding of fake degrees and other false credentials, harassment, and financial fraud and mismanagement.

When the problematic behavior does not rise to the level of legal action, career status and academic/professional sanctions may be taken by institutions. This situation is often the case in instances of academic dishonesty of certain types, which may result in failing grades and revocation of degrees for students and suspension or termination for faculty and other employees. Likewise, faculty members who engage in certain types of academic and research-related unethical behavior may be subject to professional sanctions by journals, disciplinary associations, and other academic organizations.

## MEASURE WITH MULTIPLE PURPOSES

Along with measures that prevent, detect, or punish unethical behavior in tertiary education, ones such as accreditation and other quality-assurance procedures are designed to fulfill all three of these functions. Accrediting bodies and other oversight agencies set forth operational standards and standardized procedures. When followed, such decisions serve a preventative function by reducing opportunities for individuals to engage in unethical behaviors that may corrupt the educational process and other academic and operational functions. Regular reporting requirements and periodic inspections ensure transparency and detect some aspects of problematic behavior. Sanctions imposed on institutions and individuals that are found in violation of standards and procedures fulfill the punitive function.

## WHAT WORKS?

In the case of anticorruption measures, more is better. Countries that systematically fully implemented such measures have had relatively low levels of unethical behavior. The United States, for example, has a robust accreditation system, legal

structures to facilitate the reasonably efficient prosecution and punishment of offenders, explicit institutional policies to impose status/career sanctions on students and employees who behave unethically, and an active reporting and press network to publicize instances of problematic behavior. Together, these measures, and the parties and stakeholders involved in implementing them, form a system of checks and balances that maximizes the chances of detecting, punishing, and ultimately preventing unethical behavior.

Of course, in countries where resources are constrained and/or where corruption is deeply entrenched, it is simply not feasible to implement all of these measures at once. Governments, systems, and institutions must prioritize measures, taking into account the overall context of tertiary education—historical, political, economic, etc.—in doing so. For example, in countries where corruption is centralized within the government, introducing policies that allow greater institutional autonomy and oversight of operations may help reduce unethical behavior overall. Conversely, where corruption is decentralized and institutions themselves are notoriously corrupt, increased centralization of processes, which supports an increased oversight of key functions—such as the admission process—may be more beneficial. Resources and capacity for implementation should be considered, as well. If the government does not have adequate resources to implement a high-quality admissions process, then another way to end corruption in admissions must be sought. In all cases, policies that are "on paper" only and are not feasible to implement, given available resources, should be avoided. These practices are likely to do more harm than good by demonstrating to perpetrators and potential ones that the real consequences of their behavior are minimal, thus encouraging rather than hindering unethical actions. Organizations such as the World Bank and the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development can help governments identify "best practices" and policies that are likely to be effective in a given region.

Fortunately, even starting small can ultimately have a significant impact. Educating government and institution officials and other stakeholders about the negative consequences of unethical behavior, relatively low-cost measures, can send a clear message and begin to shift behavior. As initial measures are implemented and unethical behavior begins to decrease, even slightly, acceptance of more comprehensive measures to further decrease such behavior will likely be developed. Public trust will also increase; systems and individual institutions will then be perceived as more solid and will be more likely to attract private and public funding. This may constitute less competition for spaces and less corruption of the admission process and fewer instances of degree fraud. The number of faculty jobs may also increase, which may lead to less corruption in the career-management realm. Salaries are likely to be higher across the board, which may lower the incentive for bribery across all educational and administrative functions. A "virtuous cycle" is thus created; as the number of instances of corruption and other unethical behavior decreases. Confidence in systems and institutions will continue to grow; and tolerance for behavior that compromises quality and integrity will further decline.

IRENE OGRIZEK

# 53. GLOBAL: ADDICTED TO SUCCESS

*University World News, 24 August 2013, Issue 284*

In the summer of 2011, a Dutch social psychologist was in the process of losing his job. His name was Diederik Stapel and he had committed an unimaginable fraud: over 10 years he had falsified data for more than 55 experiments, some of which formed the basis of doctoral theses he had supervised. Stapel was a researcher who studied 'priming', the influence exerted on individuals by suggestive information. He was most interested in its effects on self-assessment: his doctoral thesis focused on whether we assimilate or contrast when primed with information. He argued, for example, that subjects asked to meditate on the abstract idea of 'intelligence' would assimilate and see that trait in themselves and others. Conversely, subjects asked to imagine something more concrete, like 'Einstein', would contrast with the man's genius and see themselves and others as unintelligent. The impact this data-gathering has for the persuasive arts cannot be underestimated. All good persuaders—from carnival barkers to political scribes—succeed or fail on the basis of this knowledge, be it the product of native intelligence or data gathered from focus groups. The work of professors like Stapel has the power to influence those in power and, arguably, to influence the kind of beliefs they disseminate.

## A CAUTIONARY TALE

Stapel's story fascinates because, as the Greeks recognised, there's a rubber-necker in all of us. His is a cautionary tale of hubris, accentuated by the sheer size of his deception. Like Bernie Madoff before him, Stapel fooled many people for many years. His mea culpa, a 315-page book titled Ontsporing (Derailment), has done little to redeem his reputation. The facts are this: for three years after receiving his PhD, Stapel did the grunt work of experimentation and played within the rules. However, he reached a turning point while experimenting with attractiveness. He wanted to prove that how individuals rate their attractiveness is influenced by their proximity to beauty. Subjects were flashed—on a screen and in a tenth of a second—the faces of others.

Stapel's hypothesis was that those who were flashed a plain face would assimilate and rate themselves as more attractive; those who were flashed an attractive face would contrast and find themselves less so. He started tinkering with the numbers when his hypothesis failed—he had invested time and effort in the study and did not

want to abandon it. His tinkering went undetected and the results were published in the Journal of Personality and Social Psychology in 2004. According to Yudhijit Bhattacharee, who wrote about the scandal in The New York Times, the article caused a sensation and "Stapel's career took off." Stapel's thoughts about his actions are naturally self-serving and suspect. However, his references to addiction, in Bhattacharee's account, ring true: "He described his behaviour as an addiction that drove him to carry out acts of increasingly daring fraud, like a junkie seeking a bigger and better high. Some friends, he said, asked him what could have made him stop. 'I am not sure,' he told me. 'I don't think there was going to be an end. There was no stop button. My brain was stuck. It had to explode. This was the only way.'"

Even after he became a dean at Tilburg University, Stapel had difficulty "resisting the allure" of more falsified experiments. The allure appears to have been the obvious rewards of success, but also—and perhaps more darkly—the risk-taking involved in his fraud. He experienced the 'high' of achieving acclaim, but also of knowing he was fooling his colleagues and getting away with it. No wonder then that when Ontsporing was published, unofficial and free versions soon appeared online. In what seems to be a reasonable response to collateral damage, Stapel's victims did not want him to profit from the chaos he had created. As I write this, several of his doctoral students are still awaiting judgements: their PhD theses, based on data authorities assert they knew was fabricated, may be revoked.

Much has been made of the academic context of Stapel's fraud. Questions about the honesty of social scientists have arisen and, within the discipline, rounds of finger-pointing are focusing on subtler forms of dishonesty. However, despite the spectacle of Stapel's fall, his addiction to power is almost canonical in our winner-takes-all world. Chrystia Freeland writes about this phenomenon in Plutocrats, pointing to one clear symptom of it: the emergence of a more broadly defined superstar culture. This new stratosphere is not just for rock stars: there are celebrity chefs, decorators and, yes, professors too. It is a new paradigm of meta-recognition, built on twin pillars of meritocracy and technocracy. Thanks to the internet, its effects are being felt globally.

DISLOCATION THEORY

Bruce Alexander is interested in economics too. He is a Canadian addiction specialist and professor emeritus at Simon Fraser University. His ideas about addiction parallel trends noted by Freeland and provide further insights into them. He focuses on 'dislocation', a theory taken from the work of economist Karl Polyani: "Dislocation is the condition of great numbers of human beings who have been shorn of their cultures and individual identities by the globalisation of a 'free-market society' in which the needs of people are subordinated to the imperatives of markets and the economy. Dislocation affects both people who have been physically displaced, such as economic immigrants and refugees, and people who have remained in place while their cultures disintegrated around them. Dislocation occurs during boom times as

well as recessions, among the rich as well as the poor, among capitalists as well as workers."

According to Alexander, the privileging of free-market systems, at the expense of cohesive communities, is at the heart of a global addiction problem that is growing exponentially. A conspicuous addiction tells the story: obesity in the US has risen steadily since the 1970s, a trend that correlates with the institution of free trade, a failed 'war on drugs' and various deregulation and anti-trade-union movements. The convergence of these policies started the US on a path of income inequality that has, 30 years later, quite literally shot off the charts. This growth forward toward a pinpoint of privilege has been recognised, albeit belatedly. The problem is that leaders in a position to stop its momentum seem as helpless as the general public, and opportunities to redress its root causes are frequently foiled by partisan politics. That failure to strengthen communities and share prosperity, Alexander argues, has brought about widespread psychosocial disintegration and cultural diminishment. It is a context that makes escape, chemical or otherwise, attractive.

How does Stapel's fraud fit into the addiction landscape? Like Freeland's superstars, Stapel sought recognition in his discipline and then meta-recognition beyond it. His needs, like an addict's, come into sharper focus when we discover he initially studied acting and, later, once he finished his PhD, often appeared as a commentator on Dutch television. The search for acclaim is nothing new; big cities and the world are full of seekers and their stories. However, what sets Stapel apart is his level of success, which was quite laudable to begin with.

## THE PEACOCK CLASS AND INCOME INEQUALITY

This is where Freeland's study of the peacock class—earners in the top 10%—comes in handy. Stapel's excessive striving for recognition is hardly unusual when set against their behaviour. What is novel being that the peacock class' environment seems to be changing, and changing in ways that echo Alexander's ideas about dislocation. For example, stratas within that elite group are appearing, stratas resembling divisions that used to exist in the lower 90%.

Mirroring Stapel's behaviour, these changes seem driven by individuals who are already rich, but want to be even richer. It is a process of intensification addicts refer to as "the disease of more." Freeland explains: "And even within tribes whose training collectively vaults them into the 1%—like bankers, lawyers or computer programmers—there is a twist to the impact of skill-biased technological change that lessens the sense of group prosperity. This is what economists call the 'superstar' effect—the tendency of both technological change and globalisation to create winner-take-all economic tournaments in many sectors and companies where being the most successful in your field delivers huge rewards, but coming in second place and certainly in fifth or tenth has lesser economic value."

The distribution of wealth in the top 10% reflects this obsession with earnings and perfection: it is the top 1% within the 10% that are earning the most—and earning

the most by far. While on the surface, this intensification seems inexplicable—we might wonder why these people are not satisfied—an explanation can be found in a phenomenon called the 'paradox of unhappy growth'. What this refers to, loosely, is the anxiety associated with instability caused by growth, even when the growth itself may be positive. While the rural poor move to urban centres and earn more, they are generally less happy. They are also, Freeland observes, more "frustrated with their income." These feelings of frustration, anxiety and unhappiness are paradoxical for those at the prosperous end of their class' wealth spectrum: it seems that to avert uneasy feelings, they spend or reach for more.

So why isn't the American middle-class getting richer? The class that found its footing in the post-war years of the last century is slowly being hollowed out by technology, leaving us with two classes: high earners who are well educated and at ease with computing, and low earners, who are left with the barista jobs. The lowest earning households in the middle-class take home an average of US$161,139, while the highest earning, three levels up and comprising just a tenth of 1%, take home an average of US$24 million. The superstar effect is the key to explaining these top layers of wealth. The elites have the power to make the people who provide services for them—their lawyers, chefs and hairdressers—into superstars of their own. As Freeland points out, these providers are undoubtedly talented, but that does not make their less recognised peers any less so. Madonna may feel she has to fly to France to visit her superstar dentist, Bernard Touati, but that does not mean there are no good dentists closer to home. However, it is the perception of scarcity and value combined that is driving this clustering of money and talent, with the elites creating their own class of super-rich servants.

## WHY CHEAT?

What do things like income inequality, Diederik Stapel, and obesity have in common? The feelings that led Stapel to his choices are worth reflecting upon. As Bhattacharee reports: "Stapel did not deny that his deceit was driven by ambition. But it was more complicated than that. He insisted that he loved social psychology but had been frustrated by the messiness of experimental data, which rarely lead to clear conclusions. "His lifelong obsession with elegance and order, he said, led him to concoct sexy results that journals found attractive. 'It was a quest for aesthetics, for beauty—instead of the truth'…he [later] admitted to a lifelong obsession with… symmetry."

Embedded in Stapel's words are the technocrat's credo: order, symmetry, data. There is also the desire to avoid a mess, which is another trope of the technocratic perspective, a perspective that breeds organising principles intolerant of less logical details, details that by their abundance and diversity contribute to communities' identities and make them unique. It is this wish to conveniently bin the elaborate tapestries that are our identities—that messy mass of details, in other words—that lies at the heart of Stapel's troubles. The problem is that he is not an outlier in this

regard, as his comments about the business of academic life make clear. Talking about that crucial moment when he first decided to cheat, Stapel told Bhattacharee that journal editors actively discourage complexity: "They are actually telling you: 'Leave out this stuff. Make it simpler.'" After hearing it often enough, he said, he made the decision to write 'elegant' rather than truthful articles.

## COMMERCIAL INTERESTS AND EDUCATION

What are the larger implications of this sort of commercial interference? The global student body is currently being seduced by a technocrat class that would like to train it for their future. One of its latest propositions is this: we will teach you online and cheaply, and you will be taught by the world's best professors. Yes, there will be 10,000 of you in the same class, but you will connect via the internet. Yes, you will be graded by computer, which will have a reductive effect on what you learn, but your education will be affordable.

The superstar effect—the perception of value and scarcity—is being used here to suggest that only a handful of professors, plucked off the global stage, are qualified to teach calculus, American literature or anatomy. It is a lie and a sales pitch, but combined with the prospect of inexpensive learning, it just might work. The real cost, of course, is that it is a form of education that will relegate graduates to a lower class in a system designed by those in power. Their chances at upward mobility will depend, largely, on whether or not they please their betters. It is worth noting here that the wealthier classes will not be educating their children this way, and that there is more to this intersection of business and education than meets the eye. While most people are susceptible to the idea that if something is expensive, it must be good, there is another rule that emerges when we apply this to private education, particularly education in the lower grades. It is the less stated, albeit equally powerful, idea that if one pays a private school a lot of money, one will get the grades one wants. That is because intimidating non-unionised teachers in a private school is easier than intimidating unionised teachers in a public one. When it comes to universities, relegating masses of students to an online university (and away from a brick-and-mortar one) is a way of replicating, for the students who remain, the privileged environment of the private system—the balance of power, it is likely, will be the same.

## DIANE RAVITCH AND COMMUNITY SUPPORT

Diane Ravitch is an American historian of education. She and Bill Gates have crossed swords on many issues, but a recent one that stands out is this: Gates is demanding that school boards stop paying premiums to teachers who have advanced degrees in education. It is the latest bid he has made to 'improve' education, one in a series of eccentric bids that have brought about no improvement to the (mostly chartered) schools he has supported. His camp will report that some under his guidance have

improved but, as Ravitch points out, these are schools whose populations have changed composition. What she really means is that the weakest students have been weeded out and sent to neighbouring schools in the public system. That is a system in decline, she says, thanks to the interference of Gates and other business leaders like New York City Mayor Michael Bloomberg. One difference between charter and public schools can be found in how they each reward students. Charters, it is clear, focus on merit almost exclusively. Rewarding students on that basis—which is another technocrat ideal—is not in itself a bad thing. However, Gates and others like him are missing something important: these rewards need to be contextualised. They need to be managed locally, by communities that intimately know the children they are educating. That means letting go of donations once they are made. Rewards and punishments should not, as is the current case in some of Gates' schools, be applied to third graders who do not do well at math. These are the students being counselled out of some charter schools. It is a Darwinian approach to education as imagined by technocrats unprepared for the complexities of inclusive and comprehensive school management. It is a problem, moreover, that can be solved without draconian measures; a qualified teacher with a manageable class size, ideally, would have the time to help her weaker students.

Community support for both teacher and student, of the kind advocated by Alexander, Polyani and Ravitch, would help too. Fostering that kind of support is a messy business, however, making it less attractive to philanthropists expecting a return on their dollar. It is easy to blame university administrators and professors for the rise in the cost of education. They are obvious targets since they are on the physical premises. But they did not create the many tent cities that sprang up in the aftermath of 2008 financial crisis. That was the direct cause of greed and unethical business practices. If we want answers about why this happened, we need to look at banks and business communities and the people leading them. We also need to look at the politicians, and their parties, who gave these entities the lax oversight and standards they wanted.

When it comes to Diederik Stapel and his addiction to power, he is right about one thing: it was up to him to resist the siren call of fame. However, it might be helpful to ask who played the role of playground pusher and led him to where he would hear it. More importantly, we can ask if he had enough support—the kind that would have allowed him to acknowledge and cope with the temptations laid before him.

GOOLAM MOHAMEDBHAI

# 54. AFRICA: WHAT CAN BE DONE TO TACKLE CORRUPTION?

*University World News, 5 June 2015, Issue 370*

In its 2013 *Global Corruption Report: Education*, Transparency International indicates that corruption in higher education is widespread in Africa. Because higher education has such an important role to play in the social and economic development of Africa, it is imperative that this issue be addressed and appropriate solutions found.

## GOVERNANCE

Until a couple of decades ago a significant number of Anglophone African universities had the country's president as the titular head (or chancellor) of the institution. With the growing number of public universities in each country, this has now changed, but there are still countries in Africa, for example Zimbabwe, where this situation prevails. Having the head of a country within the governance structure of a university is not a healthy situation as it can lead to political interference.

The chancellor in many African public universities is still appointed by the state president (or the minister) and although s/he plays essentially a ceremonial role, the chancellor has the important responsibility of appointing, or approving the appointment of, key governance positions such as the chair of council or the vice-chancellor. In many African countries, the appointment of the executive head (vice-chancellor or rector) of a public university is now undertaken by the institution's governing council, even if the final approval has to be given by the minister in many cases. But there are exceptions. In some universities in Mozambique and the Democratic Republic of Congo, for example, the executive head is still appointed by the head of state.

In public universities, good governance is important for ensuring autonomy and academic freedom. This is best achieved if a university operates at an arm's length from government in order to avoid political interference. The executive head of an African university has an important role to play in ensuring good governance and management within the institution. However, suspected cases of fraud and corruption involving the executive head are not uncommon and have been reported in, for example, Kenya, Nigeria, South Africa and Zimbabwe. In 2011 and 2012,

five public universities in South Africa were placed 'under administration' by the minister of higher education following reports of suspected cases of serious financial or other maladministration. There are two lessons to be learnt from the above. First, legislation of public universities in Africa must ensure that government cannot directly interfere in the running of the universities. Second, public universities and their executive heads must be accountable.

## STUDENT ADMISSIONS

Public universities in Africa are unable to cope with the ever-increasing demand from students graduating from the secondary school sector. This situation has led to corruption involving students, government, and university officials, and even intermediary private admissions agents. It has been reported that paying a bribe in order to gain admission to a degree programme of choice is on the increase in most universities in Africa. In 2012, an article in a Nigerian newspaper reported that university officials often consider recommendation letters from politicians, that university admission is rarely on merit and that there are cases where a candidate who has not even applied gets admitted. The number of students admitted to African universities will inevitably increase dramatically over the next decades and this will pose even greater challenges in admissions. One solution would be resort to the use of information and communications technology, or ICT, in the selection process. Since the 1990s, the University of Mauritius has put in place a transparent computerised selection system for all its programmes. The relevant secondary school qualifications of a candidate applying for a programme are converted into marks, the aggregate of which is used to list all the candidates for that particular programme, and the best candidates are offered a seat.

## DISHONESTY AMONG STUDENTS

Public universities in Africa have enrolled students far in excess of their carrying capacity. The overcrowded campuses and severe competition among students create an environment conducive to academic dishonesty. In order to assess the seriousness of cheating and plagiarism among students in African universities, a few surveys have been undertaken recently.

A 2012 anonymous survey among 475 students from three East African universities showed that 35% of them had quoted material from another source without acknowledgement, 31% had allowed their coursework to be copied by another student, and 33% had fabricated a reference. Also, 25% admitted to collusion during an examination to communicate answers, and 18% to deliberately miss-shelving or cutting the relevant pages of a publication to disadvantage other students. Perhaps the most alarming finding was that 5% of the students confessed to taking an examination for someone else or someone else took their examination. There are hardly any reports on what strategies African universities are adopting to

combat academic dishonesty among students. However, universities and colleges in the US also face similar challenges and African universities could learn from their experiences. In 2009, an extensive survey of public and private universities and colleges in the US revealed that the most effective practices in promoting academic integrity among students are:

• Providing training to academic staff on academic integrity issues;
• Implementing effective classroom management;
• Providing clear definitions and examples of cheating; and
• Indicating cheating on official transcripts of students found guilty.

## DISHONESTY AMONG ACADEMIC STAFF

Academic staff in African public universities operate under severe conditions: very heavy teaching load, large numbers of students in classes, hardly any time for research, and poor salaries and working conditions. There have been several reports on academic staff involved in unethical practices in Africa. In Nigeria, which has the largest higher education system in Africa, areas where corruption occurs most frequently among academic staff are in promotions, journal and book publications, extortion of money for handouts and marks, and sexual harassment. A recent survey from two universities in Ghana revealed that nepotism (58%) and favouritism (55%) are perceived by the students to be the most common abuses by academic staff, followed by examination malpractice (50%), forcing students to buy handouts (36%), sexual harassment (31%), and abuse of office (30%).

There is hardly any documentation on strategies adopted by African universities to curb malpractices among academic staff, apart from taking punitive measures. Some universities have incorporated anti-graft rules within the code of conduct for their staff. Most Kenyan public universities have an anti-corruption policy document. Although it is meant for the whole university, it really targets the staff of the university and has a special section on teaching and conduct of examinations. It would be interesting to carry out a survey to determine the effectiveness of such a document in preventing or curbing corruption.

## FAKE DEGREES AND DEGREE MILLS

The growing demand for higher education in Sub-Saharan Africa has provided fertile ground for the sale of fake degree certificates and the operation of institutions that provide degrees with hardly any period of study, commonly known as degree mills. There are reported cases of even politicians, religious leaders and other senior officials in Ghana, Kenya, Nigeria, Tanzania, and Uganda who have purchased fake degrees. Most of the degree mills are located in North America and Europe, while others are scattered globally in hidden locations. So far, attempts at stopping the operation of fake degree manufacturers and degree mills have had limited

success. UNESCO has created a portal that lists all the recognised higher education institutions in different regions of the world. While this is helpful, a more aggressive approach would have been to create a 'blacklist' of known and identified degree mills. No organisation has so far established and made public such a list, no doubt fearing legal and political repercussions.

This issue needs to be dealt with at two levels. At national level, any person suspected of having purchased a fake degree of an existing, recognised institution should be legally prosecuted as this is clearly a fraudulent practice. With regard to degree mills, this needs to be dealt with at international level, with the collaboration of organisations such as UNESCO, the International Association of Universities, the US-based Council for Higher Education Accreditation and the Association of African Universities.

## REGIONAL-INTERNATIONAL APPROACH

There is sufficient evidence to show that the existence of unethical practices is fairly widespread in African universities. Of course, the nature and degree of these practices vary from country to country, and even from one institution to another within a country. Many of the malpractices are also common to universities in other parts of the world, where they may have devised appropriate strategies to curb them. These could be shared with African universities. One area that comes to mind is plagiarism. There are tools available for its detection but they do not appear to be widely used in African higher education institutions, except perhaps in Nigeria and South Africa. The situation of academic integrity in Sub-Saharan Africa, already serious, will no doubt worsen with increasing enrolment in higher education, greater output of research and PhD students, and with the rapid improvement in technology making a far greater number of academic publications accessible online. The matter warrants both a regional and an international approach.

RUI YANG

# 55. EAST ASIA: CORRUPTION UNDERMINES RISE OF EAST ASIAN UNIVERSITIES

*University World News, 29 February 2016, Issue 398*

The recent rise of East Asian universities has greatly impressed the academic world. East Asia's advance in higher education is both actual and perceived. The bubbling and gurgling in the media and in the literature need to be interrogated. Questions still remain about the real potential of East Asian universities, and whether they can truly break the bonds of Western hegemony. While recognising the substantial collective progress East Asian societies have made in higher education over the past decades, we should not lose sight of some of the challenges they are facing. One critical factor that has not been as well discussed is how their future success could be undermined by the toxic academic culture currently endemic in the region.

## AN ENDEMIC CULTURE

Academic culture refers to the attitudes, beliefs and values held by academics in relation to various aspects of their work. It has strong impact on what is done, how it is done and who is involved in doing it, concerning decisions, actions and communication on both instrumental and symbolic levels. A number of terms have been used to describe the academic culture in East Asian universities, such as integrity, ethics, misconduct, and even corruption. Academic culture has been cited as a significant impediment for East Asian higher education to reach a leading status in the world. Corrupt academic culture damages the standing of institutions and the academic community badly. An academic culture that is based on meritocratic values, free enquiry, and competition is largely absent in East Asia. Throughout the region, academic dishonesty has long been an issue, from students cheating to fraud by scientists. Research shows that academic dishonesty is increasing in Hong Kong and Taiwan. South Koreans dub their nation the "Republic of Plagiarism."

Perhaps more successfully than any other people of the world, the Japanese have developed a social system capable of ensuring order and proper behaviour. However, Japan is by no means immune from academic fraud. The 2000s witnessed much publicity over high-profile cases of scientific misconduct. More recently, the Japanese academic establishment was stunned by Haruko Obokata's fabricated data, doctored images and plagiarism.

Academic misconduct is particularly serious in China. Since the 1990s, academic culture has fast become decadent and this 'tainted' culture has penetrated deeply into the higher education sector from regional to national flagship institutions, and permeated every aspect of university operations. Mirroring the wider society, it takes various forms, and those involved include students, professors, academicians, and institutional leaders. Within the Chinese higher education system, being promoted into government or even staying within universities with administrative roles can mean far more substantial financial rewards than what pure academic work can bring. Chinese scholars are therefore more and more prone to becoming trapped in the pursuit of administrative standing, rather than devoting their time to legitimate academic research.

## DEVASTATING EFFECTS

Under the influence of a corrupt academic culture, the practice of guanxi—the system of social networks and influential relationships which facilitate dealings between individuals—restricts the free movement of staff, students, and resources, and the career advancement of faculty. Decision-making is not based on academic merit, but on personal relationships and preferential treatment. Plagiarism and the falsification of scientific results are common. Those in powerful positions carve up major research grants. Without many opportunities left for diligent individuals, academics seek instant success and quick bucks, and misconduct is often found in daily practices. This toxic culture has devastating effects on higher education development and the region's modernisation programmes, leading to distortions and inefficiency at both institutional and systemic levels. The practices damage the morale of individuals and institutions, ruin the academic atmosphere of East Asian universities and pollute the minds of young students. It is serious enough to keep the development of the region's advanced science from success.

As a reaction to rampant academic dishonesty, it is fair to point out that state education policies have begun to stress the need for preventing research misconduct. The Chinese government, for example, has stepped up efforts to build academic norms and research integrity since the 2000s, through developing standards and regulations, setting up special agencies, issuing policy papers, organising national forums or seminars, and promoting international cooperation. With growing awareness of such a serious issue in the region, some East Asian universities have established their own units to deal with academic fraud and corruption. While it is reasonable to expect some positive instantaneous policy impacts, when considering the width and depth of the issue in the societies, it is just not realistic to hope that the problem will be uprooted in the years to come.

Despite a few scandals, Japan distinguishes itself from its regional neighbours in academic culture. This explains why Japan has been the best performer in the region, as illustrated by its unrivalled 21 Nobel Prizes in science and technology, while other East Asian societies have had none until 2014. It is important to note that Japan's early

Nobel Prizes were won when Japan was experiencing extremely difficult conditions. Similarly, the latest and only Nobel Prize in science and technology based on work conducted in the region was awarded to a Chinese scientist in 2015. Because her work was done almost exclusively during the 1970s, when China was suffering from economic hardship and political isolation, her achievement is no outcome of China's contemporary academic culture.

## TOXIC ACADEMIC CULTURE

Academic culture matters hugely. East Asia's corrupt academic culture hurts the region's higher education directly, with profound impact on everyday operations. Only Japan has achieved a good academic culture. Unfortunately, it is far beyond the scope of the higher education sector to solve these widespread, deep-rooted social problems, though the situation differs among the region's societies. The toxic academic culture is another expression of East Asia's greatest challenge: universities have not yet figured out how to combine the 'standard norms' of Western higher education with traditional values. The Western concept of a university has been adopted only for its practicality. East Asian higher education development is fundamentally about the relations between Western and indigenous higher education traditions, a relationship that has rarely been managed well.

ELENA DENISOVA-SCHMIDT AND ELVIRA LEONTYEVA

# 56. RUSSIA: THE UNIFIED STATE EXAM IN RUSSIA: PROBLEMS AND PERSPECTIVES

*International Higher Education, Summer 2014, Number 76*

Russian universities have undergone two significant changes since the collapse of the Soviet Union: the dramatic cuts in state financial support that accompanied the adoption of a market economy and integration into the European higher education system through the Bologna process. Both reforms remain incomplete. Universities are still dependent on the state. There are more universities than necessary, and the level of education they offer is sometimes questionable. Corruption in many forms and in large volumes in the university admissions process and during university studies is the other challenge, with which many universities still have to deal.

## CORRUPTION IN UNIVERSITY ADMISSIONS

The university admissions process has been one of the most problematic issues in Russian higher education in terms of corruption. Until 2009, each university in Russia held its own entrance examination. The level of corruption in this area was the highest of all kinds of corruption in education. By 2004, it had reached 10.7 billion rubles (US$455 million) per year. In order to solve this problem, university admission is now awarded on the basis of the EGE (Edinyi Gosudarstvennyi Eksamen—Unified State Exam) tests that serve as both a school final examination and for university entrance. The EGE gives potential students the opportunity to apply to several universities simultaneously, which had not been possible before. With the EGE replacing the previous entrance examinations, there is no longer a need to visit a university during the application process and spend a few weeks on campus—expenditures that not all families could afford. Now, however, corruption has moved largely from the universities to other areas—including the processes responsible for conducting the EGE itself.

## PUBLIC OPINION AND EMPIRICAL RESULTS

The sociological surveys conducted regularly by the Levada Center, one of the best-known Russian opinion research institutes, show that a majority of respondents believe that, with the introduction of the EGE, the number of bribes—*blat* (the use

of informal networks to obtain goods and services)—and other violations in the university admissions process have remained the same (34%) or even increased (30%). Only a small group of survey participants (13%) believes that the EGE has helped to decrease those violations.

Our own research, conducted in 2013 at selected universities in the Russian Far East, shows similar results: 31 percent of the survey respondents observed some violations during the EGE; 14 percent of them observed these violations personally, while 17 percent referenced their relatives or friends. These violations include disseminating exam questions before the examination, using mobile phones (for Internet searches or SMS), receiving help from the on-site proctors, and reopening sealed test envelopes to correct mistakes.

Besides the EGE, there is another opportunity for cheating and corruption in the university admissions process. In our survey, 12 percent of the participants had heard about other types of violations during the university admissions process from their friends and relatives, and only 4 percent had any personal experience with them. These violations include monetary and nonmonetary payments, for example, to gain admission to a budgeted place—a place for a student that is paid for by the state and not by individual tuition. Another possible violation involves bribes or preferential treatment, such as receiving a special contract—preferential conditions for students, such as a contract between industry and university.

There are a few recent tendencies worth noting: the number of orphans, students with disabilities, and students with diplomas for achievements in academic competitions (*olympiady*) has increased significantly. Those three categories also receive preferential treatment during the university admissions process. The approach here is selective, however: one the respondents in our study mentioned that a real orphan was not considered, and other students complained that not all results of *olympiady* were counted.

## WHO BENEFITS FROM HIGH EGE SCORES?

The first group of beneficiaries is school graduates—the potential students. High scores might open the doors of elite universities to them and increase the chance for getting a state-budgeted place. The second group is the universities. The Higher School of Economics monitors almost all Russian universities according to the average EGE scores of their applicants. Freshmen with more than 70 points (out of 100) are considered to be high-performance students, while freshmen with less than 56 points are the opposite. Universities that accept students with a score of less than 56 might be singled out by the Russian Ministry of Education and Research for negative sanctions. The third group of beneficiaries is the secondary schools: the more graduates with high EGE scores they have, the better the schools' reputation. This interdependence of all involved actors—students, universities, and secondary schools—might make remedying the various forms of corruption at this level difficult. These forms of corruption might not even involve money: During the EGE,

a school teacher might leave a class for a few minutes and thus give young people an opportunity to take out crib sheets or ponies. The teacher might be guided only by his/her concern for the professional future of the students.

The question for the future is whether this new system will hinder or actually promote corruption. In Russia, where corruption is endemic, it might not disappear completely. Nevertheless, the introduction of the EGE has been a very important step in the Russian education system, encouraging universities to work more transparently and permitting the students' mobility to increase significantly since its introduction. The data from Rosstat, the Russian Federal State Statistic Service, shows a high influx of students in regions (out of 85), which since 2009 have the highest educational standards. On the other hand, regions with low standards are suffering. Our data from the Russian Far East prove this tendency: every year, the major universities in urban areas enroll more and more students from small towns and villages.

# ABOUT THE CONTRIBUTORS

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## CONTRIBUTORS

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